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NEW SERIES.



THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1803.



L O N D O N :

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P R E F A C E.

THE distinguishing event of the year 1803 was the termination of the peace, about the making of which such strenuous debates had been maintained, and such opposite opinions held. The violence and injustice of the French Government were so undisguised, that little hope could be entertained that the British nation could long acquiesce in them, and hope to retain the character, or even the name of Independence. Yet the time and manner in which resistance should be displayed were points of the utmost delicacy. The experience of the late contest, and the successful efforts of party during its continuance, shewed the necessity of making the grounds of war, if possible, not only evident to the judicious, but popular among men of all classes. Had a system of irritation been pursued by Great Britain, a large party in the nation would have declared vehemently against the war, as a continuance of that which they had decried as the system of injustice adopted toward France ever since the Revolution. On the other hand, had measures of self-defence been too long delayed, a sentiment of indifference, or even despair, would have been expressed;

expressed; for where endurance had exceeded all limits of reason, resistance would have been considered as unavailing and almost hopeless. It would be rash to assert that the English Government selected exactly the time which alone was fit for exertion, but, if a judgment may be formed from the general feeling of all classes of men, they were as near it as possible. A party of inconsiderable number did, indeed, express themselves adverse to the war, but, on the whole, it may be affirmed, that History affords no instance where the people, with an impulse so general, rushed to arms, and cheerfully prepared to make every exertion and every sacrifice.

To trace the source and progress of this dispute has been the principal object of the present Volume. The aggressions of France against Switzerland, and the final extinction of liberty in that unhappy country are distinctly noted. The insidious war waged on the commerce, independence and constitution of Great Britain is carefully narrated. The measures of resistance and the negotiations which led to the war are detailed; together with the first acts of hostility, the unprincipled invasion and spoliation of the neutral and defenceless territory of Hanover, and the still more gross violation of all national faith, in the seizure and imprisonment of the subjects of Great Britain in France and Holland. To these are added the preparations of
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the enemy to subjugate the Kingdom by invasion, and the glorious exertions made to repel such an attempt.

A copious publication of official documents by Government, and which, as an authentic and valuable record, has been preserved in this Volume, has rendered the narrative of many of these transactions peculiarly certain and clear. The view of French proceedings in Saint Domingo has been continued, and in this, as in the former Volume, great reliance has been placed on a narrative published by a British Officer, who had means of seeing the events he has related. The debates are, according to the promise in the Preface to the preceding Volume, compressed, as much as could be consistent with an intelligible detail, and, on the whole, no effort has been spared, to render this Volume worthy the patronage of the Public, and creditable to those who are engaged in the publication.

THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
For the YEAR 1803.



THE
HISTORY
OF
EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Causes of Dissatisfaction between England and France; French restraints on Commerce. Correspondence on the subject of the Fame packet. Further cases of seizure, in which no satisfaction was obtained from the French government. Other subjects of disagreement arise. Affairs of Switzerland. Conduct of France toward that Country during the war. French Troops withdrawn at the Peace. A Party sent to Paris to solicit the Interference of Bonaparte, which he at first declines. Diet at Berne. They form the Outline of a Constitution. Decree of Amnesty. Opposition of the provisional Government. The Deputies of the three smaller Cantons withdraw. Their address to Bonaparte. His views on the Valais. Troops sent there under General Thurreau. Ineffectual Opposition of late diet. General oppression of Switzerland. New constitutional body at Berne. Opposed by a Diet at Schwitz. Remonstrance of the latter to the French Minister. The constitutional body require French Troops. Their proclamations. Several cantons take up Arms in favour of Liberty. Their Success. General Enthusiasm. The executive Council driven from Berne. Vigorous Proceedings of the Patriots. Their Proclamation. They form a Plan of a Constitution. They dispatch Ministers to Paris. Apparent disposition of the French government. Delusive conduct of Talleyrand. Tyrannical Proclamation of Bonaparte. Ineffectual remonstrance of the Swiss Minister. Activity of the new government. Arrival of general Rapp with Bonaparte's Proclamation. General Ney enters the country with an Army. The Swiss obliged to submit. Contributions levied by the French troops. Many of the Patriots imprisoned.

WHILE many English gentlemen, allured by curiosity, or attracted by party, or other feelings, were spending the summer in France, disputes and controversies were gaining ground between that country and Great Britain, which portended a speedy termination of the peace so recently established.

Considering how dear to England, the pursuit and extension of commerce must ever be, while her government rightly consults her interests; the ruler of France could not but know that the first real pledge of returning amity to be expected from pacification, was the relaxation of some of the restrictions which had been imposed on trade during the most violent periods of the French revolution. It would indeed have been absurd to expect that the intercourse between the two countries should immediately be re-established as it stood in 1789; perhaps a revival of that system was never to be looked for; but if such an event would have been too great and too sudden a dereliction of the precautions which France might deem necessary for her own security, the too rigid maintenance of decrees of exclusion appeared to imply, that mutual friendship and confidence between the two countries was never to return.

1802. A correspondence on a subject arising out of these decrees of exclusion had been begun even before the definitive treaty of peace was signed, and before the end of the year, many other instances occurred, which it may not be useless to recapitulate, as proofs at once of the captiousness, harshness and meanness of the French government. The first case was that of a schooner, called the *Fame Packet*, which failed on the 19th of December 1801, from the port of Southampton, bound for Jersey, laden with stores for the use of the garrison, and having on board twenty-five passengers, among whom were many women and children. The day after this vessel failed, she was com-

pelled by a violent tempest to put into the port of Cherbourg. The master immediately went on shore, and made his declaration at the custom house, hoping that, as the preliminaries of peace had been signed, the common rights of compassion would not have been withheld, especially as he could not trade in France; for his papers proved that he had given a bond in England to land his cargo at a British port. The French government however seized his ship, declaring her and her cargo to be confiscated, by virtue of a law passed during the most furious period of the domination of Robespierre, in March 1794, by which all ships, exceeding one hundred tons burthen, were forbidden to approach within four leagues of the coast of France. The captain appealed in vain to two superior tribunals, all he could obtain was a remission of a sentence to six months imprisonment, which had been pronounced on him by virtue of Robespierre's decree. The British minister, during many successive months, made fruitless applications to the French Government; after many evasions, he obtained as a final answer from the First Consul, that the law must take its course.

The rigour of this proceeding was the more inexcusable, as it took place just at the time when the British government, with unprecedented forbearance, permitted France, before a definitive treaty had been concluded, to send to the West Indies a very powerful armament. The law which Bonaparte on this occasion enforced, would in itself prevent all possibility of peace and amity between the two nations, since the navigation between

between Great Britain and Jersey could not be carried on, unless vessels were allowed to pass within four leagues of the French coast.

Another case was that of a brig named the *Jennies*, which, after the definitive treaty, put into the port of Charente, with a cargo, composed partly of pit-coal, to be sold in France, and partly of English manufactured goods, with which she was afterward to proceed to Cadiz. On his arrival, the Captain declared of what his cargo consisted, and offered to deposit that portion of it which was not meant to be disposed of in France at the Custom house, as a security against its being smuggled on shore. The government would not listen to the proposal, but seized and confiscated the ship and cargo, by virtue of another revolutionary law, made in 1797. A third instance was that of a sloop called the *Nancy*, which sailed for Rotterdam, and was driven by a tempest, in which she received great damage, into the harbour of Flushing. The cargo of this ship presented not the slightest pretext for confiscation, for it was composed intirely of foreign manufactured goods taken as prize during the war, and allowed to be sold in England only on the express condition of being exported. As soon as the *Nancy* arrived in port, she was boarded by a detachment of French troops, and claimed on behalf of the Republic, nor could the captain learn the grounds of this proceeding. A fourth seizure, in which injustice and meanness were most strongly combined was that of the brig *George*, which entered the port of Charente in ballast, for the purpose of taking

in a cargo of Brandy for London. The French custom house officers, disappointed in their search after some insignificant article which might come under the denomination of cargo, and justify a seizure, at length discovered that the plates, knives, and forks, used by the master in his cabin were of British manufacture; and although their value did not exceed 4*l.* and they were evidently not intended as articles of commerce, the French government, on this most base and iniquitous pretence confiscated the vessel.

Against these and many more acts of injustice the British government presented memorials, but they remained for the most part unanswered, and apparently unheeded, for the ships were condemned, and the violences were continued.

Several other subjects of discussion between the two governments arose before the conclusion of the year 1802; among these were the countenance still afforded by Great Britain, to the unfortunate adherents of the old government, and the strictures issued from the press on many of the proceedings of the French government. These it will be necessary to notice in a future page; but there was one great and conspicuous topic of disagreement, which interested the heart of every honourable and feeling man, not in England alone, but in the whole world, this was the unprincipled conduct of France toward Switzerland.

It will be remembered that in 1798, after a most atrocious invasion of the cantons, accompanied with horrible circumstances of oppression, cruelty and insult, Geneva, Mulhausen, Bienne, and the bishop-

ric of Basle were given up and annexed to France, which obtained beside, the right of carrying a military and commercial road through the country into the South of Germany. In return, France conferred on Switzerland the mockery of a temporary constitution, forming the country into a republic one and indivisible, consisting of eighteen departments. The independence of the dismembered republic, and its right to form a government for itself were distinctly acknowledged, both at the time, and by the treaty of Luneville, but till the general peace, Switzerland had no opportunity to exercise these rights, oppressed as she was by the perpetual presence of a French army.

On the conclusion of peace with Germany, the future fate of Switzerland excited no inconsiderable interest, and there were men in France, who, not foreseeing the wicked ambition of their government, wrote on the sufferings of the Helvetic republic in the language of honest sympathy, and expressed undisguised abhorrence of the infamous conduct of the directory.

The Swiss, when the French troops had left them, began seriously to occupy themselves on the task of framing such a social system as would insure the tranquility and independence of their country; a project in which the great majority most earnestly concurred. Some men, however, who despaired of the good opinion of their countrymen, whom in the late disastrous times, they had injured and betrayed, and conscious that their temporary authority and influence could be maintained only by French intervention and French ascendant.

cy, repaired to Paris, to solicit the interference of the First Consul in the affairs of their country.

Had the conduct at first adopted by Bonaparte on this occasion been the basis or the effect of a system, it would have exalted him to the highest pitch of glory, and rendered the expression of applause and gratitude for the good he had done, so loud and general, that the cries against many of his misdeeds would have been drowned or disregarded. "Helvetia" he said in one of his official publications" has also been

9th June
1801.

employed in forming for herself a definitive organization. Her provisional government has thought proper to present to the First Consul various plans, in order to obtain his opinion which would be most fit. The First Consul contented himself with making to citizens Glaire and Steffler, the Helvetic deputies, this single observation. The best constitution for Switzerland will be that of which the principal characteristic is, that it is adapted to Switzerland only; it should display a consideration of the peculiar circumstances of the territory, climate and manners of Helvetia, which do not resemble those of any other European state: but, the French government will by no means influence their deliberations or direct their opinions.

This declaration was the more acceptable to the people of Switzerland, as a plan of a constitution had been previously drawn up, supposed to be agreeable to the views of the French government, but by no means calculated to produce the good effects here proposed to the Swiss.

Instructed by fatal experience the people

people had but one wish ; that of returning to their ancient institutions, which late misfortune had rendered more dear to them than ever. The cantons formed themselves into constituent bodies, and twelve of the thirteen sent representatives to a Diet holden at Berne, in order there to organize a central power, which might be accept-

Sept. 26. able to the neighbouring states. They formed the outline of a new constitution, in which they endeavoured as much as possible to re-establish their ancient system, but in so doing they were not unmindful of rational and useful reformation ; the aristocratical cantons offered to renounce their exclusive rights ; the Pays de Vaud was left to form its own constitution, as well as Thurgovia, and the other new cantons.

18. Nov. A decree of amnesty was published to all persons accused of any political crimes committed since the 1st. of January 1798. This measure had often before been moved, but had always failed, was now carried to its fullest extent, comprizing all crimes political and military, which were to be forgotten and pardoned ; all sentences were annulled, the parties condemned paying the costs of the prosecution ; all emigrants were freely allowed to return, without excepting even those who had borne arms in emigrant regiments ; and nothing more was required of them than to appear within a fortnight after their return, before the sub-prefect of their department.

These proceedings did not pass without opposition from the ambitious malcontents who formed the provisional government. They issued a decree against what they

termed the incoherent labours of the Diet, and the manifest partiality which swayed its deliberations. They affirmed that the Diet had mistaken its duties, and exceeded its powers, by occupying itself on a plan of a constitution, and arrogating to itself the functions of a constituent assembly ; and in opposition to the vote of the Diet, providing for its own future meetings, they pronounced it dissolved, and all its acts null and void ; re-established the proposed constitution which had been so much disliked by the country, and virtually disapproved by Bonaparte himself ; and they assumed the right of appointing members to form a senate, and what they termed a new constitutional diet. The representatives of the three cantons of Uri, Schwitz and Unterwalden, indignant at these proceedings, withdrew 1st. Nov. 1801. from Berne, and addressed

ed to Bonaparte an energetic statement of their grievances and their wishes. The envy and ambition of some individuals, unworthy of the name of Swiss, they observed, seemed unfortunately too much to influence the French government ; they wished to follow the views of the First Consul, and re-unite themselves to Helvetia even with some sacrifices, but their deceitful brethren desired a restoration of powers which would degenerate into despotism. " The diversity of worship, manners, education, customs, wants and many other circumstances," they said, " render an uniformity of administration impossible, and the attempt could not fail totally to destroy us. It is absolutely necessary that our boundaries should be marked, and that

that we should have a particular administration, in order to maintain the purity of our religion and morals, and to re-establish that economy which is so necessary to our political prosperity. This is the general wish of the people of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, who make it known to us in a request, signed by 3600 citizens out of 3800 which this last canton contains. Citizen First Consul, one word from you would render impotent those ambitious individuals, who have influence only in proportion as they impress the idea that they are supported by France. We request this word with confidence, persuaded that it can neither be your intention, nor for the interest of France, to increase the misfortunes of a people who have already suffered so much, and who desire only tranquillity and repose."

But whether the moderation apparent in Bonaparte's former declaration was merely affected; whether it proceeded from the possible instability of his authority, or the apprehension that Switzerland, if goaded to resistance before peace was concluded with England, might receive effectual assistance, not from Britain alone, but from some of the powers of the continent; or whether the general pacification, together with the recent addition to his power by the decree of the Italian Republic, opened to his mind new prospects of ambition, and expelled the small remains of moderation and justice; whether from the operation of all or any of the causes, the conduct of the First Consul toward the Swiss was speedily and totally changed. It was determined to unite the Valais with the French

and Italian republics and as the Pays de Vaud was situated between them, an union was to be effected between the two districts, that both at once might be at the disposal of the ruler of France. To countenance the iniquitous proceeding about to be adopted, rumours were spread of commotions in Switzerland, which did not exist; intrigues were commenced to give an appearance of opposition and resistance, and of a party dissatisfied with the proceedings of the new government; and General Thurreau, who had signalized himself among the murderers of La Vendée, was sent with a body of troops, to effect the desired separation of the Valais from Switzerland.

The government of Switzerland had refused its assent to the measure, and the Diet at Berne had made an article in their plan of a Constitution that the whole canton of Valais should appertain to Helvetia, and not be ceded, unless France should take possession by force; but the reluctance of a weak power aided only by justice, was not calculated to produce any great effect on the ruler of France. Thurreau was joined by Lecourbe; the people of the Valais were treated with the most harsh and wanton indignities; the French troops under various pretences were augmented, and spread on every side, and proceeded even to the neighbourhood of Berne, the seat of the government, which Bonaparte, both by treaty and by promise had engaged to respect. The joy so lately felt throughout Switzerland was succeeded by gloom

gloom, apprehension and dismay; the reports of disturbances were increased, and some real insurrections were fomented, in order to furnish additional pretexts for the advance of French troops; the liberty of the press was restrained, on rather annihilated by a severe decree, and a new Constitution, now avowedly framed on a model approved by the French government, was to be forced on a people, who had been encouraged to hope that they might be allowed to resume those institutions, which had for ages continued them free and happy.

13th July As the Constitutional and Legislative body nominated by the old provisional government had now begun their sittings, the people of Uri, Schwitz, and Unterwalden, seem to have considered the fate of the country irrevocably fixed, and to have had no hopes for themselves but in a total separation from the other cantons. They convoked a Diet at Schwitz, which, in order to attain this object, addressed a letter to Verninac, the French minister in Switzerland. They recapitulated their useless efforts during four years, to tear from themselves a constitution, which from its origin, and still more from the violence with which it was established, could not fail to be odious and insupportable; and declaring that they could never be attached to any but that of their fore-fathers, the only one truly suited to their countries, they earnestly deprecated a compulsory union with the rest of Helvetia, as the most cruel example of constraint that history could offer.

As general submission and partial

separation would not have answered the views of France, nor have offered any pretext for maintaining troops in Switzerland, advantage was taken of the unpopularity of the usurping government to obtain from them a request that the French troops might remain.

This request Verninac refused in words, but the partizans of France knew it would be granted in effect, and that the forces, if removed for a short period, would be poured in again whenever it should be deemed expedient.

20th July Their confidence that such would be the case was expressed by the usurping government, or as it titled itself, the executive council, in a proclamation to the people, wherein, after extolling the liberty, justice, and bounty of the First Consul, in proposing to withdraw those soldiers, without whom the country would have been exposed to the horrors of anarchy, proceeds in these terms. "But know on what conditions you are to have the blessings of independence, and what duties the confidence of the French government, and the confidence of your own government, impose on you. They command you to observe peace and concord. They require of you a sacrifice of all those regrets, of all those hopes and desires, which are no longer compatible with the existing order of things. They call on you, in an imperious manner, to rally round the constitution, and the government which it establishes: for it is only according to the constitution, and by the government, that liberty and independence can be preserved. In supporting these, you will be able to

continue a nation; in abandoning them, you must perish. They wish that the author of every attempt against the actual state of things, may be punished in an exemplary manner. Such is the national will; such is the intention declared by the First Consul on withdrawing his troops."

1st Aug. The executive council, in a subsequent proclamation, more distinctly attacked the Diet of Schwitz, the members of which they designated as enemies of their country, eager to take advantage of the circumstances of the moment, to rend asunder the ties of concord and fraternity, and to produce new calamities and misfortunes. It decreed therefore that the three cantons which were considered as refractory should be governed, and send representatives, according to the forms of the offensive Constitution.

Sept. The smaller Cantons were not to be awed from their purpose by mere proclamations; they maintained the authority of their Diet, and so far as their exhausted means would permit, took up arms in favour of liberty. The flame soon spread through all the eastern part of the country, except Turgovia, and part of the Grisons. Besides the three small cantons, those of Glarus, Appenzel, Rheinthal, Zug and Baden, declared their resistance to the executive council, and formed a government of their own. A few men whom they could arm were placed under the command of General Aloys Reding, while those of the executive council were led by General Andermatt. At Basle, the armed citizens rose against the

troops of the directory, overpowered and disarmed them. Andermatt concluded a treaty for suspension of arms with the inhabitants of Zurich, which he was besieging. The citizens however, terminated the armistice, made a sortie, and were driven back. Andermatt in revenge, bombarded the town, but Reding coming unexpectedly upon him, compelled him to raise the siege, and he retreated to Ergen.

These favourable events greatly strengthened the patriotic cause; subscriptions were raised, men enrolled themselves, and the soldiers of the executive council deserted in great numbers. The deputies of the cantons of Uri, Schwitz, Underwalden, Glarus and Appenzel, had previously declared to General Andermatt their sentiments and motives, in a letter written from Schwitz and signed by their General and president Aloys Reding. They 18th Sept. denied that it was their duty to acknowledge a government, springing originally from faction, and formed by the influence of a few individuals. They therefore invited him and his followers rather to join than oppose the insurgents, or at least, peaceably to return to their homes, and live as quiet citizens. This was written before the bombardment of Zurich; but after that event, the Diet of Schwitz issued a proclamation, strongly reprobating that measure, styling it, that most detestable of all crimes, with which the *soi-disant* Helvetic government had closed its career, and ordaining the sending of deputies from the different cantons to the Diet of Schwitz, and the quota of

of men to be raised in each canton, making in the whole rather more than 20,000. These efforts and declarations were fully warranted by success. The executive council had been driven from the city of Berne, by an army of insurgents, composed of peasants from Argovia, Solure, Oberland, Petit Lac, Niddau and Arberg, headed by Generals Watteville, d'Erlach and Effingueur. Although almost unarmed, these forces obliged the government general Gaudarb, to execute a convention, by which the place, with the records, papers and other effects were yielded to the patriots; but their opponents had permission to retire with twenty pieces of artillery to the Pays de Vaud and Fribourg; and general Andermatt was included in the treaty. The vanquished intended proceeding to Lausanne, but their reception there was doubtful, and the whole Pays de Vaud was in commotion.

21st Sept. The new government now proceeded with firmness, vigour and prudence to secure to the country the benefits for which they had been contending. They issued a mild and moderate proclamation, advising an oblivion of past injuries, and cautioning the people against sullyng the glorious triumph of the country by acts of individual vengeance. Berne was placed under a provisional government. A majority had voted for the re-establishment of the old system, in all particulars, but had become convinced of the necessity of yielding to the spirit of the times. The exclusive rights of certain cities were put into a train of arrangement. The deputies from the lesser cantons arrived, and ra-

tified the scheme for raising 20,000 men, of whom General Bachman was to have the command. Other beneficial regulations were adopted, the aristocratical cantons engaged not to assent to the formation of a constitution which should be disagreeable to the people; and a short project of a constitutional arrangement was presented to the Swiss, the principal feature of which was, that each canton should within a month, form for itself a plan of government, adapted to its usages, its local situation, and its actual wants, after which a general diet was to be assembled to form an extensive and consistent government for the whole country.

Anxious to conciliate if possible, the good will of France, the Swiss diet besought the good offices of the French minister to present their new constitution under a conciliating form, and they dispatched ministers to Paris and to other courts, to learn the resolution of their governments, and particularly that of the First Consul. It was not difficult to foresee that the conduct of the continental powers in general would be guided by that of France; and before matters had proceeded to their present crisis, some indications of the probable course of that conduct had appeared. It had been publicly announced that Prussia acknowledged the usurping government of Switzerland only. The separation of the Valais, and its formation into a republic under the joint protection and guaranty of the French and Italian Republics and the usurping Swiss government, had been effected by the troops under Thurreau, and the installation of the new legislature had taken place with all the

pomp

pomp usual on such occasions. The French papers which could only utter sentiments which the First Consul either approved or directed, treated the insurrection as the effect of popular delusion, the struggle of an ignorant mob for plunder, encouraged by a few demagogues who hoped to make it their passport to power. The principal person deputed to Paris was aware that he had to contend against the influence of an emissary from the rival party, M. Stapfer, but he was received by M. Talleyrand in such a manner as encouraged him to hope for final success. He was even taught to believe that Bonaparte would not put any obstacle in the way of any arrangement which the Swiss might agree upon among themselves for the final settlement of their government.

30th Sept. These flattering expectations were soon utterly destroyed. Bonaparte issued a proclamation the most peremptory and insulting that ever issued from the cabinet of a tyrant. It was addressed to the inhabitants of Helvetia, and after stating that the First Consul had withdrawn from Switzerland, at the desire of the people, the few French troops which had remained in that country, he said, “ you have been disputing these three years, without understanding yourselves; and you may go on for three years more, killing each other, without understanding yourselves any better. Besides, your history proves, that your intestine wars were never to be terminated but by the efficacious intervention of France. It is true, I had resolved totally to abstain from meddling in your affairs: I had constantly seen your

different governments asking my advice, and not following it, and sometimes abusing my name, according to their interests and their passions. But I cannot, neither ought I, to remain insensible to the misfortunes of which you are the prey; I retract my resolution: I will be the mediator of your differences; but my mediation shall be efficacious, and becoming the great nation in whose name I speak.” He then proceeded to ordain the dissolution of the existing, and the re-establishment of the former government; the dispersion of all armed meetings, and the disbanding and disarming of all military bodies which had not been on foot more than six months. “ Inhabitants of Helvetia,” he insultingly added, “ awake to Hope! your Country is on the brink of a precipice; she shall be immediately rescued; all honest men will aid the generous project. But if, which I cannot think, there should be amongst you a great number of individuals, who have so little virtue as not to sacrifice their passions and their prejudices to the love of their country, people of Helvetia you must be much degenerated from your fathers.”

In vain did the astonished and confounded agent for Switzerland address a letter to Bonaparte, stating that he must have been deceived by false representations, that his interference in the affairs of Switzerland, was, as he was authorized to say, entirely unsolicited by the majority, and the best thinking part of the inhabitants; and entreating him, in the most earnest manner, to suspend the execution of his resolution until those explanations could take place, which he trusted might

might be the means of preventing the immense effusion of blood which would otherwise inevitably ensue. He obtained no answer.

Before the last hope of Switzerland was thus tyrannically destroyed at St. Cloud, the new government was pursuing a series of successful operations which promised soon to annihilate all opposition to their authority. The fugitives from Berne to Lausanne had used every effort to compel the whole population of the Pays de Vaud to rise in their favour, but the new government with well timed activity, declared the suspension of arms terminated, and after a short resistance made themselves masters of Fribourg. The expelled party treated this conduct as a shameful violation of faith, but their complaints would probably have met with no more respect from the world at large than from their own countrymen, had they not been assured of that which Bonaparte insultingly termed "the efficacious intervention of France."

The deputies sent from Berne to the French minister at Lausanne returned without effecting the object of their mission, Verninac having refused even to recognize them in the character which they presented themselves.

The patriots under Bachman nevertheless pursued their efforts, and in an attack which they made on the whole line of their opponents near Lausanne, they defeated them at every point, and compelled them to fall back upon Moudon.

In their consternation the vanquished were on the point of removing the seat of their

pretended government to Geneva, when Rapp, one of Bonaparte's aid-de-camps suddenly arriving, repaired to the senate, accompanied by Verninac, and delivered Bonaparte's proclamation. This terrific missive, which announced the extinction of every semblance of liberty in Switzerland, was hailed by these selfish traitors to their country with every mark of joy; they were not ashamed to proclaim that they received with the most lively gratitude this new testimony of the good wishes of the First Consul, and Rapp hastened to Berne to convey to the government there his unwelcome intelligence.

The confederates received the determination of Bonaparte with indignation, and had they had the requisite means to give effect to their feelings, Switzerland might again have decorated the pages of History with the splendid narrative of a small but free people, maintaining a successful struggle against mighty and lawless oppressors. The rapid movements of the French did not even give them time to deliberate. An army under General Ney occupied various parts of the country; troops were collecting in every direction on the frontiers; and the Swiss, however valiant by nature, and fierce in the sense of the indignity with which they were treated, had neither arms nor other military resources sufficient to cope with their too powerful enemy.

An armistice was concluded between the forces under Bachman and those of the executive council; the Bernese troops were disbanded; and after some remonstrances ineffectually addressed to Bonaparte, and a very slight struggle, the particulars of which are

are too unimportant to repeat, the Diet of Schwitz was dissolved, and the Swiss, with sullen reluctance, submitted to the government imposed on them by France. The troops of Bonaparte, under pretence of quelling insurrections, traversed the country at pleasure, levied large contributions, according to their custom, and in the most cruel and arbitrary manner arrested and conveyed beyond the frontier, many

who had opposed the views of their ruler. Among these was the brave General Aloys Reding, who was conducted to Lucerne, under an escort of fifty French Hussars, all access to him was prohibited, and finally, he was lodged in the castle of Chillon in Geneva, from which he was not liberated till the total submission of the country was insured.

C H A P. II.

Ineffectual application of the Swiss minister to ambassadors at Paris; he applies also to the English minister; who transmits a statement to London; Lord Hawkesbury's remonstrance; Mr. Moor dispatched to Switzerland; which country is subdued before his arrival; anger of the French government on the occasion. Severe animadversions of the press on the conduct of France; correspondence on that subject, and on that of emigrants; remonstrance of Talleyrand; Lord Hawkesbury's answer; publication of l'Ambigu; remonstrance of M. Otto on the subject of that and other papers; Peltier prosecuted and his publication discontinued; farther remonstrance of France; answer of Lord Hawkesbury. Abuse of England in French publications; English papers prohibited in France; publication of the Argus. Notice of Malta. Delay in restoring the Cape of Good Hope; sensation in Holland unfavourable to France; indignation of France against England, and avowed intention to exclude her from all interference with the Continent.

WHEN the person deputed by the government of Switzerland to Paris, found that Bonaparte was irrevocably determined to compel that country to submit to the form of government devised by himself, he followed another of his instructions by applying to the Austrian and Spanish ambassadors, and to the Russian and Prussian ministers in behalf of his oppressed countrymen; but he could not gain admission. He also addressed himself to Mr. Merry, the British minister (for Lord Whitworth was not yet

arrived) soliciting in the strongest terms, that he would interfere, jointly with the other ministers, if possible, with the French government, to avert the impending evil. Mr. Merry observed, that the present state of political relations between the great powers of Europe afforded no prospect of his persuading their ministers at Paris, to adopt a concerted measure in favour of the object which he had so much at heart, and that of course he could not take it individually upon himself, without express instruction from his government. The

3d following day the agent informed Mr. Merry that he was not only as yet without a reply from any quarter, but had reason to fear that his prayers would not be listened to by the Austrian, Russian and Prussian ministers; he therefore conjured him to transmit them to his Majesty's government, from whom only his countrymen could have a hope of deriving assistance in the terrible conflict which he knew they were determined to stand, and which would only cease by the extermination of every virtuous and brave man in the country. He then put into his hand a note which he had hastily drawn up, hoping it would effectually plead the cause of his country to the British ministry.

This note briefly recapitulated the efforts made by the Swiss to give to their nation a free and beneficial constitution, and the prevailing unanimity on that important object; complained in terms of surprise and indignation of Bonaparte's decree, and concluded with this energetic, though gloomy appeal. "Should Bonaparte persist in his determination, and the other powers should not interpose in our favour, it only remains for us either to bury ourselves in the ruins of our houses, although without hope from resistance, exhausted as we are by the Colossus who is about to overwhelm us, or to debase ourselves in the eyes of the whole universe! Will the government of this generous nation, which has at all times afforded so many proofs of the interest it takes in the welfare of the Swiss, do nothing for us under circumstances which are to decide, whether we are still to be ranked amongst free people?

—We have only men left us:—The Revolution, and spoliations without end, have exhausted our means: We are without arms, without ammunition, without stores, and without money to purchase them."

On receipt of this affecting address, Lord Hawke- 10th wrote to M. Otto, stating the deep regret excited in the mind of his Majesty, by the proclamation of the First Consul, to the Swiss, and the representations made by that people. His Majesty considered their late exertions in no other light than as the lawful efforts of a brave and generous people to recover their ancient laws and government, and to procure the re-establishment of a system which experience had demonstrated, not only to be favourable to the maintenance of their domestic happiness, but to be perfectly consistent with the tranquility and security of other powers. He had no other desire than that the people of Switzerland, should be left at liberty to settle their own internal government without the interposition of any foreign powers; and with whatever regret he had perused the late proclamation of the french government, he was yet unwilling to believe that they would farther attempt to controul an independent nation in the exercise of their undoubted rights.

At the same time Mr. Francis Moore, brother of the general, was confidentially dispatched by the British ministry to Switzerland. He was directed to learn the residence of the government of the Swiss confederation, to obtain a confidential interview with the persons intrusted with the principal direction of affairs, on whom he

was to impress the deep interest which his Majesty took in the success of their exertions. He was also authorized to state his Majesty's hopes, that his representation to the French government might have the effect of inducing the first Consul to abandon his intention of compelling the Swiss nation by force, to renounce that system of government under which they had so long prospered, and to which they appeared to be almost unanimously anxious to return. In this event his Majesty would feel himself bound to abstain from all interference on his part; it being his earnest desire that the Swiss nation should be left at liberty to regulate their own internal concerns, without the interposition of any foreign power. If however, contrary to his Majesty's expectations, France should persist in this system of coercion, Mr. Moore was to obtain correct information respecting the disposition and circumstances of the confederates, and if he found them generally determined to persevere in the maintenance of their independance, and of their right to return to their ancient system, and resolved at all hazards to resist the threatened attempt of France to interpose by force of arms, in the settlement of their internal concerns; he was then immediately to communicate, in confidence, to the Swiss government, that either in the event of a French army having entered, or advanced toward the country, his Majesty had authorized him to accede to their application for pecuniary succours.

The generous intentions of the British government were frustrated by the rapid movements of the

French; and Mr. Moore on his arrival had the mortification to find that his intervention could be of no avail.

But the French government, not more resolute in exercising tyranny and oppression, than tremulously sensible of every effort to thwart or restrain their operations, saw with impatience and indignation the intended interference on the present occasion. Mr. Moore's mission was mentioned in their papers in terms of contempt and acrimony; the king's love of justice and anxiety to maintain social rights were held up to derision; and the right of England to interfere, in any manner, in the affairs of the continent was denied. Those affairs, said the French official paper, have been settled to the entire satisfaction of all the great powers; and, the voice of experience still speaks too loudly, and too decidedly, to leave a possibility, that any government should consent to the interference of the English in the new arrangements which have become necessary in consequence of the peace.—Switzerland drawn into the vortex of our revolution, which she once thought that she might view as an unconcerned spectator, can no longer return to that which was her condition in 1789. There are in politics, situations which cannot be restored. Were that country left to itself, it might exhaust and agitate the neighbouring powers, but could never renovate its former existence. The interposition of France had become indispensibly necessary.

It was not the interference of government alone that gave offence to France; the proceedings in
Swit-

Switzerland occasioned severe and bitter strictures from the press; the daily papers teeming with poignant and just reflections against the oppressors, and strong expressions of sympathy in the cause of the suffering nation. The freedom of the British press had ever since the peace given great offence to Bonaparte, and he saw with undisguised anger that although peace was made with the republic, the bounty of England was not withdrawn from those nobles and priests whom the Revolution had ruined. On these two subjects a correspondence was maintained, and the topics were so incorporated that they must be considered jointly.

In June, Mr. Merry officially stated a conversation which had taken place between him and Talleyrand, in which the French minister expressed with considerable warmth the displeasure felt by his government at the protection and supposed encouragement afforded to certain emigrants, and the freedom used in some publications in defaming on the conduct and measures of the Republican government. These circumstances, Talleyrand said, impeded the perfect reconciliation and good understanding which the First Consul wished to see re-established between the two countries. Mr. Otto had complained that French princes, and other French persons frequented his Majesty's court and other places, decorated with the insignia of French orders which no longer existed, and that countenance and support were given in England to *si-devant* French Bishops, and other persons, particularly Georges, inimical to the French government. Talleyrand, therefore, expressed

his wish, "that Ministers might be disposed to remove out of the British dominions all the French princes and their adherents, together with the French bishops, and other French individuals, whose political principles and conduct must necessarily occasion great jealousy to the French government. The protection and favour shewn to such persons, in a country in such close vicinity to France," he added, "must alone be always considered as a great encouragement to the dissaffected; even without those persons themselves being guilty of any acts tending to foment fresh disturbances in the Republic; but the French government possessed proofs that they had committed such acts, and had intercepted printed papers, sent by them, and circulated in France, which had for object to create an opposition to the government." In conclusion, Talleyrand observed that he thought the residence of Louis XVIII. was now the proper place for that of the rest of the family.

To these extraordinary and arrogant propositions, 28th July Lord Hawkesbury answered that his Majesty would certainly consider it inconsistent with both the letter and spirit of the treaty of peace between him and the French republic, to encourage or countenance any projects that might be hostile to the present government of France. He was sincerely desirous that the peace which had been concluded might be permanent; and lead to the establishment of a system of good understanding and harmony between the two countries. He certainly expected that all foreigners in his dominions, should not only

only hold a conduct conformable to the laws of the country, but should abstain from all acts which might be hostile to the government of any country with which his majesty was at peace. As long, however, as they conducted themselves according to these principles, he would feel it inconsistent with his dignity, with his honour, and with the common laws of hospitality, to deprive them of that protection which could only be forfeited by misconduct.

After this answer the subject remained at rest nearly a month, when a French royalist, named Peltier, afforded a new subject of contest, by commencing a publication avowedly hostile to Bonaparte, under the title of *L'Ambigu*. This paper, as might be expected, met the early notice of M. Otto; he made personal remonstrances to Mr. Hammond, and afterward, in a more formal manner, enforced that complaint, and extended it to the editor of the *Courier de Londres*, to Cobbet, and to other writers who resembled them. After declaring such malevolent publications openly contradictory to the principles of peace, he added; "If it could ever enter into the mind of the French government to permit retaliation, writers would doubtless be found France, willing to avenge their countrymen, by filling their pages with odious reflections on the most respectable persons, and on the dearest institutions of Great Britain."

In consequence of this demand, Peltier's publication was submitted to the consideration of the Attorney General, and the author, alarmed by a prosecution which was commenced against him and

his publisher, discontinued the work.

In reply to Lord Hawkesbury's former letter, 17 Aug. the French government ordered a note to be delivered, containing such doctrines and propositions as perhaps no state would seriously offer to another, without intending to make them the basis of a quarrel. It was laid down that "every nation is at liberty to sacrifice any advantage whatever in its interior, in order to obtain another, to which it attaches a higher value; but the government which does not repress the licentiousness of the press, when it may be injurious to the honour or the interests of foreign powers, affords an opportunity for libellists to endanger the public tranquility, or at least the good understanding that forms the basis of it. The particular laws and constitution of Great Britain are subordinate to the general principles of the law of nations, which supersede the laws of each individual state. If it be a right in England to allow the most extensive liberty of the press, it is a public right of polished nations, and the bounden duty of governments, to prevent, repress, and punish every attack which might by those means be made against the rights, the interests, and the honour of foreign powers."

After many more assertions of the same kind, applied not only to English journalists, but to foreign calumniators; to a person named Georges, who had been a general in the Chouan army; to the French Bishops who resisted the concordat, to certain emigrants in Jersey, and to other persons attached by recollections never to be

be effaced, and by regrets too long fostered, to an order of things which no longer exists in France, the following requisitions were made :

1st. That His Majesty's government would adopt the most effectual measures to put a stop to the unbecoming and seditious publications, with which the newspapers and other writings printed in England, were filled.

2d. That the individuals mentioned in M. Otto's letter of the 23d July last, should be sent out of the island of Jersey.

3d. That the former Bishops of Arras and St. Pol de Léon, and all those, who, like them, under the pretext of religion, were seeking to raise disturbances in the interior of France, should likewise be sent away.

4th. That Georges and his adherents, should be transported to Canada, according to the intention which M. Otto had been directed to transmit to his government, at the request of Lord Hawkesbury.

5th. That, in order to deprive the evil disposed of every pretext for disturbing the good understanding between the two governments, it should be recommended to the princes of the house of Bourbon, who were in Great Britain, to repair to Warsaw, the residence of the head of their family.

6th. That such of the French emigrants as should think proper to wear the orders and decorations belonging to the ancient government of France, should be required to quit the territory of the British empire.

These demands were declared to be founded on the treaty of Ami-

ens, or on verbal assurances given to M. Otto in the course of the negotiation. If, it was said, English writers were protected by the law of England, foreigners might be removed by virtue of the alien act ; and, as the British ministry possessed a legal and sufficient power, to restrain foreigners, without having recourse to the courts of law, it was expected they would exercise it, the French government offering on this point a perfect reciprocity.

To this Letter Lord Hawkesbury furnished Mr. Merry with a copious and irresistible answer. He admitted that some very improper paragraphs had lately appeared in the English newspapers against the government of France ; and that publications of a still more improper and indecent nature had made their appearance, with the names of foreigners affixed to them. Under these circumstances, the French government would have been warranted in expecting every redress that the laws of this country could afford them ; but as, instead of seeking it in the ordinary course, they had thought fit to resort to recrimination themselves, or at least to authorize it in others, they could have no right to complain if their subsequent appeal to his Majesty had failed to produce the effect that otherwise would have attended it. Whatever might have been the nature of the prior inquiry, they had in fact taken the law into their own hands. His Lordship also observed that the abusive paragraphs in the London newspapers were not directed or sanctioned, nor could they be prevented by government ; but those of which he complained appeared in the French official paper,

for which that government was as much answerable, as the King was for the London Gazette.

Adverting then to the six demands in M. Otto's official note, Lord Hawkesbury divided them under two heads; the first relating to libels, the last to emigrants.

On the first he said, "His Majesty cannot, and never will, in consequence of any representation or menace from a foreign power, make any concession which can be in the smallest degree dangerous to the liberty of the press, as secured by the constitution of this country. This liberty is justly dear to every British subject. The constitution admits of no previous restraint upon publications of any description; but there exist judicatures, wholly independent of the executive government, capable of taking cognizance of such publications as the law deems to be criminal, and which are bound to inflict the punishment the delinquents may deserved; these judicatures may take cognizance, not only of libels against the government and the magistracy of this kingdom, but, as has been repeatedly experienced, of publications defamatory of those in whose hands the administration of foreign government is placed. Our government neither has nor wants any other protection than what the laws of the country afford; and though they are willing and ready to give to every foreign government all the protection against offences of this nature, which the principles of the laws and constitution will admit, they can never consent to new model their laws, or to change their constitution to gratify the wishes of any foreign power."

"If the present French government are dissatisfied with our laws on the subject of libels, on entertain the opinion that the administration of justice in our courts is too tardy and lenient, they have it in their power to redress themselves by punishing the venders and distributors of such publications within their own territories, in any manner that they may think proper, and thereby preventing the circulation of them.

"If they think their present laws are not sufficient for this purpose, they may enact new ones; or if they think it expedient, they may exercise the right which they have of prohibiting the importation of any foreign newspapers, or periodical publications into the territories of the French republic. His Majesty will not complain of such a measure, as it is not his intention to interfere in the manner in which the people or territories of France should be governed; but he expects on the other hand, that the French government will not interfere in the manner in which the government of his dominions is conducted, or call for a change in those laws with which his people are perfectly satisfied."

Respecting the distinction made between Englishmen and aliens, Lord Hawkesbury observed, that the provisions in the alien act were made for the purpose of preventing the residence of foreigners, whose numbers and principles had a tendency to disturb the internal peace of the King's own dominions, and whom the safety of those dominions might require in many instances to be removed, even if their actual conduct had not exposed them to punishment by law. "It does not follow," he said, "that it would

be a warrantable application of such a law to exert its powers in the cases of individuals, such as those of whom complaint is now made, and particularly as they are liable to be prosecuted under the law of the land, in like manner as others have been in similar cases, at the instance, and upon the complaint of foreign governments."

Proceeding then to the last five requisitions in M. Otto's note, referring to the princes and other emigrants, Lord Hawkesbury answers them in order.

1st. The emigrants in Jersey, many of whom had remained there solely on account of the cheapness of subsistence, had actually removed, or were removing, previous to the representation concerning them in M. Otto's note.

2d. If the facts alleged against the Bishops of Arras and St. Pol de Leon, could be substantiated, his Majesty would think himself justified in taking all measures within his power for obliging them to leave the country; but some proof must be adduced of those facts; and such proof must not be that of their having in a single instance, viz. in reply to the Pope's mandate, published a vindication of their own conduct in refusing to conform to the new establishment, a proceeding in which they would be justifiable on every principle of toleration and justice; but it should show that they had since availed themselves of their situation in this country, to excite the people of France against the authority of that government, whether civil or ecclesiastical.

3d. On the subject of Georges and the persons described as his adherents, Lord Hawsbury repelled

the assertion, that any verbal promise from him to M. Otto ever existed to ground the demand made on that head. "His Majesty is, however," he added, "very desirous to obviate any cause of complaint or uneasiness with respect to these persons; and measures are in contemplation, and will be taken, for the purpose of removing them out of his Majesty's European dominions."

4th. His Majesty had no desire that the Princes of the House of Bourbon should continue to reside in this country, if they were disposed, or could be induced to quit it; but he felt it to be inconsistent with his honour, and his sense of justice, to withdraw from them the rights of hospitality, as long as they conducted themselves peaceably and quietly; and unless some charge could be substantiated of their attempting to disturb the peace between the two governments.

5th. With respect to French emigrants wearing in this country the orders of their ancient government; there were few, if any persons of that description who did so. It might be more proper if they all abstained from it; but the French government could not persist in expecting, that, if even it were consistent with law, his Majesty could be induced to commit so harsh an act of authority as to send them out of the country on such an account.

The system of abuse of which Lord Hawkesbury complained, and which the French government styled Retaliation, had been begun before the slightest offence was given by the English papers; while all parties were loud in ex-

tolling the preliminaries of peace. The prudential fears expressed on the sailing of the French Squadron for Saint Domingo afforded an early specimen; the animadversions of Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham on the peace produced a more ample flood of abuse, and it was suffered afterward to pour in an uninterrupted stream, to blacken the Constitution, insult the king, and vilify the government and people of this country. The English papers, except one, in which Bonaparte was lavishly and ridiculously extolled, were prohibited in France; but a paper called the *Argus* was allowed to be printed in Paris in the English language. The editors and writers were Irish traitors and English fugitives, and their undisguised plan was, to spread the most offensive libels against the King, the government, the nobility, the church and constitution of Great Britain, and against every individual of that nation, both in London and Paris, who might be supposed tenacious of character, or sensible to assault.

Beside these, other subjects of dispute had arisen. Mention had been made, although the point had not been strenuously enforced, of the evacuation of Malta, an article concerning which in the treaty of Amiens, the British government had not carried into effect.

While the dispute with Switzerland was pending, the French, anticipating perhaps the intervention of Great Britain, transmitted to the Dutch government, a scurrilous and unfounded accusation that England was plotting and arranging means for producing a new revolution in the republic, and caused a notice to that effect to be inserted

in the Dutch official paper. This intelligence was conveyed to government in a letter from Mr. Liston, the resident at the Hague, dated the 13th of October, and as it was clear that enforced obedience, if not spontaneous inclination, would make Holland party to any hostilities in which Great Britain might engage with France, the ministry prudently sent instructions to General Francis Dundas to retain possession of the Cape of Good Hope till further orders, but as a measure of prudence, he was directed to avoid every circumstance which might be calculated to excite jealousy in the Batavian government, or create an apprehension of its arising from an hostile motive.

A war with France, for the purpose of preventing the oppression of Switzerland, would have intitled Great Britain to the admiration and applause of Europe; for, although principles of policy, or perhaps the suddenness of the application, prevented the ministers of Russia, Austria and Prussia from promising succours, it cannot be imagined that either of their governments would have been indifferent to the event, when even the oppressed, plundered, and terrified people of Holland were susceptible of strong impressions from the attack of Bonaparte on the liberty and independence of the Swiss Cantons, and began to express anxiety at the protracted stay of those troops with whom the French inundated and exhausted their country, under the specious character of auxiliaries. They even remonstrated on the subject, though without effect, and were, not for the first time, compelled to perceive that the

the independence secured to them by treaties, was, while the performance of those treaties depended on Gallic faith, a mere illusion. The sudden surrender of the Swiss having, however, terminated all hopes which the British government had entertained, no time was lost in countermanding the order for the retention of the Cape; and as the utmost cordiality subsisted between his Majesty's government, and that of the Batavian republic, General Dundas was directed to observe the most conciliatory conduct in all his proceedings.

Thus when every thing seemed to portend sudden hostility, the prospect of a continuance of peace was unexpectedly restored, though unattended by any exhibition of good-will. The First Consul indignantly endured the intention of England to interfere. The treaty of Amiens was again and again referred to as excluding Great Britain from all connexion with the continent of Europe; libels against its government and political conduct during the late war, were copied from the other papers both French and English into the *Moniteur*, and on the 29th of October, the French official Journal contained a long article decrying the conduct and politics both domestic and foreign of Great Britain. The ruin brought on continental states by alliances with her, the claim to the sovereignty of the seas, were

strongly descanted on, and many topics of discussion which had arisen during the late war were most petulantly and acrimoniously revived. "What title," said the government writer, "can an insular power have to intermiddle with the affairs of Germany? And to what a state of abjectness must Russia, Austria, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, Bavaria, and the houses of Wurtemberg, Baden, Hesse Cassel, &c. and the French republic be reduced, if they could not negotiate, conclude and arrange their interests with respect to boundaries, without the consent of a power as much a stranger to their interests as to our diplomatic law? A power who alone despises the maritime rights of independent nations. The relations of France and England are the treaty of Amiens, the whole treaty of Amiens, and nothing but the treaty of Amiens."

"The French people," he added "are not ignorant that a great mass of jealousy exists, and that dissensions both internal and external will long continue to be fomented; but France also constantly remains in the attitude given by the Athenians to Minerva, her helmet on her head, her lance in the rest. Nothing shall ever be obtained from her by menacing proceedings, for fear has no power over the hearts of the brave."

CHAP. II.

Meeting of Parliament. Mr. Abbott re-elected Speaker. The King's Speech. Debate on the address in the House of Lords—and in the House of Commons; Attack on ministers; Defence of them by Mr. Fox; Animadversions of Mr. Windham on the Conduct and principles of Mr. Fox. The subject renewed the following day.

16th Nov. SUCH was the general aspect of affairs when the new parliament commenced its session. Mr. Abbott was unanimously re-elected speaker, on the nomination of Sir William Scott, seconded by Mr. Lascelles, and after a week allowed for the new members to take the oaths and their seats, the commons were summoned to the bar of the House of Lords to hear the speech delivered by His Majesty from the throne.

23d The King declared to Parliament the gratification it afforded him to obtain their advice and assistance after the recent opportunity of collecting the sense of the people; expressed his gratitude to Divine Providence for the abundant harvest; and exulted in the prosperous state of manufactures and commerce, and the loyalty and attachment of the people. "In my intercourse with foreign powers," he proceeded, "I have been actuated by a sincere disposition for the maintenance of peace. It is nevertheless impossible for me to lose sight of that established and wise system of policy by which the interests of other states are connected with our own; and I cannot therefore be indifferent to any material change in their rela-

tive condition and strength. My conduct will be invariably regulated by a due consideration of the actual situation of Europe, and by a watchful solicitude for the permanent welfare of my people. You will, I am persuaded, agree with me, in thinking that it is incumbent upon us to adopt those means of security which are best calculated to afford the prospect of preserving to my subjects the blessings of peace."

Then the King reminded the House of Commons of providing the necessary supplies, which he hoped might be fully accomplished without any considerable addition to the burthens on his people; he also spoke with satisfaction of the perceptible good effects of the Union with Ireland, as operating on the trade, public credit and maritime strength of the nation, and he exhorted parliament to concur with him in endeavouring to uphold the honour of the country, to encourage its industry, to improve its resources, and to maintain the true principles of the constitution in church and state.

In the upper house, the address on this speech was moved by Lord Arden, and seconded by Lord Nelson. No amendment was proposed, but several lords took occasion,

sion, in the course of debate, to express sentiments hostile to administration. The noble Lord who seconded the address commended the spirit which animated his Majesty's councils, and his Majesty's language. He rejoiced, that in spite of the machinations of private enemies, and public treason, his Majesty had been spared to them, and that they had seen him come down to the house amidst the animating and affectionate applause of his people, to state to them the blessings which he was determined to preserve to them, unimpaired. "May God, in his providence," he added, "long preserve to his Majesty the power as well as the inclination to keep to his happy people, the enjoyment of peace, with their liberty and their honour."

This remark and the general tenor of the speech called up the Marquis of Abercorn, the Earl of Carlisle, the duke of Norfolk, Lords Grenville and Carysfort, who animadverted with severity on the conduct of the ministry, but did not, in all respects, agree with each other. It was a hacknied, and often a misapplied phrase in parliament, they said, to speak of the time present as of the most critical period that ever was; but if that phrase was at any time applicable, it was now. The new parliament was assembled in a moment, more awful and critical than any in which the Country had been placed since the foundation of the monarchy; upon the deliberative wisdom, and the policy of the resolutions of parliament, in the course of a few months, the very existence of the United Kingdom, would intirely depend. There

never was a period which presented so many bitter recollections of the past, or when so much anxiety dwelt on men's minds, concerning the unhinged state of Europe. The servility of some states, the insolence of others, and the apathy of the rest, were a subject of alarm. The situation was critical and tremendous; and it was rendered more so by the silence of ministers. It was astonishing that the House should be called on to agree to the address, without any other information than that which was contained in his Majesty's speech. It was necessary to know, whether the inheritances derived from our ancestors were to be sustained or abandoned; whether the ministers, closeting and concealing themselves, were to go on in a wretched round of diplomatic mystery and failure, or adopt measures for the preservation and security of our national honour and independence.

The Lords who disapproved the Conduct of Ministers congratulated the house on a higher and better tone being assumed; but it remained to ascertain what were the precise circumstances under which ministers had assumed it, instead of the tame, conceding, languid temper which they had manifested up to this moment. The change was fortunate, but, it was to be feared, it came too late. Was it adopted because France glutted with rapine and spoil, was disposed to relax from further incroachment, and at length condescended to give peace to the crouching world? Or were ministers aroused into action by some new and unexampled attack which was meditating on some other power?

They had in either case brought the country down to the miserable predicament of a degrading retraction of the high language they had at length assumed; or of entering into war at a moment when we had deprived ourselves of the best means of making it effectual. The acquiescence of ministers up to the time of their interference in the affairs of Switzerland, had shewn that our councils were in the hands of men totally unfit and inadequate to the crisis; for now that they had awakened from their stupor, and shewn some signs of life, they had done it when they could have no communication nor any concert with those powers of the continent who could have made an interference useful. What could, be said of the impotence of those ministers when they made this explosion of rage at the outrage on Switzerland at the very moment when Austria was making a declaration of the opposite tendency? Why not have taken the moment when they might have had co-operation? Why first resolve to give up Martinique and the Cape, and then take offence? Surely their whole conduct was calculated only to expose us to the contempt of the enemy. Martinique, the Cape, and Malta, three great commanding ports were in our hands. Martinique was surrendered. Orders were sent out to surrender the Cape; and it was only a matter of accident it was not done. Malta however, still remained; We were indebted for its safety to one of the blunders which had marked their administration. But Martinique, the key of the West In-

dies, had most improvidently been delivered over to the French.

His Majesty had said he could not view with indifference any material change in the relative condition and strength of the different powers on the continent. Nothing was more just; but had no material change taken place before the present moment? The answer must be obvious. Between the signature of the preliminaries of peace and the definitive treaty, Louisiana was added to the power of France. This was not all. The ink was still wet, the wax was not yet cold with which this treaty was concluded, when Piedmont, the bulwark of Italy, was annexed to the French empire. The father of the deposed sovereign, seeing the danger with which he was threatened by the French revolution, entered into an alliance with us to prosecute the war. In that alliance he acted faithfully to the best of his very limited means. He acted well, though unfortunately. He was first stripped of Savoy; then taken prisoner in his own capital. The French drove him away from his capital of Piedmont; but he still remained King of Sardinia. At a time when we were excluded from every port in the Mediterranean, except where our arms had taken post, the French required from him that he should exclude not only all our mercantile and armed ships from his ports, but also expel all our agents. This he positively refused. And yet, this friendly, honourable power was annihilated on the continent, his name not even mentioned in the definitive treaty, and his Majesty's ministers, had seen

seen no material change effected! The treaty was made in March; ratified in May: in June, Piedmont was, by a formal decree, annexed to France; and in August, the confederal government made a grand sweep and disposal of the intire constitution of Germany, and of all the princes and powers in it. Surely, either Germany was not in Europe, or we had no interest in Germany; it was a place unknown to us, or so insignificant and so distant as to be unworthy of notice. The interests of another ally of Great Britain were also, in consequence of the strong feeling which was excited in this country in his favour, to be provided for and taken care of in the definitive treaty. Was there now any man in England who thought that an adequate indemnity had been procured for the House of Orange? and yet no interference in his favour was perceived. Even the Sovereign of Great Britain had suffered in his electoral interests by this criminal inattention to the fate of nations. It had often falsely and most foolishly been said, that Great Britain had suffered on account of its connexion with Hanover. Now more truly might it be said, that Hanover had suffered on account of its connexion with Great Britain; or rather on account of its connexion with the present ministers of Great Britain. Our gracious sovereign had been put off with a pittance altogether inadequate and unworthy of his claims. Could ministers talk lightly of the distribution of territory in Germany? Was it a matter of no importance to this country to have the means of carrying on her commerce with

security? Did they not know, that from the mouth of the Ems to the bay of Trieste, we had not a single port in our possession?

The peers who opposed the pacific temper of ministers did not however, wish to be considered as advocates for war; and the Duke of Norfolk particularly said he was not ready to concur in the sentiment, that if the French should break the engagements which they had made with any of the powers of the continent, that therefore the nation should instantly be plunged into hostilities.

His grace also observed, that with regard to the rumours of plots and conspiracies of a frightful extent which had lately been circulated, and to which some allusion had been made, he sincerely hoped they did not exist, either in the terrible form, or to the extent represented; but he must take occasion to say, that whatever suspicions were entertained, or discoveries made, of such attacks being in meditation, or of attempts to seduce soldiers and artizans from their duty, he hoped the conduct of government would be prompt and just. He was sorry to have heard any allusion to such reports and rumours introduced in the course of the debate. They neither naturally grew out of the subjects adverted to in his Majesty's speech, nor had any necessary connexion with the discussion of them. It was not fit to say any thing that might prejudice the public mind against persons who were to be brought to trial, perhaps for their lives; but he hoped that these reports would not be made a pretext for inflicting new wounds

on

on the constitution. He trusted ministers would instantly proceed to the investigation of the matter, whatever it was; and that the law would have its due course, instead of being suspended, and persons locked up without trials.

The topic in which these speakers most generally agreed was the censure of ministers. The administration, it was said was not intitled to confidence. There appeared to be something in the concoction of it, that neither promised firmness nor stability. An administration so formed was not likely to produce advantages to the country. The formation of the ministry was essentially defective and erroneous; it was fundamentally incapable of the functions which it undertook. No personal ill will to ministers governed these sentiments; but if we meant by any one strong united effort to save the vessel of the state, we must change the persons in whose hands the direction was placed. We must completely get rid of that wavering, indecisive, and contradictory conduct, which had subjected us to the derision of Europe for the last twelvemonth. These censures of the existing administration were mingled with strong encomiums on Mr. Pitt; a minister, whose talents were inexhausted and unrivalled, a man possessed of the soundest understanding, and whose heart was as correct and clear as his intellects; a minister, who, when left to himself, was capable of conducting the helm of state safely through any sea however turbulent or tempestuous.

The answer to these censures rested on Lord Pelham and Lord Hobart; but they did not expatiate on the various topics intro-

duced by their opponents. When these subjects should come fully and regularly before the House, they said, they should be ready to defend their conduct. The present was not the proper time to go into the details of future regulation.

There was great injustice, they said, in the censure thrown by Lord Grenville on the king's present servants on account of the dismemberment of Germany. His Lordship could not but know that the treaty of Luneville was made during his own administration, and that Germany was brought into its present condition by circumstances which were not subject to the controul of any ministers. It was enough to say, that the indemnities in Germany were not considered as of sufficient importance to prevent our making peace. If France had extended her dominion over the greatest part of the continent, it had been under her power long before the noble lord retired from office; and if that noble lord had not been able to prevent such aggrandizement, he had no right to charge the present ministers with misconduct because they were not able to do away that power which had been created during the noble Lord's administration.

They concurred with the Duke of Norfolk in wishing that no allusion had been made to rumours of conspiracies and machinations; they did not form a necessary part of the discussion of the day, and would have been better left to the unbiassed enquiry of the judicial tribunals, to which they would doubtless be regularly submitted.

Lord Grenville had stood up, Lord Hobart observed, to charge his Majesty's servants with incapacity;

capacity; it did not become him to answer such a charge. He would however, say, that the present ministers did not seek their situations. They were called upon to take them in a moment of great and accumulated difficulties, difficulties with the nature and extent of which no man was better acquainted than the noble Lord himself, and Lord Grenville could not charge the present ministers with incapacity, without at the same time criminating himself for having relinquished his post.

In the House of Commons the opponents of government followed the system adopted in the upper house; offering no objections to the address, but declaring their disapprobation of the conduct of ministers. A greater variety of topics was introduced, and the personal differences between members produced a more animated discussion.

The honourable Mr. Trench moved, and Mr. Curzon seconded the address.

The mover dwelt on the flourishing state of our commerce, agriculture and revenue. Every branch of our manufactures, and every department of our revenue, was in such a state of prosperity as to afford a most satisfactory cause of exultation. Wherever we turned our eyes, the vigilant attention of government, the successful industry and steady loyalty of the people were obvious. Although peace had been productive of such fortunate consequences, and although its continuance was devoutly to be wished, yet he strongly approved the declared policy of ministers, to place the empire in such a situation as should render it

superior to the apprehension of war; and if that alternative should become necessary for the maintenance of our honour and security, in such a situation as to protect us from the consequences. He extolled the system pursued with respect to foreign relations; every one must applaud the economy ministers had uninformedly preserved, and the pacific disposition they had uniformly manifested; but if they should not be permitted to pursue that line of policy, it was desirable that full provision should be made for such an establishment as should enable them to encounter any obstacle. Upon the whole, the state of the continent was a subject to which he could not look without anxiety: but with regard to this country, he saw nothing to create despondency, or to weaken our reliance on our own strength, which happily remained whole, entire and unimpaired. With reference to Ireland, he was enabled, from his local knowledge, to describe the change which the Union had effected in that country, whose advancement must ever add to the wealth, happiness, and consequence of Great Britain. Its manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, were rapidly improving. For this the inhabitants felt they were indebted to the provident care and attention of the United Parliament, and to the active exertions of ministers. They deserved his confidence, and they possessed it; and he trusted they would long continue to enjoy the confidence of his Majesty.

These statements were opposed by many members; the chief of whom were Mr. Cartwright, Sir John Wrottesley, Mr. Pytches, Mr.

Mr. Canning, Mr. Windham, Mr. T. Grenville, and Sir Henry Mildmay.

The prosperous state of the commerce and revenue of the country was not directly denied; but some members expressed doubts of its extent; and it was said that hereafter, when we were pleasing ourselves with the idea that credit begets capital, and capital ensures commerce, we should find that France by her overgrown power would be able to destroy our credit.

It was admitted that the best way of rendering the blessings of peace permanent, was to be prepared for any exigency; and when the conduct of the French Government was considered; when the character of the man by whom that government was administered; his cunning and artifices; his unceasing exertions to inflame the people of France, and to excite the jealousy of Europe against us, were taken into the account, caution and preparation on our part became essentially necessary. France, was in such a state of power as to place us in the utmost danger, situated as we should be in a contest with a country that meditate our destruction, and took her means for that purpose in peace as well as in war, and having conquered all others, would only content herself with making this the last victim of her vengeance. Whatever her love of domination might be, as to other countries, all her wishes, aims, and views, were invariably bent on the total destruction of this, whose trade and wealth she envied, and both which she was taught to believe had been employed to bring upon her all the difficulties and evils

she had been forced to encounter. It was well known that France, since the signing the preliminary articles, had built eighteen ships of the line. There had in that period, been shipped from the Baltic, for France, 10,000 tons of hemp, and, which was most to be wondered at, all this had been shipped in British bottoms. The expedition that was first sent out to Saint Domingo, was fitted out in a less space of time than had ever been known on any former occasion, at a moment when the French navy and trade were said to be at the very lowest ebb. The destruction of our independence and glory was the object never lost sight of for a moment. There was an invincible spirit of rancour which only waited for a favourable opportunity to display itself in action. The sentiment of hatred was cherished, the day of vengeance was only postponed; the purpose was taken, and in due time the French government would disclose its views; *Telum auctum et reconditum promeret.* This disposition was shewn, not by a single, but by many instances. Bonaparte was making many preparations along the coast, could any one doubt that we should do the same? He had succeeded in making himself master of a greater and richer extent of territory than had changed hands for centuries in Europe. If the person at the head of the government of France persisted in the measures calculated to excite apprehension, we were called upon to meet every exigency by looking at his objects as he looked at them himself. With such considerations in view, ministers were highly culpable in so precipitately disarming; nothing so sudden had occurred

occurred on any former peace, when it could have been done with more safety; so reduced was our naval force at present, that we had not, in case of the renewal of hostilities, a sufficient fleet in commission to protect our ports; while the French government, taking advantage of the peace, seemed to devote its chief attention to the augmentation of her fleets. Contrary to all preceding example, nothing had characterized the reduction of our peace establishment, but a precipitation altogether unaccountable. New encroachments on the part of France were met by conciliation; new accessions of strength were succeeded by new diminutions of our national force. There was nothing like a reciprocity in the arrangement of a peace establishment. It was a work of considerable labour to recruit a disbanded army, to refit a dismantled fleet; but, whatever the difficulty was, it was wholly to be ascribed to want of promptness, decision, and energy in watching over the ambitious designs of the enemy. Of all the bad consequences of this policy, nothing was so bad as letting down the national spirit. To repair the consequences of this error, was not the work of a day. National spirit was not to be roused in a moment. It was to be cherished and fostered by the paternal care of government. Ministers had neglected this most important object, and now they wished to repair the consequences of their error, and to raise the spirit as high as it was when they received the government from the hands of their predecessors.

The encroachments of France on

the other powers of the continent were also largely insisted on. Within a short time, that government was seen arrogantly dictating to the Emperor, annexing Parma to her already overgrown territory, and audaciously interfering to deprive the gallant Swiss of the right of establishing their liberties; an act that ranked among the most atrocious that modern history presented. But had there been any vigilance or increased vigour in opposing encroachments? Those then who approved the treaty, of peace, relying on the tone and temper in which it had been concluded, or on the increased vigilance to be exercised, to supply what was doubtful in the temper of Bonaparte, might consistently blame the conduct of ministers, by whom they had been deceived. The encroachments since the treaty were, the annexation of Piedmont, the conquest of Switzerland, the annexation of Parma to France, and the letter of the French government to the Batavian Republic. If a man who had died fourteen years ago, could be brought back into this world, and came to look around him, he would scarcely know it to be the same. After inquiring after his own and other families most nearly connected with him, should he think it requisite to ask how the family of Europe did, he would find, that of all its numerous and flourishing branches, only four or five remained. When he asked what was become of Holland, it was gone; Genoa gone; Switzerland the last mournful monument; Modena, Parma, all were gone and swallowed up in the inordinate encroachments of the First Consul. Measure the degrees of longitude

longitude and latitude on the map, and it would be found that France had at its command a population of fifty or sixty millions, which is one half of that of all Europe. Formerly she was formidable with only twenty four millions, but now her power was gigantic and tremendous, as a certain and inevitable annoyance to us ;

———“ Can such things be, (said Mr. Windham)

And overcome us like a Summer's cloud,
Without our special wonder? You make
me strange

Even to the disposition that I owe,
When now I think you can behold such
fights,

And keep the natural ruby of your cheeks,
When mine are blanch'd with fear.”

Ministers had indeed remonstrated on behalf of Switzerland, but this appeared an insulated measure, and not a part of a system on which they meant to conduct his Majesty's counsels. In the debates on the preliminaries and the definitive treaty, the noble secretary of state had said, that all hope of foreign alliance was at an end. Was such a declaration an encouragement to foreign princes to form alliances with us? Was our treatment of allies such as to induce them to make common cause with us? The King of Sardinia, was an instance; our refusal to co-operate with the Emperor Alexander in procuring redress for that monarch, had alienated him from our cause; and our conduct toward the prince of Orange was equally censured. It was odd that, at the very moment of remonstrating, ministers should be looking out for alliances on the continent, especially as the language talked by various persons,

both in that House and out of it, had been very repugnant to such an end, and but ill calculated to conciliate such alliances “ We were forsooth as Mr. Wilberforce had told his constituents, “ too honest for continental alliances.” In short, if we were to wait for the continent, we might wait for ever, for the continent would never begin. The continent was now disarmed; but would the Italian republic ever have been founded, or Switzerland overrun, if the continent had been in arms.

It was a matter of public notoriety, Mr. Canning observed, that on the subject of the execrable treatment of the French government to Switzerland, a remonstrance had been presented in a manner totally inconsistent with policy or expediency. In saying this he begged it to be understood, that it was a thing the most remote from his wishes to have it imagined that he did not feel a lively interest in the fate of a brave and suffering people, or that he was deficient in a sentiment of honest indignation against the foulest oppression which had stained the history of a period, marked by the most unjustifiable attacks on the liberty and independence of foreign nations. The Swiss had afforded to Europe a glorious example of the heroic efforts of men combating for liberty; and he trusted that if ever the time came, as in so awful a crisis as the present it might come, we should in defence of our rights discover a spirit no less courageous, and meet with a success correspondent to the energy of our exertions. In estimating the propriety of a remonstrance such as that to which
he

he now alluded, the wisdom of such a measure was to be determined only by circumstances. Its expediency was dependent on extended views of policy, and enlarged prospects of advantage. It was true indeed, that when the intelligence of the glorious exertions of the Swiss patriots reached this country, every honest man was interested in their fate, every lover of freedom was ready to devote himself in their cause; ministers, however, were not to be guided by a popular impulse, however respectable. They were to consider how far their remonstrances in favour of a suffering people were likely to be attended to, or how far they could hope to enforce them, by holding out to the French government threats of employing force, in case peaceable remonstrance was ineffectual. The whole history of states sufficiently proved that remonstrances betwixt independent nations, unaccompanied by penalties, were generally nugatory. Now, on what footing did the remonstrance of Ministers in the case of Switzerland, stand? It arrived at a time when it was fruitless, the people were subjugated, and their hopes were blasted for ever.

The circumstances under which the peace was made were amply discussed; the ministers were accused of general want of vigour, and it was denied that their exertions had been important or beneficial to the country. A great deal had been said at different times, it was observed, of the desperate state of public affairs when his Majesty's present ministers had been intrusted with their management. This observation, often repeated, had also at all times been

most strongly controverted; but a detail in every point, would prove that, in every particular, it was unfounded. They inherited a war with France, and the neutral question in such a state as to afford no prospect of accommodation without an appeal to the sword; but for enforcing our right on the neutral question, they had a fleet prepared to strike an immediate and decisive blow, and to finish the war with France, they had the Egyptian expedition in readiness for immediate service. They, to all the advantages arising from success, did not unite any of the dangers connected with responsibility. They were intrusted with the government of a country in a state of complete repose. Treason in Ireland destroyed, domestic sedition repressed, commerce extended beyond all example, manufactures active, and finances unimpaired, were the prominent circumstances in the situation of the country, when they were first called to his Majesty's councils; and certainly, though their duties were arduous, their facilities of performance were numerous and striking. Several speakers expressed a conviction of the incapacity of the present ministers to conduct public affairs, and with great eulogies, expressed wishes for the return to power of Mr. Pitt, who was that day absent through indisposition.

Beside Lord Hawkesbury, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord Castlereagh, who vindicated their own measures, the cause of government was strenuously supported by Mr. Fox, who in doing so, earnestly disclaimed all connexion with the ministers he defended.

With

With respect to the increase of commerce and revenue, Mr. Addington announced his satisfaction in being able to convert into certainty what was stated as conjecture on that head. He was the more gratified in being able to do so, when he recollected the gloomy presages on this subject, which were held out by those who disapproved of the peace. In the year ending October 1801, the exports of British manufactures amounted to between 23 and 24 millions. In the year ending October 1802, the exports amounted to no less than 27,500,000. During the last year also the amount of the revenue had been unexampled. Many thought him too sanguine, last year, in taking the surplus of the consolidated fund at five millions and a half for the current year, but for two quarters from the 4th of April, the amount of the surplus had already exceeded three millions. The floating debt of every kind, which was estimated at upward of twenty millions, would in January next, amount to no more than fourteen, notwithstanding the unusual efforts which had been made during the year, and the extensive establishment that had been kept up.

Beside a general allegation that our public establishments, especially that of the navy, were never more considerable; and never was the navy of France more reduced; it was specifically stated that our military establishment was double what it was in the year 1784, at the same period from the conclusion of the treaty. And Mr. Fox said it was hardly possible to think those persons serious, who affected to entertain a dread of the French

navy. He also distinctly expressed his disapprobation of a large establishment; nor would he, by agreeing to the address, bind himself to the support of any such establishment. He thought the peace of the country would be best maintained, and its security supported, by a small military force, whether we had in view the preservation of peace, or the renewal of war.

The immense aggrandizement of French influence and French power was admitted; and it was with Mr. Fox, a grand cause of accusation against the late ministers, by whose obstinacy and misconduct it was obtained. But was there a man in the house, or in this country, who would renew a contest with France, without any support but that derived from the co-operation of a subsidized few German princes? If, contrary to every suggestion of expediency, and every dictate of policy, such a project should be embraced, it required little political sagacity to foresee that the result will be incalculably disastrous.

The ministers denied that their opinions respecting continental connexions had been rightly represented. They did not wish to abstract and insulate Great Britain altogether from continental connexions, and to make her attend exclusively to the improvement of her own resources, and the encouragement of her own industry. It must be obvious that with dominions so extended, with interests so complicated, with relations so various in their bearings, it was impossible it could be the policy of Great Britain thus to abstract and insulate herself. Indeed were such a system adopted, it must ere long

long be abandoned. States and countries had duties, like individuals; in conformity with that principle, small states, like individuals, make their own preservation almost the only object of their care, but great states should be guided by a system of benevolence and of prudence, of policy and of justice, and they should combine in redressing the injuries, or alleviating the sufferings to which inferior states might be exposed.

On this principle was vindicated the interference in behalf of Switzerland, in which ministers contended, they had not committed the honour of the country. It was surely a bold and extraordinary position to assert, that no remonstrance could be made by one country to another, without war being the alternative, if that remonstrance were not fully attended to. It was also insinuated, that ministers had instigated the disturbances in that country, and then abandoned the patriots to the consequences of their resistance. But they most positively and solemnly declared, that not only no such instigation was made use of, but that no encouragement whatever was held out to the Swiss, even after their resistance to the usurping government broke out.

Mr. Fox said that those who defended the treaty of peace when it was laid before the house, would defend it still on the same principles, and they would naturally view the objections to the address as frivolous and inconclusive. Those, on the other hand, who contended that they would not have made peace on the terms which the treaty contained, would be anxious to break a peace which

they would not have made, and to renew a war which they wished to continue. But Mr. Fox deprecated war altogether. The first and grand object which we ought to have in view, he said, is security, but there can be no true security which is not upheld by honour. There can be no true dignity which is not supported by character. An honourable gentleman, however, finds a new ground of war in the character of the French government. He is surprized to find it not so friendly or conciliating as he expected at the time, the treaty was concluded. Did he really expect that the French government was henceforth to entertain towards this country no feelings but those of friendship? Did he imagine that we might expect from it every interchange of civility and kindness; that our government would find in it a powerful and disinterested ally? There was certainly nothing in the language employed at the time when the merits of the treaty were under discussion, to countenance this supposition. A great deal has been said, he proceeded, about the disposition of the people of this country in favour of a renewal of the war. This I have no hesitation of affirming is completely false. Of all the fictitious crimes which ever were imputed to the people of England, and certainly they have often been accused of crimes, of which they were incapable, even in thought, I do pronounce this to be one of the most groundless that ever was invented to injure the national character. The origin of this calumny it is not difficult to trace. It arises, from the coalition of some

newspapers, who affect to hold out this as the real disposition of the people. Their motives for such representations may be various. They may wish to gratify spleen, or to increase their circulation, by contriving something to excite the curiosity of their readers. I do believe in my conscience that the people of this country are, at this moment, as eager to cultivate the blessings of peace, as at any former period. Mankind, have been too often sacrificed to the ambition of princes, and to the intrigues of parties; but if the publishers of newspapers are to be the means of plunging the nation again into a destructive contest, it will be the most base and ignoble cause in which ever a people was engaged.

The ministers vindicated their own conduct in making, and declared their earnest desire to maintain the peace; a desire which they had every reason to hope they should be able to accomplish. Yet if war should be necessary for the public honour or safety they had no fear of being able to wage it with advantage. It has been said, Mr. Addington observed, that the public opinion was recovering; for my own part, I am satisfied that the public opinion is, that the country wishes for peace, but is not afraid of war; that it wishes what is best, but is determined to be prepared for what is worst; it will submit to no base, dishonourable compromise of its rights, and of its dignity, but will not be misled by exaggerated statements of danger, to overlook all considerations of prudence. In this House, and in the country, there will be no disposition to prostrate the honour of the nation;

but I am aware that there is in some individuals a disposition, originating, no doubt, in the most laudable feelings, a disposition to rouse the passions, to alarm the fears, to pique the pride of the country, in order to force us back into a war, without any adequate motive. Nevertheless, I am convinced, that the great body of reflecting men in the House will give a zealous and steady support to ministers, while they themselves determined to watch over the true honour and interests of the state; but, at the same time, not to be led away, by feelings which it was not unfrequently their duty to moderate, into a fruitless and premature contest. Not only from feelings which pronounce war to be the greatest of evils, but from the conviction of my cool judgement, I am desirous to avoid it; but dreadful as it is, it is not so dreadful as dishonour; and if ever the alternative were presented, I should not hesitate in the choice.

In answer to the allegations of the insufficiency of ministers, and the great want of the aid of Mr. Pitt, Lord Hawkesbury said, that in the praise of his abilities, and in the acknowledgement of the signal services rendered by him to the country, no man could join more cordially than he did. He was also ready to approve the measures of his administration; but the events which closed that administration proved, that no abilities, however powerful, could command success. Recollecting those events, he was surprised to hear that the close of that administration was a period the most flourishing, the most prosperous either for war or peace, that could well be imagined, and

and the best calculated to tempt any man conscious of talent, or actuated by ambition, to take upon him the guidance of public affairs; yet what was the situation of the country at that period? Was not all Europe combined against us, but the cabinet of Vienna, and that power not able to support us even by words? Did ever such a feeling of dismay pervade the country as when the present administration entered into office? Was the neutral question then decided; was it even decided by the battle of Copenhagen? After the issue of that battle, and even after the death of the Emperor Paul, was it not well known that several persons who composed the government of Russia still adhered to the system of the neutral question, and that the decision of it, was attended with the greatest difficulties? As to the expedition against Egypt. Our force, at that time, could not have been better employed, and the success they at length obtained materially contributed to the attainment of peace. But if the military men employed in that expedition were consulted, would they say that nothing obstructed, that nothing had rendered doubtful its ultimate success?

These were the chief general topics urged in the debate; but it was further distinguished by the very severe animadversions made by Mr. Windham on the arguments of Mr. Fox, and his conduct ever since the French Revolution, an event which seemed to

have deprived him of all his feelings. Mr. Fox, hurt at this attack complained of misrepresentation, and Mr. Windham explained.

This discussion was renewed on the following day, 24th when the report of the address was brought up; Mr. Fox then explained more at length his opinions respecting the affairs of France, and the views he had originally taken of the struggle maintained by that country against an overwhelming and insulting coalition. Mr. Windham also defended his opinions, declaring his surprise that the speech of Mr. Fox, who had always been the apologist of the French government, should have been heard with such decided marks of approbation by ministers, who had themselves shared or approved the measures against which Mr. Fox had always inveighed. He then proceeded with great ability to detect and expose what he considered the pernicious tendency of the arguments adduced. Mr. Windham's cause was supported by Mr. Elliott and Lord Temple, but the general tenor of their opinions and of his, was reprobated by Sir Francis Burdett as containing provocations and incitements to war, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer censured them as being tinged with gloomy despondency. Several other members spoke in the debate, and particularly Mr. Wilberforce, who explained and justified his expression respecting continental allies.

CHAP. IV.

*Debates on the Navy Estimates—a large Military establishment proposed—
 Debate on the Army Estimates. Statement of the Secretary at War. Opposi-
 tion. Answers. Speech of Mr. Sheridan. Debate on the report of the
 Committee being brought up. Speech of Sir Francis Burdett. Statement of
 the Chancellor of the Exchequer in a Committee of Ways and Means. Debate
 on the State of the Nation in the House of Lords. Protest on the Malt-Bill.
 Statement by the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the increase of British
 Shipping. Adjournment.*

30th Nov. **I**N submitting to the House of Commons the estimates for the navy, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed that the number of seamen for the current year should be 50,000. At first, he said, he had intended to limit their term of service to three months; but on more mature consideration, he thought it would be adviseable to extend it to twelve months: not, however, to make it mandatory on Ministers to continue the whole of that force, but to arm his Majesty with an authority for that purpose, in case circumstances should require it.

2d Dec. When this proposition came to be debated, many objections were made to the conduct of ministers, although no distinct opposition was offered to the proposed supply.

The minister, it was said, demands an extraordinary supply of seamen, without condescending to give the least explanation of the reasons which induce the necessity, or the purposes to which he means to apply them. Such conduct was unprecedented, unconstitutional, disrespectful and insulting to the House, which would subscribe to

its own disgrace, if it should assent to this proposition without the necessary explanation. When the augmentation was proposed for three months, the natural expectation was, that some point remained to be decided, something of negotiation unfinished, some measures to be adopted, which a large establishment might be serviceable in bringing to an issue; but here was nothing of this kind, or if any change had taken place, it must have been since the discussion of the King's speech. If there had been no change since then, the fluctuation in our councils, which rendered it necessary that this establishment should be voted for a year instead of three months, was truly lamentable. The King's Speech contained not a sentiment which was not applicable to any period of our history; it was a collection of truisms, without any opinion or statement peculiarly referring to the present times. How different the conduct of ministers at the peace of 1763, and at that of 1783. In the speeches on both these occasions, were the most intelligible and specific declarations of the opinions of ministers, as to the state of Europe, and they were equally explicit

explicit in debate, as to the policy they meant to pursue, and the force they thought necessary for the defence of the country. But now, for the first time, a minister opened a session in time of peace, with a speech composed of general terms, and applied to Parliament for a vote of 50,000 seamen, without attempting to describe the necessity which called for such a force, or enabling parliament to judge how far it might be proportioned to that necessity; and this too, after having affirmed in June last that 30,000 would probably be sufficient.

To justify the complaint of ministerial misconduct, a view was taken of the state of the chief powers on the continent. Russia, had a strong partiality to the views of France, although from the moderate character of the present Emperor, and some late circumstances, there might be a little reason to hope that a different policy would soon prevail, and that our former relations of cordial friendship with that cabinet would be re-established. In Holland, no one could be ignorant that great and unparalleled exertions were making to restore their navy; that a considerable number of large vessels was building, and that many had been launched since the peace. In the event of a war, the influence France had established on the continent would be sufficient utterly to exclude us; for what assistance could we hope to derive from Portugal? that country durst not, perhaps would not, interfere. The subserviency of Spain to France no man could doubt, and the endeavours of France to exclude us from every

port in the Mediterranean, her insatiable ambition and her hostile views, were equally obvious; her pretensions in Africa, and where ever she could interfere with the interests of our navy, must excite the attention of every man who felt for our security. The Morea and the Republic of the Seven Isles were not even safe from her attacks; day after day added something to her conquests; and if the last rumour could be credited, it was in contemplation to add Tuscany to her dominions. The French government had succeeded in completely depriving us of every port in that sea, except Malta, and if government did their duty, they would retain that island. If in Europe the prospect was so discouraging, was there any consolation to be derived from the West or East Indies? Certainly not. We had every reason to apprehend dangerous consequences to our colonies, particularly Jamaica, from the force in Saint Domingo, which notwithstanding its diseases and other sufferings, was still formidable; and that danger was aggravated, from a consideration of the force at Louisiana, and the recent impolitic cession of Martinique. France was immediately to take possession of Cochin in the East Indies, a place of no commerce, which could afford no attraction in that way. Then the only use it could be of, and doubtless the only view with which it could be taken hold of by France, was, that it was a strong place, and would afford opportunities of negotiating with the native powers.

From these observations it was not to be concluded, that the esti-

mate was censured as too large ; for although the reservation made by Mr. Fox on the first day of the session, when he declared he would not support a large establishment was referred to, yet most of those who opposed, and some who supported the minister, insisted on the expediency of keeping up such an establishment as would afford the means of acting with energy and effect, as circumstances might seem to require. They not only deprecated any reduction of the number of seamen, but inclined to think it hardly adequate to the circumstances of the country. It was also expected that the dock-yards would be kept on a respectable footing. A considerable number of individuals had been reduced to distress by dismissal from their situations ; and it was of infinite consequence that those employed in any part of the naval service, but more especially in the dock-yards, should not be forced by distress to enter into the service of other powers. Perhaps Parliament, when informed of the situation of the country, might think it necessary to keep up a much larger establishment. Bonaparte had been in no hurry to disband or weaken his force. If indeed, he discharged 50,000 of the oldest men in his army, he had raised by a conscription, 160,000 young men ; so that his army, was stronger by 100,000 men than it was at the peace ; and as for his navy, had the ministers heard that he had disarmed a single ship ? No, on the contrary, he was building more, and had been filling his dock-yards, his magazines and arsenals, with the greatest celerity : he had, perhaps, pre-

pared the means of surprising this country unawares, before hostilities should be declared, and before we should have been able to get our sailors together for its defence. It appeared, that we had, perhaps too precipitately, weakened our force after the peace, at a time that our former enemies took care not to weaken theirs. The acquisitions of France had been all acquisitions of strength ; she had acquired the left bank of the Rhine, and destroyed the fortresses on the right : she not only possessed what once was the barrier to Holland, but occupied with her troops Holland itself : she had either in possession or under her influence the coasts of the sea from the Texel to the Adriatic, and added to those the fortresses of Piedmont and the monasteries of Switzerland ; she seemed to have acquired all that nature and art could contribute to render a powerful country impregnable.

In answer to these objections, it was observed that the silence complained of as a crime in ministers arose from the silence of their opponents ; information had not been given, because none had been required. Notice was also taken of the discordant arguments advanced against government ; one was scarcely heard, when it was answered by another. “ I recollect” the Chancellor of the Exchequer observed, “ that I did say, in reply to a gentleman on the other side of the House, that the peace establishment would consist of about 30,000 seamen, but I recollect also that I said so, with such reserve and qualification, as became a man incapable of seeing into futurity. I hope this establishment I now propose will not long exist ; I should

should be sorry to consider it the permanent peace establishment. When the circumstances of Europe shall render it proper to reduce our force to the most economic standard, I shall feel most sincerely happy; but the arrival of that period and the security of peace, will depend much on the acquiescence of the House in this vote."

It was denied that the review of the state of Europe by the opposition speakers, although in some particulars correct, warranted the conclusions they drew to the disadvantage of England. On the subject of Russia explanations were declined, but it was intimated that they who hazarded positive assertions respecting that country ought to have bestowed more pains in inquiry and consideration. Was the activity of the Dutch in recruiting their navy a matter of wonder? Was it surprising that a power which, at one period of the war, mustered a respectable navy, and which, at its termination, only retained sixteen ships, should be anxious to repair her fleets? It was an error to assert that the navy of France and the navy of Europe were synonymous terms; the navies of Russia, Sweden and Denmark, were not connected with that of France. Recent experience and present appearances did indeed naturally induce the belief, that those of Spain and Holland were intimately attached to France; but whatever might be their force, connexion, or activity, this country was neither unable nor unprepared to meet them combined. In corroboration of the superiority of our fleet to any that was ready to sail from the ports of the continental powers,

it was stated, in contradiction to rumours circulated by some from ignorance, by others from fear, and by others perhaps from worse motives, that Admiral Bickerton, who commanded ten sail of the line in the Mediterranean, had written home that there were only five sail of the line ready for sea in the port of Toulon and a still inferior force in Carthagea.

To justify confidence by comparison, the following detail was given. The fleets of France, Spain and Holland, stood thus at the beginning of the war: France 105 sail of the line, Spain 79, and Holland 27. At the conclusion of the war, those fleets, were reduced to 123 sail, and a comparatively greater reduction took place among their frigates and small craft. At the peace their actual state was, France 39, Spain 68, and Holland 16. What addition could have been made to such a force by building new ships to excite the slightest alarm in the breast of an Englishman, when it was known that we had at present 192 sail of the line, 209 frigates, 129 sloops, and 243 smaller craft; in all 773 ships of war? With an excess then of 60 sail of the line above the combined fleets of France, Spain and Holland, what had we to fear, and what apprehension could be felt for our safety, when it was known, that by the prudent and wise conduct of the first Lord of the Admiralty, such arrangements were made that in case of the renewal of hostilities, fifty sail of the line could be prepared for sea within one month, and even a larger number should the exigency be pressing?

As to the Dock yards; it was
[C] 4 true

true that a considerable number of persons had been dismissed; but not one who was not disabled by age, otherwise deficient in the discharge of his duty, or so grossly negligent, that he was a much fitter subject to be brought before a court of common law, than to be treated with lenity. In no case had a deserving individual been discharged without a pension, and many had received these bounties who would never before have been intitled to expect them. The caulkers who were dismissed had united in a conspiracy with those in the same trade in the merchant ships in the river, for the purpose of obtaining the same amount of wages during peace as during war. The effects of such a combination were very serious and on the application of the merchants and ship owners, the Lords of the Admiralty had taken the subject into consideration. An offer had been made to these refractory caulkers to enter into the service of the merchants, and such of them as refused were immediately discharged.

In this debate the Chancellor of the Exchequer mentioned to the House the determination of government to maintain a strong defensive military force, as any reduction would be thought unadvisable for some time, and in a few days the Secretary at war, would submit a proposition to the House for an establishment beyond any thing ever known in time of peace.

8th Dec. Conformably to this notice, the Secretary at war submitted to the house the army estimates, observing that they contained the details of a military establishment larger, both

in the amount of the Expenditure which it would require, and in the number of men to be kept up, than any former peace establishment in the history of this country; and the grand question for the consideration of the Committee would be, whether circumstances existed to render such an enlarged establishment necessary? Noticing the overgrown power of France, he trusted that the opinion of the house, as well as of the public would be, that the peace ought to be preserved, if it could be preserved consistently with our honour; that all the stipulations of the treaty should be executed with scrupulous good faith; that every thing calculated to provoke hostility should be carefully shunned; that every appearance of irritating language should be constantly avoided. With these feelings was to be mixed, however, a firm determination to support the national honour, and to be prepared to resist effectually any hostile aggression. This preparation, must consist in maintaining a strong establishment on land as well as at sea. For after all that had passed in the course of the late war, after all the events that were daily passing before our eyes, no rational man could affirm that our navy alone would be sufficient for the defence of our widely extended coasts, or our far scattered foreign possessions, at all times, and under all circumstances. The consideration of France being complete master of the Netherlands, and having Holland wholly under its controul, having the undisputed command of the whole course of the Rhine, of the Maese and the Scheldt, with all the fortresses situated on their

their banks, were, in this case, circumstances peculiarly necessary to be taken into consideration. This situation was widely different from that in which we were placed at the conclusion of any former treaty, and it was also necessary to consider the peace establishment of France. The number of French regiments of cavalry was 84, amounting to upward of 45,000 men. The demi-brigades of infantry of the line were 110, which with 30 demi-brigades of light infantry formed a total of 341,000. There were ten demi-brigades of veterans for garrisons, consisting of upwards of 13,000 and 26,600 formed the number of the artillery, pioneers, and other descriptions of that army. The gross number of the whole army was about 427,910. There were vast numbers of people trained to arms, who could be called into immediate action. These consisted of the Gendarmerie, and other classes of irregular troops. These, added to the regular army, would form a total very little under 929,000 men.

It might be said that the maintenance of a standing army was unconstitutional, and even dangerous to the existence of liberty in a free country. Without the smallest hesitation he would admit that the maintenance of even the smallest standing army in this country, and much more of so large a military establishment as that now proposed, without the controul of parliament, would be illegal, unconstitutional, and dangerous. But the largest standing army might be constitutionally supported, if it could be shewn that from the relative situation

of this country and foreign powers the support of such an establishment was essential to the preservation of our safety and the maintenance of our honour. A standing army, to a certain extent, had been kept up in this country ever since the Revolution. The circumstances of Europe required it, and the most enlightened statesmen, and the most ardent lovers of liberty, were forced to admit its necessity. The only question with them was with respect to its extent. This they watched with jealousy; but a standing army, under certain conditions and modifications, they were forced, if not to admire, at least to tolerate.

Another objection might be drawn from considerations of economy. It seemed, with some gentlemen to be a favourite idea, that the security of the country was not best to be maintained by keeping up a strong naval and military establishment. We were to husband our resources, to support public credit, to accumulate wealth during the period of repose which is afforded us by peace. These were great and important objects; but it was doubtful whether they could be pursued but by keeping up an ample establishment; public credit would be best supported by holding out to the public the prospect of security founded in a strong system of defensive preparation.

The state of our foreign possessions presented reasons for such an increase. It would not be denied, that if it was necessary to guard against sudden aggression at home, it was no less necessary to keep up the same system of vigilance in our colonies. Besides, the accession of Trinidad and Ceylon must

must render an augmentation of our establishment necessary, if no other cause of augmentation existed.

The Secretary at war therefore proposed that three regiments of Horse guards should be kept up, which, with twenty seven regiments of dragoons, would form an establishment in a great measure the same as the establishment of the cavalry at the last peace. The 1st regiment was to be kept up in room of the 5th regiment, which had been disbanded. The regiments were to consist of eight troops, sixty rank and file, and of this number ten out of each troop were to be dismounted. By this arrangement a sum exceeding 50,000*l.* would be saved to the public. The result of this plan was, that of cavalry 17,250 would be the total number. As to the infantry, it was intended to keep the three regiments of guards on their present footing; they would consist of 75 in each company, and their total number will be 6060. The rest of the army would consist of 102 battalions of foot. The regiments were to be kept up as far as the 93d. The 2d battalion of the Royals, a corps long distinguished, and the 2d battalion of the 52d, a regiment admitted to be one of the finest in the service, were to be retained. The regiments in India were to be kept up on the full complement of 100 men in each company. Of twelve regiments of colour, six had been reduced, and six were to be continued in the service. These would form companies of 75 men each, and their number would be 4,158. These regiments had been found of great use in several parts of the service where European troops could not have acted with advantage. Of

the foreign corps only four regiments were to be continued; these were the regiments of Stewart, which behaved with such gallantry in Egypt, and three Swiss regiments, which altogether would not exceed 3,352 men. No alterations were to be made in the arrangements of the rifle and staff corps; they would continue on the same footing as last year. The whole of the force to be maintained, was, therefore, 128,909, including the troops to serve in India. Of these 60,000 rank and file, including 15,000 cavalry, were intended for the service of Great Britain and Ireland. For the plantations 30,000. In India 18,000 were to be employed. For the support of this establishment, the sum required was 4,150,000*l.* including the troops acting in India. As a much more advantageous and useful way of employing the out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital, it was intended to form seven new garrison battalions. According to the proposed plan, the men, formerly characterized as invalids, would perform a very important duty, while a difference of expence, amounting to about 5000*l.* a year, would form the whole of the additional burthen on the public. The total expence of the army establishment for the year would not exceed 5,500,000*l.* this was less by 2,060,000*l.* than during the last year, and less by 10,130,000*l.* than during the last year of the war; it differed from the army estimates of the last six months by 65,000*l.* for though the number of men kept up was greater by about 8000, yet there had been savings to such an amount in different articles, as to create this disparity; there was a differ.

difference of 300,000*l.* in the Barrack department alone.

Mr. Yorke then vindicated the ministry against the charge of precipitately reducing the army, which had been advanced in the debates on the address. On the first of October 1801, the forces of all descriptions were upwards of 250,000. Of this number a reduction took place, up to the first of October 1802, amounting to 123,000. This number consisted of the following items: the cavalry in 1801, consisted of 25,000, and as this number was judged unnecessary for the service of Great Britain and Ireland, 10,492 had been discharged. The militia amounted to 71,341, about the propriety of whose being disbanded there could not exist the smallest doubt. The fencibles, amounting to 20,679, were only engaged during the war; the terms of their service having expired, government had no choice left about their discharge. Of the invalids, 5,122 had been discharged, but to their services recourse could always be had on an emergency. The foreign corps, from 8,645, had been reduced to the numbers already stated. There could be no hesitation in discharging foreigners, instead of reducing regiments of native troops; and of all the other troops which had been discharged, the number was 7,025. Never was the British army in a state of greater order, or more perfect discipline. Never was its appearance more warlike. Never was it composed of more able bodied men, or men more full of military spirit and animation. Never did it contain a greater number of able, brave, and experienced general officers; many in the flower of

health and age. For all this he had to congratulate the army, and the country in having this important branch of administration under the direction of a noble personage, who, devoted himself to this great department of the public service. After paying His Royal Highness some more well-merited compliments, he adverted to other topics illustrative of the present military situation of the country. By the wisdom of the last parliament the militia was put on a new and greatly improved system. Provision was made for immediately enrolling 50,000 men, capable of being augmented to 70,000 when necessary. In the course of the last session a bill had passed, empowering his Majesty to receive the offers of those who wished still to remain in the exercise of arms, without receiving pay. The beneficial consequences of this measure had been amply experienced. In Great Britain there were upwards of 8,000 volunteers, mostly cavalry. In Ireland the number of volunteers was more considerable. Thus there were upwards of 250,000 men who could, at a very short notice, be ready to take the field, excluding those in India.

In a long debate which ensued, the conduct of ministers was attacked, and the proposition before the House was combated on a variety of grounds, very dissimilar from each other. Mr. Banks, Mr. Whitbread, and some other members, objected to the largeness of the proposed establishment, and reprobated foreign alliances, as incompatible with British interests. Lord Temple censured ministers for having disbanded any portion of

of the military force, and acknowledged that he wished them removed, that the chief post in government might be intrusted to a man on whom the eyes of the country were fixed, that man whose services were universally acknowledged; whose capacity to maintain the honour, consult the interests, and call forth the energies of the country, were universally admitted; that man who would carry with him the intire, unlimited confidence of the empire. He also expressed a strong aversion to the idea that Mr. Fox should be permitted to enjoy power. In these sentiments, he was strenuously supported by Mr. Canning. Mr. Fox, in a long and able speech, delivered at a late hour, argued against the necessity and against the policy of a large establishment and remarked on the conduct of Mr. Pitt's friends in calling for his return to office, after he had not only recommended the present minister as most fit to be his successor, but after he had approved the peace. He asked how Mr. Windham, Lord Temple, and their adherents could expect Mr. Pitt or themselves to return to administration, if the Catholic question was the real cause of their resignation? He dwelt with much severity on the conduct of those who, merely in pursuit of place, arraigned the acts of the present ministers, and shewed the inconsistency of Mr. Pitt's friends in not supporting them. Similar observations on the subject of Mr. Pitt had been made by General Maitland, who also highly extolled the judicious plans of His Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, whose active exertions, and close attention to military discipline and

to real military merit, had rendered the British army far more powerful and respectable than it had been at any former period. Mr. Windham answered the observations of Mr. Fox, and accused him of having deserted the English sentiments by which he was characterized before the French Revolution. The Chancellor of the Exchequer explained and justified the proceedings of government, and professed the main end of their efforts to be to keep the country equally prepared for war or for peace.

But the great distinguishing circumstance of this discussion was a speech delivered by Mr. Sheridan, of singular force, and brilliancy. He professed that he could not intirely agree with any of the speakers who had preceded him, and considered the present as a period in which members were peculiarly called upon to prove to the people of England that they were above all party feelings. He condemned the delicacy observed by some gentlemen in their unwillingness to speak of the character of Bonaparte, and his conduct in Switzerland; he was not desirous to make an invective, but if truth appeared like invective, he could not therefore abstain from speaking it, and the treatment of Switzerland belonged to the subject under consideration. He was a friend to peace from a thorough sense of the evils of war, but he was convinced that every thing was to be apprehended from the hostile spirit of the ruler of France, and that the only means of safety consisted in resistance, prompt, resolute, determined resistance to the first aggression, be the consequences what they might.

After

After refuting various objections made to the proposed supply, he dwelt on the undisguised inveteracy of France against this country, and analyzed its motives. "Look" he exclaimed, "at the map of Europe; there where a great man (who however was always wrong on this subject) said he looked for France, and found nothing but a chasm. Look at that map now, and see nothing but France. It is in our power to measure her territory, to reckon her population, but it is scarcely within the grasp of any man's mind to measure the ambition of Bonaparte. Why, when all Europe bows down before him; why, when he has subdued the whole continent, he should feel such great respect for us, I am at a loss to discover. If then it be true, as I have stated, that his ambition is of that immeasurable nature, there are abundant and obvious reasons why it must be progressive; reasons much stronger than any that could have been used under the power of the Bourbons. They were ambitious, but it was not so necessary for them to feed their subjects with the spoils and plunder of war; they had the attachment of a long established family applied to them; they had the effect and advantage of hereditary succession. But I see in the very situation and composition of the power of Bonaparte a physical necessity for him to go on in this barter with his subjects, and to promise to make them the masters of the world if they will consent to be his slaves. If that be the case, must not his most anxious looks be directed to Great Britain? Every thing else is petty and contemptible compared with it. Rus-

sia, if not in his power, is at least in his influence—Prussia is at his beck—Italy is his vassal—Holland is in his grasp—Spain at his nod—Turkey in his toils—Portugal at his foot;—when I see this, can I hesitate in stating my feelings, still less can I hesitate in giving a vote that shall put us upon our guard against the machinations and workings of such an ambition? But it has been said, that it is possible he may mean nothing more than rivalry of commerce. Happy shall I be if such an idea enter into his head at all, much more if it form a part of his plans. But I confess that I cannot see that it does. I mark him taking positions calculated to destroy our commerce, but I do not find him doing any thing for the mutual benefit of the trade of the two countries. I see him anxious to take possession of Louisiana, and to use the ports of Saint Domingo to carry our West India and Jamaica trade. I can conceive a possible case, in which such positions might be taken as to force us to surrender our commerce without a stroke. Of the commercial talents of Bonaparte, I can be suspected to know but little; but bred in camps, it cannot be imagined that his commercial knowledge can be very great; and, indeed, if I am rightly informed, he is proceeding in the old plan of heavy duties and prohibitions. But he would go a shorter way to work with us. The whole country has credit and capital, and commercial enterprize; and he may think, if he can subjugate us, that he can carry them off to France like so many busts and marbles. But he would find himself mistaken; that credit would wither under the gripe

gripe of power; that capital would sink into the earth, if trodden upon by the foot of a despot; that commercial enterprize would, I believe, lose all its vigour in the presence of an arbitrary government. No, instead of putting his nation apprentice to commerce, he has other ideas in his head. My humble apprehension is, that, though in the tablet and volume of his mind there may be some marginal note about cashiering the King of Etruria; yet, that the whole text is occupied with the destruction of this country. This is the first vision that breaks upon him through the gleam of the morning; this is his last prayer at night, to whatever Deity he addresses it, whether to Jupiter or to Mahomet; to the God of Battles, or to the Goddess of Reason. But, the only consolation is, that he is a great philosopher and philanthropist. I believe this hyper-philanthropy has done more harm than ever it did good. He has discovered that we all belong to the Western family! I confess I feel a sentiment of deep indignation, when I hear (I take it from report) that this scrap of nonsense was uttered to one of the most enlightened of the human race. To this family party I do not wish to belong. He may invite persons, if he please, to dinner, and like Lord Peter, say, that his tough crust is excellent mutton. He may toss a sceptre to the king of Etruria to play with, and keep a rod to scourge him in the corner; he may have thought at first his Cisalpine Republic a fine growing child, and may have found it a ricketty bant-

lin; but I feel contempt for all this mockery."

Mr. Sheridan then proceeded to notice the state of parties, with his usual strength of thought and felicity of expression. The friends of Lord Temple, he said might be divided into two classes; those who called for a change of ministers, and for war. He thanked them for their frankness in stating what they had done, because their frankness was an antidote to the fury of their counsels. The noble Lord, he observed, says, we don't want to go to war; we only wish to have other persons in power; the noble Lord deals with the ingenuousness of youth, as I say; with the inexperience of youth, according to others. But what should we get by this change? Would those persons he recommends have acted differently from the present ministers? Would they have gone to war for any of the events that have occurred since the peace? Would they have gone to war for the annexing of Piedmont to France? For the Cisalpine Republic? For the invasion of Switzerland? No, for none of these. They would have done as ministers have done, but more vigorously; they would have shewn more grumbling patience; they would have made wry faces; they would not have stood with their hands before them; no, but with their arms a kimbo. What would they have got by this? Would they have obtained any thing more by all this grudging and wincing? Would such a mode of conduct have become the character and dignity of the country? It is not to be inferred, because the Right Honourable gentleman
opposite.

opposite me did none of these things, that he felt no indignation. I learn from his Majesty's speech, every word of which I approve, that his ministers are determined not to be shut out of the continent. I say, I approve of the speech, because it satisfied me that a sense of wrong, and a resentment of injury, may live under moderate language. But these ministers, it seems, are the incapable gentlemen. Will gentlemen shew us any act of base submission on their part? If they can; if they prove that they did any act with respect to Switzerland, and meanly retracted it afterwards, I will be the first to inveigh against them. But these gentlemen shew us no such acts; they seem as if they considered the ministers, now the drudgery of signing the peace is done, as *functi officii*, and as if they ought to go out, as if one was a mere goose quill, and the other a stick of sealing wax, which are done with, and ought to be thrown under the table. We know what *Touchstone* says, as a good ground of quarrel, "That he don't like the cut of a certain courtier's beard." Perhaps this capricious dislike cannot be better exemplified than by the sentiment expressed in the well known epigram of Martial:—

Non amo te, Sabidi, nec possum dicere
quare,
Hoc tantum possum dicere, non amo te?

The English parody may be more applicable to these gentlemen:

I do not like thee, Doctor Fell,
The reason why I cannot tell;
But this, I'm sure, I know full well,
I do not like thee, Doctor Fell.

It is fair to say, that this English parody so unfavourable to the doctor, proceeds from the mouth of a fair lady, who has privileges to like and dislike, which would ill become a member of this House; but I contend that no solid reason has been offered to be urged against these ministers.

Mr. Sheridan then shewed the fallacy of the assertion that the ministers came into power at a most inviting period, and contended that although their conduct was free from the insolence displayed in Lord Grenville's answer to Bonaparte, yet they made peace on terms comparatively more advantageous to the country than those that were offered at Lisle. Of these ministers, he added, I know also that they have not renewed any of their predecessor's oppressive acts; but this, some gentlemen will contend, is a proof of their weakness and unfitness. Never too, did the Treasury interfere so little in the General Election. This again may be advanced by some as an instance of their incapacity. Nay, the North was left almost altogether to a member of the late administration. But what did these gentlemen expect from the present Chancellor of the Exchequer? We treated him when in the chair of this house, with the respect he merited. He has, I believe, over our present worthy speaker, the advantage in altitude; but did they expect that when he was minister he was to stand up and call Europe to order? Was he to send Mr. Colman, the Serjeant at Arms, to the Baltic, and order the Northern powers to the bar of the House? Was he to see the powers of Germany scrambling like members over the

the benches, and say, gentlemen must take their places? Was he expected to cast his eye to the Tuscan gallery, and exclaim that strangers must withdraw? Was he to stand across the Rhine, and say, the Germans to the right, and the French to the left? If he could have done all these things, I for one should always vote, that the Speaker of the House should be appointed minister of the country. But the Right Hon. Gentleman has done all that a reasonable man could expect him to do.

I confess, I wish to know what Mr. Pitt himself thinks. I should be glad to hear what his sentiments are of the call made for him, and loudly made too, in another place by a vigorous statesman. I well remember, and so do we all, the character he gave of the present administration. The justice of his character of the First Lord of the Admiralty no man can question. Of the accuracy of his judgment with respect to the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, it does not become us to entertain a doubt. The noble secretary of state was better qualified for the situation than any man in the country, with an exception made, in favour of Mr. Fox. Does Mr. Pitt mean to retract that character? I cannot suppose he does. I must believe that he left, in his judgment, the best administration that could be left. How, then can we, with any consistency, turn out the man who made the peace, to bring in the person who avowed his approbation of it.

“ I shall now” Mr. Sheridan continued “ address a few words to those gentlemen who would

hurry us into war; and here, I must say, that of all persons living, the Ex-secretary of war is the last man who can consistently call out for war. He despised the warning voice of my honourable friend, he turned a deaf ear to his predictions, that we should only consolidate and strengthen the power of France. His answers always were as if he should despise the power of France, could he but see jacobinism destroyed. Is it not destroyed?

“ Approach thou like the rugged Russian bear,
The arm'd Rhinoceros or the Hyrcanian tiger—
Take any shape but that, and my firm nerves
Shall never tremble.”—

The Right Honourable Gentleman's wishes are gratified; jacobinism is killed and gone, and by whom? By him who can no longer be called the child and champion of jacobinism——by Bonaparte. I remember to have heard jacobinism compar'd to Antæus, who gained strength at every throw; but Bonaparte proceeded like Hercules; he gave it a true fraternal hug, and strangled it. Did the French annex Piedmont, did they enter Switzerland with the Rights of Man? Did they talk of those rights when Bonaparte told the people of Italy they were a set of dolts and drivellers, and were unfit to govern themselves? But now the Right Hon. Gentleman seems in a greater fright than ever. He seems as if he would rather have the old ghost back again. Most whimsically he wants to unite all parties against France—

Black spirits and white,
Blue spirits and grey,

all

all are welcome to him. The moderate Jacobins he takes to his bosom; they were only misled by their feelings. The violent Jacobins he appeals to as men of proud spirits. He wishes to sing *Ca Ira* to them, and to head them all. Oh! had I, he sighs, but plenty of Jacobins here! But on what principles would they carry on the war? If they were able to curtail the power of Bonaparte, would not their views increase; and would they ever stop without making an example of the Regicide Republic?"

After noticing the allegation that the spirit of the country was worn out, and exhorting the ministry to shew their firmness, strength and independence by acting in defiance of their predecessors, Mr. Sheridan concluded in these terms. I perfectly agree with my honourable friend, (Mr. Fox) that war ought to be avoided, though he does not agree with me on the means best calculated to produce that effect. From any opinion he may express I never differ but with the greatest reluctance. For him my affection, my esteem, and my attachment are unbounded, and they will end only with my life. But I think an important lesson is to be learnt from the arrogance of Bonaparte. He says he is an instrument in the hands of Providence, an Envoy of God: he says he is an instrument in the hands of Providence to restore Switzerland to happiness, and to elevate Italy to splendor and importance. I think he is an instrument in the hands of Providence to make the English love their constitution the better; to cling to it with more

fondness; to hang round it with true tendernefs. Every man feels when he returns from France that he is coming from a dungeon to enjoy the light and life of British independence. Whatever abuses exist, we shall look with pride and pleasure upon the substantial blessings we still enjoy. I believe too, that he is an instrument in the hands of Providence, to make us more liberal in our political differences, and to render us determined with one hand and heart to oppose any aggressions that may be made upon us. If that aggression be made, my honourable friend will, I am sure, agree with me, that we ought to meet it with a spirit, worthy of these islands; that we ought to meet it with a conviction of the truth of this assertion, that the country which has achieved such greatness, has no retreat in littleness; that if we could be content to abandon every thing we should find no safety in poverty, no security in abject submission: finally, that we ought to meet it with a fixed determination to perish in the same grave with the honour and independence of the country.

The vote required by the secretary at war passed 9th Dec. without a division. On bringing up the report, the debate was renewed with considerable vehemence, but it consisted chiefly in repetition, explanation, vindication and reprobation of former arguments. Sir Francis Burdett, in a long and characteristic speech, inveighed against what he termed abuses. Mr. Pitt, he affirmed, was completely covered with the public indignation and hatred, and

all the consequences of the peace, of which Lord Temple and his friends drew such gloomy descriptions, arose from the proceedings of the late ministers, assisted by their active co-operation. A vote for 60,000 soldiers would not alarm him so much, if it were not accompanied by barracks and all those other appendages of a standing army; if it formed not a part of that system which, fatally for the interests of the crown itself, tended to break those constitutional springs which would keep up the spirit of the people, which would attach them warmly to their government, and render them vigorous and ready to defend it from any attack. He had heard much of the economy of ministers; but how did it appear from a review of the pension list? Reforms and savings were talked of, and some were carried into effect in the dock yards and such places, but, in his judgment, ministers were beginning the work of reform at the wrong end. In looking over the pension list, and perusing the number of marriage settlements for Earls' daughters, and annuities for the wives of treasury clerks, which it contained, it was impossible to reflect upon it without indignation; it was enough to make the eyes of any patriotic Englishman ache. If there really was a necessity for this increased establishment, that necessity was among the legacies which the late ministers left to the country. They reduced it to such a situation, that according to the confession of their active friends, a state of war would be dangerous, and yet peace was unattended by security; no state of society could be imagined

more discouraging, and such was the consequence of the mischievous system so long and so obstinately persisted in by the late ministers. It had been very properly observed by an honourable gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce), that without the affections of the people, no establishment could protect the country. No degree of talents could conciliate that affection, or could excite a proper spirit; it could only be done by abolishing solitary cells, barracks, and useless pensions. But above all, the people must be adequately represented. Policy and interest should urge that at the present crisis, which honesty and justice would recommend in any circumstances. To restore our ancient institutions, to replace those old land marks which the violence of the late ministers removed, was the way to recover that public spirit which would be the best defence of the nation.

Beside the views which were taken of the political state of the country in these debates, the Chancellor of the Exchequer entered again into the subject, when the house was in a committee of ways and means. After stating that all the hopes of revenue and reduction of debt, he had formerly exhibited to the house were fully realized, and in many respects exceeded, he said "It also affords me considerable satisfaction to state, that the grants of the last year, with the exception of the credit taken for army extraordinaries; will be found sufficient to provide for all the services of the year. There are, I am sure, many gentlemen who recollect, that I did not pretend that the sum then voted for army extraordinaries would

10th
Dec.

would be sufficient; it was impossible to estimate with much confidence the amount of that demand. The continuance of the army upon foreign stations will, in a great degree, account for that excess. It will, I am sorry to say, amount to one million; but I have the pleasure to counteract the concern that may be felt from that statement, by saying, that the whole amount of the army extraordinaries is not more than half what it has been of late years, and that the system of economy introduced into the naval department, and the reduction of the navy debt from nine millions to four millions and a half, may be fairly set off against that excess in the army. But the whole amount will not exceed half the amount of the army extraordinaries in former years. The unfunded debt at the commence-

ment of the last session was 37,377,360*l.*; it is now, not taking into the account the Exchequer bills authorized to be issued 19,580,000*l.* including the 4,500,000*l.* as the amount of the navy debt. This unfunded debt consists of fifteen millions in Exchequer bills, 900,000*l.* land and malt, and the three millions, for which no interest is paid, being the advance made by the Bank for the renewal of its charter. Thus the money market has not been embarrassed to that amount. In the year 1793, the Exchequer bills outstanding were 9,478,000*l.*; they are now under twelve millions. There is at present no deficiency upon the land and malt, which is not defrayed by the out-standing arrears.

He then presented the following financial statement.

SUPPLIES.

NAVY.

50,000 men, at 7 <i>l.</i> per man, per month	-	-	-	4,550,000	
Ordinary and Extraordinary	-	-	-	1,218,238	
Buildings, &c.	-	-	-	901,140	
				<hr/>	6,669,378

ARMY	-	-	-	5,500,000	
Extraordinaries, (including surplus Extraordinaries issued in 1802)	-	-	-	2,000,000	
				<hr/>	7,500,000
Ordnance	-	-	-	-	787,947
Corn Bounties	-	-	-	-	524,573
Miscellaneous England	}	-	-	-	1,000,000
Ditto Ireland		-	-	-	
Irish permanent Grants	-	-	-	-	363,339

*Amount of Joint Charge** - 16,845,237

ENGLAND'S SEPARATE CHARGES.

To pay off Exchequer Bills on aids, 1801	-	2,781,000	
Ditto ditto on aids, 1803 (Bank)	-	1,500,000	
Repayment to India Company	-	1,000,000	
Interest on Exchequer Bills and discount, &c.		600,000	
Reduction of national debt	-	-	100,000
			<u>5,981,000</u>

Total Supplies 22,826,237

Two seventeenths of the above sum of 16,845,237l. are to be contributed by Ireland	-	-	1,981,792
Add for Ireland two seventeenths of 1,200,401l. for civil list and other charges on the consolidated fund, not relating to the public debt	-	-	141,223
			<u>2,123,015</u>

On Account of Ireland - - - 2,123,015

On Account of England - - - 20,703,227

WAYS AND MEANS.

Land and Malt	-	-	-	2,750,000
Surplus consolidated fund	-	-	-	6,500,000
Exchequer Bills on aids, 1804	-	-	-	11,000,000
Lottery	-	-	-	500,000
				<u>20,750,000</u>

Estimate of Exchequer Bills out-standing on the 31st December, 1802 - - - 14,180,000

To be funded - - - 7,000,000

To be paid off - - - 7,281,000

11,281,000

Proposed to be issued on aids - - - 2,899,000

11,000,000

13,899,000

He also assured the house that no financial operation would be necessary this year, beyond that which would be called for by the necessity of preventing a glut of Exchequer Bills in the market, and meant at an advanced period of the session, to propose to the house to fund from six to eight millions of Exchequer bills, if it could

could be done on advantageous terms; if not, then recourse must be had to a loan to that amount. The minister then detailed the growing prosperity of the country, shewing with great minuteness whence it arose, and how it might be expected to increase, and made a clear and satisfactory statement of the progress of the revenue, commerce, and shipping, and of the operation of the sinking fund. He spoke with exultation of the advancing prosperity of Ireland, which there was the most solid and substantial reason to believe had grown out of the great measure of incorporating the two countries, the Union.

Mr. Addington, in conclusion, said, I am unwilling to trespass farther upon the indulgence of the House, by entering into a detail of the causes that have led to this flourishing condition. I shall only say generally, that it is to be ascribed to the wisdom that lately presided over our financial department, to the fortitude of this House, and to the good sense of the people.

^{13th} In the House of Lords a discussion on the state of the nation arose, when the bill for laying a duty on malt was brought up. The measures of government were attacked by Earl Spencer, Lord Grenville, and a few other peers, and defended by Lords Pelham and Hobart, and the Lord Chancellor, but the discussion presented no novelty, nor any peculiar interest. When ^{15th} the Bill was in a Committee, Lord Spencer renewed his attack, but without effect, and he and four other peers entered their protest on the Journals.

Some petitions which were presented against a Bill for ^{14th} imposing a duty on shipping Dec. according to the tonnage, afforded the Chancellor of the Exchequer an opportunity of repelling an objection to the peace, that it caused a decrease in the employment of British, and an increase in that of foreign shipping. As the observation had been applied particularly to Liverpool, he laid before the House the following information respecting the state of both British and foreign ships at that port from the 10th of October 1801, to the 10th of October 1802.

British ships entered inwards,	
1801	1,331
Ditto, in 1802	1,783
	<hr/>
Total increase	452

Foreign ships entered inwards,	
in 1801	641
Ditto, in 1802	425
	<hr/>
Total decrease	216

British ships clearing outwards	
for 1801	1,694
Ditto, for 1802	2,062
	<hr/>
Total increase	368

Foreign ships clearing out in	
1801	705
Ditto, in 1802	461
	<hr/>
Total decrease	244

But, if the increased tonnage of these ships, and the increased number of men employed in them, [D] 3 were

were considered, the result would be found still more satisfactory.

For 1801, the amount of the

Tonnage was	22,696
Ditto, for 1802	25,527

It was with equal satisfaction he had learned that a proportional increase of British ships and decrease of foreign ones, was observable in the ports of Bristol, Hull, and Glasgow. If the proportion of the increase of seamen could be gathered from the port of London only, the number would amount to upwards of 20,000; but he would only take it at half that number, upon the joint increase in the ports of Liverpool, London,

Hull and Glasgow, which must be allowed to be very considerable. It was by no means his intention that any general conclusion should be drawn from those partial accounts; his wish was, that after due information, the whole case should be fairly gone into, and maturely discussed; which could not be done before the recess.

The House having sat some days beyond Christmas, 29th the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed an adjournment to the 3d of February, which after a slight opposition from Mr. Elliot and Mr. Windham was voted; and the House of Lords adjourned to the same day.

CHAP. V.

Difficult situation of ministers in the late debates. Progress of events to the end of the recess. Case of Captain D'Arvergne. Cession of the Cape of Good Hope. Dispute respecting the restoration of Goree. Decrees against British commerce enforced, in Switzerland, Holland, Piedmont and Spain. The French send squadrons to India, and Saint Domingo; their preparations to take possession of Louisiana; description of that province. Armament equipped at Helvoetsluys. Alarm of the United States of America. Proclamation of the Spanish government. Message of Mr. Jefferson to Congress; Louisiana ceded to the American government; terms of the cession. Further proceedings with respect to Switzerland; the deputies admitted to an interview with the first Consul; he directs them to form a federal government; but prohibits all connexion with England; Proclamation of general Ney; the new Constitution settled, and put in force. Indemnities in Germany completed. Further proceedings of France hostile to England. Mission of persons called commercial agents. Mission of Sebastiani to the Levant and Egypt; his proceedings at Tripoli; in Egypt; and at Zante; his report to his government. The English mediate for the Beys; and evacuate Egypt. General Brune sent ambassador to Constantinople; Lord Elgin returns to England; and is succeeded by Mr. Drummond. Affairs of England. Trial of Despard and his associates for High Treason; their execution. Trial of Peltier for a libel on Bonaparte; he is found guilty. This event gives

no satisfaction to France. Numerous libels on England published in France; Sebastiani's report published. View of the state of the French republic published, wherein it is declared that England alone, cannot contend against France.

ALTHOUGH the ministry in these debates expressed their hope of being able to preserve to the country the blessings of peace, yet the nature of the establishments they required, the avowal that they might be only for temporary purposes, and many expressions which were used in the course of the several discussions, proved that they were not without fears that their efforts might be unsuccessful. In defending themselves against the attacks to which they were exposed, the ministry evidently laboured under considerable disadvantages. Their opponents or censors could assume every species of supposition, without being obliged to prove any assertion, while the government could not be vindicated by mere suppositions, and was yet, by the delicate circumstances of a pending negotiation, restrained from disclosing those facts which would have rendered the propriety of their conduct fully apparent. They were assailed on opposite sides, by one party which attributed to them too great a degree of quiescence and pusillanimity to support or avenge, under any circumstances, the honour of the nation; and by another which expressed strong apprehensions, lest unfounded surmises or hasty ebullitions of passion should impel them needlessly to forego the hopes of perfect amity, and plunge the country in war. That these opposing parties hated and feared each other more than

the ministry, was a temporary but insecure advantage. The recollection of the past was the cause of their antipathy, but the calls of ambition or the machinations of intrigue might easily make them renounce those sentiments, and, for whatever purposes they might unite, their hostility would be the more dangerous, as they might speciously allege that they had not embarrassed the measures, or in the common phrase, clogged the wheels of government, by capitious resistance to any proposed plan, but had only carried their opposition to the extent of inquiry and investigation. To many perplexing and dangerous questions respecting France, Russia, and other countries, the ministers were obliged to refuse answers, or to give only such as would repel the imputations of blame, without affording information which it was their duty to withhold, or sanctioning conjectures which it was their interest to refute. Yet the public seemed fully sensible of the critical position of the ministers, and, with all the eagerness for information which is characteristic of a free government, was well satisfied with disclosures which were evidently as large as prudence would warrant.

It was perhaps hoped, that during the long recess at Christmas, some affairs which were under discussion between the governments of Great Britain and France, would have been brought to such a state as

would enable ministers to meet the legislature with a definitive and satisfactory statement; but as this expectation, if formed, was disappointed, it will at this period only be necessary to notice some detached events affecting the interests, or demonstrating the views of the two countries.

Among the subjects of inquiry which Lord Grenville and his friends in both houses had pressed with peculiar force and eagerness, was that of Captain D'Auvergne, formerly duc de Bouillon, who, in consequence of the events in his own country, had been naturalized in this, and had received a commission under the British crown. This nobleman, after the ratification of the definitive treaty, had repaired to Paris to superintend some proceedings relative to the estates belonging to his family. He became the object of suspicion and distrust to the government, although, according to the narrative published by his own authority, his manner of living was not calculated to justify those sentiments. The only offences recorded against him are, his omission to be presented to Bonaparte at the Thuilleries, a ceremony which he resolutely declined, and his having appeared publicly, and in uniform, at one of the reviews which Bonaparte made three times in every month of his troops; an exhibition which, according to his statement, he attended merely through curiosity. On the following day, before he was up, his room was filled with officers of the police, who, after a very minute examination of his papers, conveyed him, a prisoner, to the general office of police.

He was subjected to an interrogatory, but could obtain no account of any crime laid to his charge, except that the minister, Fouché, had prejudices against him, on account of his services during the late war, and he was urged to avow that he was employed by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Windham to excite insurrection in the western provinces. Disdaining to give the false and infamous answers expected by those who made these inquiries, he was imprisoned in the Temple, amid circumstances of great indignity; his secretary was lodged in the same place of confinement, and it was not until the sixth day of his detention, that he was released, with orders immediately to quit the country. Ministers were accused of pusillanimity in having permitted this insult on one who was now a subject of the King, without demanding satisfaction; but they declared in their defence that on Captain D'Auvergne's detention being known, application was made to the French government, and his immediate release was the consequence; and it does appear that a remonstrance was sent to the French minister, and that after some time spent in evasions, but nothing like a contest, the prisoner was discharged.

But although many subjects of dissatisfaction subsisted, the English government persisted in fulfilling the treaty of Amiens in every particular, except the surrender of Malta, a measure which was impeded by events which produced much altercation, and will be noticed in the sequel. The cession of the Cape of Good Hope was accompanied

accompanied with an explanatory convention, between the British and Dutch governors, calculated to prevent misunderstandings, and to enable each party to exercise, without injury or interruption, the authority confided to him. About the evacuation of Goree, a contentious correspondence took place between General Frazer, the British commander, and Blanchot, the French commandant and administrator general of Senegal. The Frenchman pressed for immediate possession of the place, which General Frazer pleaded his inability to give until the arrival of a ship from England, to convey the garrison, artillery and other things in his charge to Europe. Blanchot offered to accommodate him with French vessels to transport them to Sierra Leone, but the British general refused this offer, alleging that he could not consent to an expedient so degrading as that of quitting his government under the flag of any nation but his own, and he was fortified in this determination by Commodore Hallowell, who arriving a few days afterward in the *Argo*, informed him that a part of the stores and provisions which colonel Frazer meant to have taken to Sierra Leone were intended to be used in a different service; in consequence it became necessary to await the arrival of a vessel dispatched from England with particular orders respecting those stores, before it would be possible for the British to evacuate Goree. Blanchot sent home an angry account of the transaction, but it was attended with no consequences.

The decrees of France against

the commerce of England were not only rigorously enforced in France, but extended to every other country where her influence prevailed. Thus, in Switzerland, general Ney complained to the executive council that goods of English manufacture were sold in places near the French frontier; and he pointed out the *depôt*, and demanded the adoption of rigorous measures for preventing the continuance of such traffic, a demand which the subjugated government could not, and durst not disobey. In Holland, under the forms of legislative discussion, the same submission to the views of France was displayed, and while the commercial part of the community, and indeed the whole people, most anxiously desired the renewal of the wonted intercourse with England, a decree was passed rigorously prohibiting the importation of woollens of English manufacture. Piedmont, as a member of the French Republic, was prevented from exporting raw-silk directly to England, and measures were in agitation for preventing the supply of wool from Spain.

In the mean time, the French government was diligent in securing its colonial possessions in all quarters. A squadron was fitted out at Dunkirk for India, well supplied with artillery, and carrying a considerable body of troops. Saint Domingo having again become a scene of war and slaughter, a strong reinforcement was sent to that island, and it was generally, though without the least foundation, believed, that the British government had consented to employ a portion of the naval force in assisting

ing the first Consul to reduce that colony to subjection.

Preparations of greater extent and importance were made in the ports of Holland to equip a squadron, for the offensive purpose of enabling the French to take possession of Louisiana, ceded to them by Spain. This country undefined in its extent, is situated between the river Mississippi, and the territory of New Mexico. Its precise boundaries to the west of the Mississippi, though very extensive, are involved in obscurity; and data are equally wanting to assign with precision its northern extent. From the source of the Mississippi, it is bounded eastwardly by the middle of the channel of that river to the 31st degree of latitude: thence it is asserted, that according to its limits, when formerly possessed by France, it stretches to the east, as far, at least, as the river Perdigo, which runs into the bay of Mexico, eastward of the river Mobile. Louisiana, including the Mobile settlements, was discovered and peopled by the French, whose monarchs made several grants of its trade. By a secret convention on the 3d November, 1762, the French Government ceded so much of the province as lies beyond the Mississippi, as well as the island of New Orleans, to Spain; and by the treaty of peace which followed in 1763, the whole territory of France and Spain eastward of the middle of the Mississippi to the Iberville, through the middle of that river, and the lakes Maurepas and Ponchartrain to the sea, was ceded to Great Britain. Spain having conquered the Floridas from Great Britain during the American

war, they were confirmed to her by the treaty of peace of 1783. By the treaty of Saint Ildefonso, of the 1st of October 1800, his Catholic Majesty promised and engaged to cede back to the French Republic, the colony or province of Louisiana, with the same extent that it actually had in the hands of Spain, that it had when France possessed it, and such as it ought to be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other states. This treaty was confirmed and enforced by that of Madrid, of the 21st of March, 1801. Of this province the advantages were not fully known, but report spoke of them very highly; and by the parliamentary proceedings recorded in the preceding volume of this work, it will appear, that the importance of the acquisition to France had not escaped the attention of some members of the British senate.

France now appeared seriously intent on turning this territory to the utmost advantage. An armament was equipped at Helvoetsluys, consisting of three ships of the line, and transports sufficient for the conveyance of 60,000 men, and another was preparing at Rochefort. The command of the forces was assigned to General Victor, and General Cæsar Berthier was appointed to be chief of the staff under him. A corps of 190 guides was selected from the dragoons of Breda, to be commanded by Carnoville, nephew of Semonville the French ambassador, and provision was made for the carriage of a considerable number of women and children.

This transfer of property which substituted

substituted as their neighbour the active, enterprising, and impetuous Frenchman, for the indolent, honest, and tranquil Spaniard, was not surveyed with indifference by the government of the United States, and their alarm was rendered the more active when the Spaniards, issued a decree by which American citizens were forbidden to deposit their merchandizes and effects in the port of New Orleans, without an equivalent establishment having been assigned to the United States, on another part of the banks of the Mississippi. Mr. Jefferson, president of the Congress, noted for his affection to France and her cause, mentioned the event in a message to that body in very slight terms. He said, "The cession of the Spanish province of Louisiana to France, which took place in the course of the late war, will, if carried into effect, make a change in the aspect of our foreign relations, which will doubtless have just weight in any deliberations of the legislature connected with that subject." The people were however much alarmed, and the government was obliged to remonstrate with Spain on her late decrees as repugnant to treaties. Meanwhile the French expedition to America did not fail; during some portion of the winter it was detained by the weather; a negotiation was afterward commenced between the government of France and that of the United States; the troops were embarked, disembarked, and re-embarked in the course of a short period; but at length it was disclosed that a treaty was concluded, by which France

ceded the territory in question in full sovereignty to America; reserving to herself and Spain, exclusively of all other countries, a privilege of free admission, during twelve years, for ships laden with their produce, and coming directly from their ports, to New Orleans and all other legal ports of entry within the ceded territory. The consideration avowedly paid by America for this important acquisition, was sixty millions of French livres, out of which France was to pay all monies due to American citizens.

While France was conducting these transactions with relation to distant claims, her activity and influence were unceasingly exercised in all parts of Europe. The destruction of all vestiges of the ancient Swiss constitution was soon completed. A deputation from the new Republic of the Valais did homage to Bonaparte, and presented him with a decree of their diet, proclaiming him in the name of the people, restorer of the independence and of the republic of the Valais. About the same time the Swiss deputies, having arrived in Paris, were summoned to meet at the office of the minister for foreign affairs, where a letter from the First Consul was communicated to them, requiring them to sacrifice what were termed factious and selfish passions; and to co-operate with Bonaparte in the performance of his promise to restore tranquility to Switzerland. They were directed to give to their country a federative constitution, for which it was formed by the very hand of Nature; but they were also admonished.

30th Ap.

18th

Oct.

1802.

11th

Dec.

1802.

nished that it was the duty of the French government to take care that there should not be formed on that open frontier of the French Republic a system hostile to it. A government must be established in Helvetia, such as, in its spirit, might be always friendly to France. These sentiments were further enforced at an interview, to which a portion of the deputies were admitted by Bonaparte, and at which he told them that Switzerland ought to be independent with respect to her internal affairs, but not in her relation to France; and added, with peculiar emphasis, that the Swiss must enter into no treaty with England.

Under such instructions, a constitution was not likely to be formed in a manner satisfactory to a people not yet taught to forego all ideas of freedom and independence; nor were the inhabitants of Switzerland reconciled to the perpetual domination of their French oppressors. Although unorganized, in a military sense, their resistance was carried to an extent sufficient to call forth from General Ney a remonstrating and threatening proclamation.

9th Feb. He complained that a number of foreign vagabonds infested the high roads, committing murder, robbery, and every species of crime, while the indifference of government multiplied and emboldened malefactors. "The political opinions of the mass of the people," he proceeded, "are influenced by men who have openly attacked the lawful authority, in spite of the declared intention of the First Consul to cause to be respected the

provisions of the laws and the measures that might be the result of them till after the cantonal arrangement and the establishment of the new order of things. The interior police of the Cantons is so ill conducted, that no information of the culpable proceedings of the enemies of the public tranquillity comes before the tribunals, to enable them to display severity against the numerous offences and enormities which are the consequence of them. Emissaries of England, officers in her pay, and the old pensioners of that power, enlist, under the eye of the Civil authorities, without their giving any obstruction whatever to it. Numbers of men receive pay in money, to second, on the first signal, their audacious enterprizes, in case the new order of things should not be agreeable to them. The agents of the secret police are in some sort dependent upon them, because they receive large gratifications. A counter police, skilfully directed, exists in every part of Helvetia, and all the secrets of government come to their knowledge. The Mediator of Helvetia, (Bonaparte) is treated with very little ceremony in the libels and pamphlets which circulate among the people. The French soldier is considered as the enemy of Helvetic liberty; and many of them have accordingly fallen the victims of the resentment and animosity directed against them." In conclusion, he required the vigorous efforts of the executive council to repress these troubles and disorders.

In the mean time the government of Swit- Feb. 24th
zealand

Switzerland received from the hands of Bonaparte its definitive formation. The Swiss deputies in Paris were again called to an audience, at which were present all the Consuls, and various officers of the state and the army, to take cognizance of the act of mediation proffered to, or rather forced upon them, by the First Consul. As this insulting farrago may be seen at length in another part of this Volume *, it is unnecessary here to dilate on its contents. D'Afry was appointed Landamann of Switzerland for a year; the central government was to be dissolved on the 10th of March, and the Helvetic troops then in pay, but who should not be employed by the 1st of May were to be taken into the service of France. The donation of this form of government was hailed by the slavish deputies as a mark of extreme benevolence, and condescension, intitling Bonaparte to the eternal gratitude of the Cantons; the senate and executive council were dissolved according to its stipulations, and D'Afry was not ashamed, in a proclamation issued on the occasion, to say "Providence, the only support of just and virtuous government, seems to have chosen, at this period, to terminate the ills afflicting our country, and to promise us felicity for the time to come." Some of the first fruits of this blessing were the enlistment of the armed youth of Switzerland into the army of their oppressor; the mission of French engineers to make maps and surveys of the country, now differing in name only from a province of France; and the emigra-

tion of numerous families of honour and distinction who could not endure to witness those ills which they could not hope to relieve.

This may be considered as the termination of the attack on Switzerland commenced by the Executive Directory of France; that transaction exquisitely described by a British advocate, as "an unparalleled scene of guilt and enormity; an unprovoked aggression against an innocent country, which had been the sanctuary of peace and liberty for three centuries; respected as a sort of sacred territory by the fiercest ambition, raised, like its own mountains, beyond the region of the storms which raged around on every side; the only warlike people that never sent forth armies to disturb their neighbours; the only government that ever accumulated treasures without imposing taxes; an innocent treasure, unstained by the tears of the poor, the inviolate patrimony of the commonwealth, which attested the virtue of a long series of magistrates *.

In Germany, the long depending question of Indemnities was brought to a conclusion by a Convention between Austria, France and Russia. By this compact, the Duke of Modena, in addition to the Brisgaw, which was given to him by the fourth article of the treaty of Luneville, obtained from the Emperor the district or province of the Ortenau with its dependencies. As an indemnity to His Imperial Majesty the bishopricks of Trent and Brixen were secularized, but he was to pro-

26th
Dec.
1802.

* State Papers page * 201. † Mackintosh's Defence of Peltier. Trial, p. 167.
vide

vide for the maintenance of the bishops and chapter, and the future establishment of the clergy. To complete the indemnities to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the bishopric of Eichstadt was to be added to what had already been assigned to His Royal Highness, with the exception of the districts of Sandsee, Wernfels, Spalt, Oberberg, Hornburg, and Warburg, and all the dependencies of the Bishopric of Eichstadt, contained in the territories of Anspach and Bayreuth, which were to remain to the elector of Bavaria, and to be recompensed to the Grand Duke, by a suitable equivalent from the domains of the Elector of Bavaria in Bohemia, and in case these should not be sufficient, from his other revenues. And in these territories, the archduke was to erect no

16th new fortifications. This
Feb. arrangement was confirmed by the Extraordinary deputation of the Empire. The Prince of Orange surrendered to his Son, the hereditary Prince, all the indemnities allotted to him by the Germanic empire.

The language held by the First Consul in his intercourse with Switzerland was full of asperity and even insolence toward the government of Great Britain, but his intercourse with the Porte and Egypt was still more offensive, and circumstances connected with it left little room to doubt, that views most directly hostile to the honour and safety of Great Britain were carried on under the sanction of peace.

It may be fit to mention, that by means of an intercepted letter from Talleyrand to Fauvelet, the French commercial agent in Dublin, mi-

nisters had, before the end of the last year, become apprized of a new system of employment of spies, put in general practice by the French government tending to facilitate their future operations, if they should be at war with any nation, or covet its territories to augment their own. To this Fauvelet, the minister inclosed a series of questions, with instructions to obtain answers to them from all sources; and merchants and clerks in the custom-house were particularly pointed out. The business was not to be considered as part of the official correspondence, nor were letters respecting it to be numbered, but merely headed Private Correspondence. Besides a great variety of commercial questions, many of which were evidently of no use, to a state intending to trade peaceably with another, but of great importance to one which expected to gain profit by invasion, or by the imposition of a tribute, the agent was directed to furnish a plan of the ports of his district, with a specification of the foundations for mooring vessels; and if no plan of the ports could be procured, to point out with what wind vessels could come in and go out, and what was the greatest draught of water with which vessels could enter therein deeply laden.

In conformity with the spirit of the system which produced these instructions, Horace Sebastiani, chef de Brigade in a French regiment of dragoons, was dispatched as envoy to the Levant. On the 16th of September, he sailed from Toulon, on board the *Cornelie* frigate, and on the 30th arrived at Tripoli. The account of his

his proceedings is drawn chiefly from his own report, published by the French government, and it shews, in the clearest view, the determination of that country to interfere in the affairs of every other; to acquire an unlimited ascendancy, and by all arts and frauds, to exclude England from all intercourse.

At Tripoli, he assumed the mediation of some differences between the Pacha and the Swedish admiral, and was introduced at court with great pomp, where he obtained from the Pacha a reluctant acknowledgment of the Italian Republic, as an homage to the great Bonaparte. Sailing thence to Alexandria, he arrived the 16th of October, and gives the following account of his proceedings. "The same day I waited upon General Stuart, commandant of the English forces by Land and Sea. I communicated to him the order of the Minister for foreign affairs, which enjoined me to proceed to Alexandria, and if the English still occupied that place, to demand a speedy evacuation, and the execution of the treaty of Amiens. General Stuart told me, that the evacuation of the place would shortly be effected; but seeing that I insisted, and that I desired an answer less vague, he declared he had no orders from his court to quit Alexandria, and that he even believed he should pass the winter there. General Stuart is a man of médiocre talents: he has for his aid-de-camp a French emigrant, called the Chevalier de Sades, a man of talent, and an enemy of France, who has much influence over the General." In the course of his travels in Egypt, Sebastiani

announced every where the intention of France to send commercial agents, and he took unlimited pains to recommend the French, and to decry the English. At Cairo in particular, these efforts were more arduous and undissembled, and Sebastiani, however he may have given to his report the colouring which he conceived would most agreeably flatter his master, could not conceal that he was frequently regarded with suspicion and disgust. He had also an interview with Dgezzzer Pacha, and returned, according to the information he received, an exact account of the military strength, British and Turkish, remaining in Egypt.

In December, this emissary arrived at Zante, and as a quarantine prevented his landing, he caused a letter to be delivered to the Delegate, declaring how much the First Consul wished to see a termination of the intestine divisions which afflicted the seven Islands; assuring him that France, Russia, and the Porte, united in the bonds of the truest friendship, were occupied in endeavours to give them a fit form of government. Not confiding entirely to this mode of communication, he obtained a dispensation from the quarantine, and having procured a meeting of the three orders, at the delegate's apartments, he harangued them on the topics contained in his letter, and reminded them that Bonaparte had been the first to break the chains of the Islanders. It was besides formally announced, that the First Consul declared himself the special protector of the Catholic religion in the republic of the Seven Islands. The effect of these proceedings

proceedings was to occasion a vehement popular ferment; at the close of Sebastiani's speech, there was a general cry of "Liberty and equality for ever," and the government felt a strong apprehension that the Islands would be a constant theatre of French intrigue. What Sebastiani himself thought and intended, may be gathered from his report of the transaction, which he concludes with these words. "I do not stray from the truth in assuring you, that the Islands of the Ionian Sea will declare themselves French, as soon as an opportunity shall offer."

While France was making these efforts to create disturbances for the purpose of acquiring power, the situation of the English in Egypt was replete with difficulty; General Stuart, and the Earl of Elgin, ambassador at Constantinople were obliged to assume the ungracious task of interceding with the weak and vindictive government of the Porte, in behalf of the Beys, who were considered as rebels, and threatened with vengeance. They finally succeeded in obtaining from them an amnesty, with leave to govern that part of Upper Egypt consisting of Sevan April. and Senne; and as soon as it could be effected with safety, the British troops evacuated Egypt, bringing with them Mahoummed Elfi Bey, as Ambassador extraordinary from the Beys to the Court of London.

In the mean time, France deputed General Brune as ambassador to Constantinople, sending for his escort a ship of the line, a frigate and other vessels. Every circumstance was added which could make his appearance magnificent and

striking, and he had in his train the agents of Legation and commerce designed by Bonaparte for the different ports in the Levant. Soon after the arrival of Feb. Brune, Lord Elgin, the British ambassador, quitted Constantinople, and was afterward succeeded by Mr. Drummond.

The transactions here recited were productive of important effects, which it is not yet time to relate, but while they were proceeding, the British government, although anxiously watchful, and properly urgent in diplomatic remonstrances, was also diligently occupied in the conduct of domestic affairs.

Among the most interesting of these, were the trials of Colonel Despard and his associates, whose arrest was noticed in the last volume. A special commission was issued for the trial of these offenders. The principal witnesses against them, it is true, were the associates in their crime, but their testimony was so strongly supported by others, and by circumstances which could not be fabricated, that every doubt of their treason vanished, and it was rather surprising that the jury, in Despard's case, took nearly half an hour to deliberate before they pronounced the verdict guilty. If the evidence given could have been falsified by mere general circumstances of improbability, Colonel Despard might indeed have been acquitted, on the same principle that persons committing suicide are, by the humanity of juries, frequently pronounced to be insane. It was difficult to conceive how a man respectably born, educated as a gentleman, and who had served

served with courage and loyalty in the American war, could have degraded himself into the associate of disaffected private soldiers, day labourers, and other very mean characters; could have discussed with them in a common, obscure public house, the most dangerous designs that treason ever invented, and could have formed with such little and ineffectual assistance the mighty project of killing the king at noon-day, seizing the Tower and the Bank, suppressing all communication between the capital and other parts of the kingdom, and effecting a total change in the property, government and political system of the whole realm. He was first seduced from the honour and fidelity of a soldier by a foolish love of reform, which degenerated into a lust for revolution; becoming an object of suspicion to Government in the last war, he was confined in the prison in Cold Bath Fields for some years, and notwithstanding several efforts made in his behalf by Sir Francis Burdett and others, was not discharged till the peace; this inflamed his mind, rendered him greedy of vengeance, and so desperate and unguarded, as to have declared his immovable resolution rather to kill the King with his own hand than suffer him to escape; with the savage addition, "I have weighed the matter well, and my heart is callous." With this unhappy man six others suffered, all equally guilty; all fairly tried and ably defended.

On the day which witnessed the execution of these men for a breach of duty due from the subject to the sovereign, came on in the Court

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of King's Bench, the trial of a French Royalist, for an offence arising out of his too sincere attachment to his King, and a too glowing hatred of his enemies and murderers, and the usurpers of his lawful authority. It has already been mentioned, that the publication of M. Peltier, called *L'Ambigu*, had given offence to the consular government, and was ordered to be prosecuted by the attorney general. This information was tried at Westminster, and after a most eloquent defence by Mr. Mackintosh, M. Peltier was found guilty.

Although the principal motive for this prosecution evidently was to allay the jealousies and appease the irritation felt by the French government, the example made of the offender was not consonant, either in rapidity or severity, to the notions of the First Consul; and instead of expressing the slightest satisfaction on the occasion, the official Journal mentioned the affair in terms of lofty disdain, and almost of displeasure. It was well known, the Journalist observed, that any foreigner in England must lay down his pen on an intimation from Lord Pelham's under secretaries, or be sent out of the kingdom. Ministers were condemned for making an ostentatious parade about a circumstance which the First Consul would never have thought worthy of his notice.

This invective was in perfect conformity with all the publications issued of late from the French press, in which Great Britain, its affairs, government and eminent men were mentioned. From the time that the King's speech

announced

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announced to the world the determination of the British government not to submit to that separation from the affairs of the continent which Bonaparte was so solicitous to produce, the French papers were filled with the most disgusting abuse against the government and constitution of England, thinly veiled indeed under the pretext of reviewing the conduct of the late war, and of censuring those members of parliament who opposed the present ministry, but always evidently, and, at last, avowedly, attacking and reviling the constitution of England in all its parts, and endeavouring to prove that no country in Europe could, consistently with its dignity and safety, remain in alliance with us.

At the beginning of the
1st year, the *Moniteur* con-
Jan. tained a series of observa-
tions on the debates in the British parliament, in which it was asserted that Germany and Italy were inundated by secret agents under the orders of Drake, Wickham, and others; that Lords Grenville and Minto, and Mr. Windham perversely addicted to war, and insensible to all the sentiments of nature, had endeavoured to raise disturbances in Holland, Switzerland, Germany, and Genoa, to effect a Revolution at Naples, and to disturb the tranquillity of the Pope; but their plans were detected, and their agents arrested. Still for the purpose of exciting storms on the continent, more than a hundred brigands condemned to death in France for robbery, assassination and burning houses, found refuge in Jersey, whence they embarked in fishing-boats,

landed in France, and murdered helpless women, and unfortunate proprietors of estates. Was there then a mother in England, Germany, Italy, or France, who must not regard with horror, Grenville, Windham, and Minto! After much more ribaldry and many more falsehoods of the same kind, the article concluded with an observation, that it would be a wise and patriotic law which should prevent those ministers who had retired, from sitting during the first seven years of their retirement, in the parliament of England. Another law not less wise, would be, that every member who insulted a friendly power, should be condemned to two years silence. When the tongue offends, the tongue should be punished. In other papers, the same individuals were accused of having been accessory to the attempt on the life of the First Consul by means of the *Machine infernale*, and of having avowed in parliament, sentiments tending to cause his assassination; and the French papers which were directed, and suffered to exist, by the government alone, seized every opportunity to renew and reinforce these atrocious calumnies.

From the members in
opposition, the attack was 30th
soon directed against the Jan.
government itself. The boastful and insolent report of Sebastiani was published, in which, besides the most contumelious mention of the British force and character, and the most insulting falsehoods respecting the British government; it was audaciously announced, that all the people in Egypt were enthusiastic admirers of Bonaparte; that 6000 French would be suf-
ficient

cient to conquer the country, and that all the islands in the Ionian sea would declare themselves French on the first opportunity.

Just at this time, Talleyrand had by command of the First Consul, solemnly demanded of Lord Whitworth information of the King's intentions respecting the evacuation of Malta; the official Journal, in a pretended review of the minister's statements to parliament, affected to prove that the British finances were in a most desperate state of derangement, such as only allowed the hope of reparation from a long and uninterrupted peace and good under-

standing with our neighbours; and at length, under the signature of Bonaparte himself, appeared a view of the state of the republic, presented to the legislative body by order of government, which, after a most glowing description of the increasing wealth and prosperity of France in every branch of its administration, contained these observations respecting England. "The British forces are still in Alexandria and Malta. The government had a fair right of complaint, but it has received intelligence that the vessels which are to convey them to Europe are already in the Mediterranean. The government guarantees to the nation the peace of the continent,

and it is permitted to entertain a hope of the continuance of maritime peace. This peace is the want, as well as the desire of all nations. For its preservation, the government will do every thing compatible with national honour, essentially connected with the strict execution of treaties. But in England, two parties maintain a contest for power. One of those parties has concluded peace, and appears desirous of maintaining it. The other has taken an oath of eternal hatred to France. Hence that fluctuation of opinion and of counsels which prevails. Hence that attitude, at the same time pacific and menacing. While this contest of parties continues, measures of precaution are what the government is called upon to adopt. Five hundred thousand men ought to be, and shall be, ready to undertake its defence, and avenge its injuries. Strange necessity which miserable passions impose on two nations, whom interest and inclination mutually prompt to the cultivation of peace. Whatever success intrigues may experience in London, no other people will be involved in new combinations—the government says, with conscious pride, that England alone cannot maintain a struggle against France."

CHAP. VI.

Proceedings in Parliament after the Recess. Address to the King on his escape from the Plot of Despard. Bank-restriction continued; debate on the subject. Statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; opposition to the measure; defence of it; further debates on the Bill in its different stages; opposition to it in the House of Lords; observations of Earl Moira, Lord King and the Earl of Suffolk; answer of ministers and their friends. Message from his

majesty respecting the affairs of the Prince of Wales; debate on the subject in a Committee of the House of Commons; motion to grant to his royal highness, sixty thousand pounds per annum for three years; his royal highness renounces all claims for arrears of the duchy of Cornwall; Message from the Prince to the House of Commons; Mr. Calcraft's motion on the subject; debate; the motion negatived; a bill passes according to the original proposition.

22d Feb. **B**OTH Houses of Parliament concurred in an unanimous address to the King, offering their most heartfelt congratulations on the detection and frustration of one of the most detestable plots that the wickedness of misguided individuals could conspire to imagine; a conspiracy that, whilst it afforded additional proofs of the mischief of those detestable principles, was equally destructive of all practical, moral, civil, and religious liberty; and declaring their determination to support with their lives, and all that was dear to them, the government and constitution, firm and unchanged, to the latest posterity.

This well-timed address was moved in the Lords by the Duke of Montrose, and seconded by Earl Camden. In the Commons Lord Euston and Lord Boyle fulfilled the task. They stated it as in some degree a satisfactory reflection, that no motive of personal malice or hatred against our beloved Sovereign seemed to animate the traitors; their project appeared to arise from a rooted enmity to the happy and benign constitution of the country. It was a conspiracy originating in those principles of Jacobinism, which, thank God, had been successfully resisted in this country, and in Ireland. The result would have been, a total extinction of those governors by whom the people are rendered safe and happy; and power and office

would have been assumed by men not far removed from savages; men intoxicated with their transient ascendancy and importance, but who would have been hurried down the stream of blood caused by their own wickedness. The changes which had been attempted in this country, carried the alluring, but deceitful names of philosophy, reform and liberty; names of late, in the mouths of the very worst of characters, who used these high sounding terms to conceal intentions of the blackest dye. The destruction of the Constitution was the object of these machinations, and a part of their wicked and atrocious scheme was to destroy its constitutional defender, its best preserver, and guardian: the sacred life of a prince was aimed at, who was not only entitled to respect and veneration, from the sacred and important functions of the kingly office, but whose personal virtues, mild manners, and gracious deportment, called for esteem, and conciliated the affections of all his subjects. In the long line of Monarchs who had swayed the sceptre of these realms, there was not one so much entitled to the gratitude and affection of his people, on account of the substantial benefits, and inestimable blessings, they reaped under his auspicious reign, and the strong interest he always manifested for their welfare and happiness. He was beloved by all ranks of society for those virtues

virtues which graced his crown, and diffused happiness through every corner of his united kingdom.

Feb. 4th. As it was still deemed necessary to restrain the Bank from issuing cash in payment of their notes, a preparatory motion was made for a periodical account of the amount of notes in circulation from the 1st June, 1802, to the 1st February, 1803. This vote was amended from its original form, in consequence of some observations from Mr. Tierney, who intimated, as a matter generally understood, that the issues of notes from the Bank within the last two months had been to an unusual amount. Although this assertion was censured as vague and undefined, ministers readily granted the additional information required, and Mr. Tierney denied that he intended any injurious insinuation.

7th. On the motion for leave to bring in the Bill, the Chancellor of the Exchequer declared he made it with considerable reluctance, knowing, as he did, how much the public feelings must be interested on a subject of so much importance, and the wrong opinions and gross misrepresentations to which it might give rise. He had, however, the pleasure to assure the House and the Country, that the measure by no means arose from any incapacity, or disinclination of the Bank to pay in specie; and that it was as much his own wish as that of any man that the Bank should resume, as speedily as strict prudence and the state of commercial relations would admit, their payments in specie. There were, he knew, many persons who had strong doubts on the propriety of adopting this measure in the first

instance, who had since concurred in the prudence of its continuance. Since passing the Act which was now expiring, exchange had considerably improved in our favour, but yet not so far as to warrant the discontinuance of the restriction; and when the House recollected, that it had thought fit to authorize the country Banks to issue notes to a very considerable amount, it must naturally occur, that the moment the removal of the restriction should enable the Bank to issue gold in payment of its notes, similar demands would be made upon the country Banks; the result would be, a rapid and general run upon the Bank of England from all those in the country; which, at a time when there was no supply of bullion from abroad, might be productive of great embarrassment. There were also other considerations: Three years of the most unparalleled scarcity had but just elapsed, during which period upwards of twenty millions in specie had been sent out of the country for the purchase of grain, to supply the deficiencies of our national produce for the sustenance of the people. There was also another considerable drain for the pay of our armies and navies in foreign parts; and those drains, even the flourishing state of our commerce had not yet time to bring back. It might possibly be objected, that the proposition ought to be preceded by an inquiry into the ground of necessity for its adoption; but to such an objection he would anticipate an answer. That with respect to the ample competence of the Bank to discharge at any time the whole of its existing debts,

debts, the fullest proof had already been adduced to the satisfaction of a Committee purposely instituted and who had made the minutest researches; all then that would remain for a Committee to inquire into now, would be the state of exchange; but for information on this head there was no responsible office or officer to apply to.

The motion was principally opposed by Mr. Tierney and Mr. Fox. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, they observed, had confessed that he submitted this motion with reluctance, and they thought he had, a very short time back, no intention of proposing the continuance of this restriction; but if he really felt the reluctance he expressed, and such anxiety to see the period arrive when a measure of that nature would be deemed no longer necessary, much more urgent reasons than those he had given should be adduced in its support. The measure should not be adopted without some previous enquiry respecting the Bank, and it was hoped the House would not adopt this monstrous bill, at a time when there was not even a plausible pretext for it; when no money was likely to go out of the country; when no alarm prevailed in either domestic or foreign politics; when no fear of any sudden press on the Bank could be entertained. At all events, a hope was expressed that a short Bill only would now be proposed, and that time would be allowed to examine how far it should be prolonged. It might also be proper to enquire, how far the state of exchange should be admitted as a criterion, whether the Bank should pay in specie or not. Allowing also that there

might be some danger in taking off the restriction altogether, still might not some arrangement be adopted for paying a small part of the dividends and notes in cash? By adopting a gradual system of that kind, all danger from a sudden run might be avoided. This latter observation met with the approbation of Mr. Banks.

Lord Hawkesbury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer answered these arguments. Mr. Addington confessed, that at an early period of the session, he did not entertain the idea of proposing a further continuance of the restriction on the Bank; he did venture to hope, that a favourable alteration in the course of the exchange would have relieved him from the performance of the painful duty, which he this day came forward to discharge. If appearances continued to be the same which they were at the close of last year, and the beginning of the present, and the favourable change promised to be permanent, he should have abstained from the present motion; but while he said this, he desired to be understood by the House, not abstractedly to rest what he had advanced upon the state of exchange, for many other circumstances concurred in the operation. It was right to permit the country Banks to issue small notes; but were the Bank to be opened, all these notes would be tendered for payment, when a sufficient quantity of bullion was not in the possession of the Bank, and the run upon it would be unusually great. Indeed, from a variety of combined causes, the demand on the Bank would be extraordinary. In aid of the observations on this part of the subject,

Sir

Sir Francis Baring observed, that the House should not consider the present continuance of the restriction, as a circumstance arising out of common causes, but as growing out of unforeseen and irresistible events. There had been a great convulsion in political affairs in every quarter of the globe, and that convulsion had operated very great and very important changes: the course of exchange, between this country and all others, had varied as well as other matters; it would at present admit the importation of silver, but not of gold; silver had lately fallen ten per cent.; while gold continued at much the same price as before. These circumstances did not arise from common causes, but from the various efforts and exertions of foreign countries to gain advantages over this: the convulsion had extended to and affected them all in a greater or less degree, and prudence ought to dictate to us to wait with patience till the effects of the storm should subside. Mr. Fox had suggested the propriety of opening the cash payments of the Bank under some limited restriction; but in the former Bill a power was given to the Bank to make partial payments of the dividends in specie, upon giving due notice of such payments to the House of Commons. A Committee would be useless; more important occasions had occurred where none was moved for; the renewal of the Charter of the Bank was a recent instance. The duration of the restriction, it was observed, might be more properly discussed in the different stages of the bill.

This part of the subject
 1sth. did, in fact, come more im-

mediately into consideration, when the Bill was in the Committee; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed as the period of its continuance, six weeks after the commencement of the next Session of Parliament. Mr. Banks proposed to substitute the first of May, observing that he was far from wishing prematurely to remove the restriction, but it was his duty to call for inquiry and information. He begged the Committee to consider what sort of a precedent they would give to future times, if they were to say that upon such grounds as these, the cash payments of the Bank were to be suspended, without inquiry or investigation. He could not see that the appointment of a Committee could possibly create any alarm; he really believed that the Bank never stood higher in point of credit, than it did when the Report to which he alluded was made; it would confirm the conviction the people felt of the solidity and wealth of the Bank. He had no doubt that the gentlemen intrusted with the direction had discharged their trust with the greatest ability and propriety, but the country had a right to know how the fact was; they had a right to know whether exertions had been made to place the Bank in a situation to resume its payments, whenever Parliament should think it right to take off the restriction.

Several members opposed the amendment, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought to recollection the circumstances under which the Committee of the House had formerly proceeded to an enquiry. Government, actuated by a wise precaution, had then recommended to the directors to suspend
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their payments in money, a measure which had produced a great sensation and alarm in the mercantile world; the appointment of a Committee was therefore, at that period, a measure of the strictest propriety, as it was of essential importance to ascertain the sufficiency of the Bank to discharge its existing engagements, and to enquire into the expediency of confirming and continuing the Order of Council. Was it at the present moment necessary to institute an enquiry for either of these objects? Was it now a question whether the Bank was able to discharge the demands upon it? At a late period, the Act having been made to last only three or four months, was renewed, and upon that occasion a second enquiry had taken place. What was its object? To satisfy an anxious public what the situation of the Bank had been, during the interval from the commencement of the restriction, and to what extent that measure had improved it. The Act which passed, extended the restriction till six months after the definitive Treaty of Peace. It was then proposed to renew it, and the House adopted the proposition without enquiry, being perfectly satisfied of the complete sufficiency of the Bank.

17th
and
22d.

The Bill passed the House of Commons without further resistance; but it was not unopposed in the Lords.

The principal objections proceeded from Lord Moira, who, on the first reading, moved for various papers, and, on the second, renewed and enforced his arguments against the measure proposed, as implying an inability in the Bank to dis-

charge the demands on them, and cast a slur on the national commerce and prosperity. His Lordship viewed the Bill either as one introduced at the desire of the Directors of the Bank; or as a measure of government, adopted for some special purpose hitherto unexplained. It was more extraordinary that so violent an attack on the property of individuals should have been introduced into parliament at a moment like the present, when it was said we were in a state of profound peace, but when we were in fact under the most critical circumstances, and so far from the peace being considered as secure and permanent, every man who understood the nature of our situation, could not but expect that we might be obliged on the sudden to prepare for a new war. If this Bill was introduced at the request of the Directors of the Bank, he had a right to ask, what new change in their affairs had happened since the Bill was first introduced in 1797, and so often renewed since, that could induce them to depart from their uniform declaration, that they felt no necessity for such restriction, as they possessed full ability to satisfy all demands in current cash? If it was a measure of Government, ministers were bound to explain why, under the uncommon increase of the exports and imports, the consequent rise of the produce of the customs, the exuberant amount of the surplus of the consolidated fund, and the general and increasing commerce of the country, it was felt necessary to load Parliament with so heavy a responsibility as the present Bill would throw on them. For his own part, he had strong reasons to suspect it was a measure to accommodate the Bank,

Bank, in consequence of an accommodation to the ministers; for in the exuberant statement of our finances, at the opening of the session it was pretty obvious there had been a gross miscalculation. Indeed, on looking loosely over the accounts of the last year, as brought forward by the minister, he had discovered many considerable omissions. Many errors and misstatements had been employed to eke out this flattering display, calculated to catch a little vain popularity, by enabling the minister to avoid, for the present, calling for a loan, by substituting an issue of Exchequer bills: a most imprudent and impolitic measure, because it was anticipating at a moment of peace, those resources which should remain only for any sudden emergency of war.

These objections were enforced by Lord King and the Earl of Suffolk, who lamented that no improvements in agriculture had been yet begun, or were likely to take place. The population of the country was increasing every day, and not a single step was taken towards increasing its produce. It was stated from high authority, that there were seven million acres of waste land, why was not a general inclosure bill, or some other measure adopted, that might tend to put this land or a part of it, into a state of cultivation? If the country went on as it did, ruin would ultimately be the consequence. The Government and people of France had lately turned their attention to agriculture; we should hereafter be obliged, perhaps, to send for the greater part of our supplies from that country, which would receive our money in return. This required the most

serious consideration of Government, which ought to recollect, that almost all the disturbances in Ireland arose from the bad system of agriculture, the heavy weight of tythes, and the impoverished state of the peasantry.

On the other side were Lord Pelham, the Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Auckland, and Lord Sheffield. The Bill, it was said, had not been introduced by the desire of the Bank, they had expressed no concurrence, and were not at all interested; it was to be considered purely as a measure of Government, adopted on motives of obvious policy and expediency. The same causes were assigned as had before been given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Far from thinking that a very strong case ought to be made out, before Parliament consented to suffer the Bill to be again continued, they contended that an extremely strong case indeed was requisite to be shewn, in order to persuade the house to suspend a measure of such importance to the preservation and security of the most essential interests of the country. Far from being, as it had been termed, a violation of the property of individuals, it was a measure calculated to protect their property; and it was no breach of a solemn contract, because, in reality, it did support the wealth of the Bank. We were at present in a state of peace, and ought to use every possible care to render it permanent. But no man could say how soon some unforeseen event might terminate it. Our situation was now critical, and perhaps more alarming than any in which the country had been placed for centuries; would it then

then be prudent to abstain from measures of precaution? This restriction had already and notoriously saved the credit of the Bank; Its solidity and solvency were strictly examined into by the Committees of both Houses, in 1797, the result was, that the high opinion entertained, both at home and abroad, of the stability of the Bank was greatly increased. It was proved that, after satisfying all claimants, they would possess assets to the amount of many millions, exclusive of the debt from Government of four millions and a half. We might regret that the necessity of restriction had arisen; but, without insisting on the beneficial influence of the Bank restriction on our foreign exchanges, and even admitting some consequent discredit might have taken place, it would not be increased by the continuance of it until a more favourable period. Surely a temporary issue of country-bank small notes could not be deemed a great grievance; and, notwithstanding what had been asserted, in this kingdom paper money had not been depreciated, nor had coin bore a premium; and when paper money is not depreciated, there is not too great an emission of that kind of currency. The caution of the Bank in restricting its discounts and issue of paper money, when there had been a great export of coin and bullion in 1793 and 1796, produced the most alarming distress. A judiciously increased issue was, therefore, very advantageous, inasmuch as it enabled us better to carry on the great commercial transactions of the country; and if the event had helped to prove that, immense quantities of gold coin in circula-

tion are not absolutely necessary, this measure might become serviceable, by preventing hereafter unfounded apprehension and alarm on such a subject. Scotland had improved in every shape with scarcely any coin, and had been greatly benefited by a plentiful issue of paper money. Holland, when she flourished most, depended, almost intirely, on her Bank; and countries truly commercial, such as England and Holland, could not have carried on their extensive trade by any other means than paper currency.

The attention of the Legislature was also engaged on the affairs of the Prince of Wales, which were introduced to their notice by a Message from the King. His Majesty taking into consideration the period which had elapsed since the adoption of those arrangements which Parliament thought fit to establish, for discharging the incumbrances of His Royal Highness, and having adverted to the progress made for carrying the same into effect, recommended to the consideration of the house the present situation of his Royal Highness, and resorted to their experienced liberality, and attachment toward his royal House, for taking the measures best calculated to maintain the dignity, and add to the comforts of so distinguished a branch of his family.

Before the House of Commons went into a Committee on this subject, Colonel Stanley enquired, whether the incumbrances which at present affected the establishment of the Prince of Wales were to be removed by any new grant of the House,

House, whether they were to be settled by a compromise, or whether, if any money was to be advanced, provision was to be made for its repayment? He accompanied this enquiry with some observations on the arrangement made in pursuance of a royal message in 1787.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer answered that any compromise of the nature alluded to, had no share whatever in now inducing him to submit a proposition to the House; not for paying off the debts of His Royal Highness, for an ample provision was already made for that purpose, but with the sole view of enabling him to support an establishment distinguished by that dignity and splendour, the entertainment and preservation of which could not be contemplated but with the deepest interest.

The House having formed itself into a Committee, the Chancellor of the Exchequer recapitulated the circumstances attending the settlement made on His Royal Highness in 1795, on occasion of his marriage. It was then the almost general opinion of the House, that the establishment was too scanty, but the great object in view, in the first instance, was the satisfaction of justice. It was to accomplish this object solely, that the resumption of the splendour and dignity suitable to his Royal Highness's distinguished station was for a time suspended, and that commissioners were appointed to the management of his affairs. Could any persons who had witnessed the effects of that measure, and duly considered the situation to which its provisions had for eight years subjected his Royal Highness, pos-

sibly have made up their minds to his continuing for four years longer, in a state of obscurity and retirement, so little suitable to the feelings and the habits of the heir of a great empire? By the Bill to which he had already alluded, it was provided that the debts of the Prince of Wales should be investigated, and an appropriation was made, not by any sum granted or imposed upon the public, but out of the revenues of his Royal Highness himself, of 13,000*l.* per annum, from the revenue of the Duchy of Cornwall, and 60,000*l.* per annum out of the income of his Royal Highness, to discharge debts which were then computed at 625,000*l.* but which were afterwards estimated at 650,000*l.* so that 13,000*l.* and 60,000*l.* per annum, together were employed in discharging a capital debt of 650,000*l.* and debentures were issued for that purpose. Here he entered into the detail of the application of those funds for the liquidation of his Royal Highness's debts, the result of which was, that on the 5th of January last, there had been paid off 563,895*l.* and continuing the operation of this plan, the whole would be discharged in July 1806, leaving a balance of something less than 100*l.* and allowing 6000*l.* for the charges of management. After a great number of further details and arguments, he moved, "That it is the opinion of this Committee, that his Majesty be enabled to grant yearly any sum or sums of money out of the consolidated fund of Great Britain, not exceeding in the whole 60,000*l.* being to take place and to be computed from the 5th of January 1803, and to continue until the 5th of July 1806, towards

towards providing for the better support and dignity of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales."

On the part of the Prince of Wales, the Solicitor-General declared, that he was directed to express, in the strongest terms, his sincere and unfeigned gratitude to his Majesty for the interest he had been pleased to take in what regarded the dignity and comforts of his Royal Highness's situation, evinced as it had been in his gracious Message. His Royal Highness cheerfully submitted to the wisdom and justice of the House, which he was convinced would direct their proceedings in whatever resolution they might adopt. The Solicitor General spoke in high terms of the Prince's respect for the country, and his earnest desire to preserve harmony between his royal parent and himself; and notwithstanding what might be said of the diversity of legal opinions, the solicitor general felt no hesitation in maintaining, that the claims of his Royal Highness to the arrears of the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, were too firmly established to be shaken by any opinion which might be brought forward to invalidate them. He feared no results from the prosecution of the right, but those which might unfortunately lead to a difference between his Majesty and his eldest son; and it was by that consideration that his Royal Highness was solely influenced. There had been no compromise, nor had any circumstance occurred to warrant such a supposition. The present measure, when communicated to his Royal Highness, was altogether unexpected; no terms were attempted to be imposed upon him,

and he was left at full liberty, should he think proper, to prosecute the justice of his claim.

In the debate which ensued, many of the topics touched on in these speeches were reviewed, and although there was no division, a great diversity of opinion prevailed, even among those who most generally acted together.

It was considered hard and unjust to hold out to the public, that they were to have fresh burthens put upon them to afford assistance to his Royal Highness, when he had the means within himself. It was not dealing fairly with his Royal Highness to make it appear to the public, by the wording of the Message from his Majesty, that he was calling upon them for assistance, when ministers knew he was creditor to the Public for more than sufficient to satisfy the remaining demands standing out against him. It was also intimated that this was the third application to Parliament to defray the debts of his Royal Highness, two having already been made in 1787 and 1795.

About the claims of His Royal Highness to the arrears of the Duchy of Cornwall, the manner in which the present measure would terminate them, and the proceedings already had with respect to them, members expressed opinions very various. Some asserted, and others denied, that the Prince had a clear and completely ascertained right to the whole of the arrears. It was also said that the present measure was not only not suggested in consequence of any application on the part of the Prince, but that he was actually suffering a very great sacrifice. The Prince applied

plied for the restoration of his just right, and which he asked not for himself, but for his creditors. When the business was last agitated, the House was entertained with a long discussion on the Prince's claim, both historical and political. All the rights and emoluments of his predecessors were traced; and at last it was agreed that the House could do nothing in the matter; that the question must be referred to a legal decision, before it could come under the consideration of the House. The manner in which that legal decision could be procured was discussed in another quarter. It was found necessary to present a petition of right, but the Lord Chancellor was not thought the proper authority to present it to. It was then presented to the Secretary of State, and by him referred to the Lord Chancellor. The proceedings on this petition of right were however suspended, and a business of a similar nature came before the House in consequence of his Majesty's Message. In the mean time it was declared that the proposition was not to be considered in the nature of compromise; but it was in fact a very fair and honourable compromise.

It had been said, the claim ought not to be proceeded upon; the suit ought not to be prosecuted, because it might occasion unpleasant circumstances and ill dispositions, where nothing but harmony and good will should subsist. If such was the necessary consequence, sooner should the sum be paid ten-fold by the public, than such means should be applied to. But there was no ground to apprehend such a result, and this

might be determined like other amicable suits in families without producing any ill will.

This argument was strenuously resisted. Mr. Sheridan observed, it might be difficult to say at what period a decision on the petition of right could be obtained. Perhaps this suit might resemble another, which came before a late Lord Chancellor, in which his Lordship found it necessary to keep the papers six years in his pocket, before he could determine in what court the proceedings ought to commence. This was, no doubt, the natural result of that *glorious uncertainty* of the law, of which ignorant people were too much disposed to complain, but which all *learned* gentlemen knew to be one of its greatest excellencies. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, treating the matter more seriously, owned that he felt additional pleasure, when he considered that this measure, if adopted, would silence for ever the Petition of Right, a thing which could not be prosecuted without more than inconvenience. As to the question of his Royal Highness being intitled to a reimbursement of all the monies received from the Duchy of Cornwall during his minority, this was a subject which he entered into last year with the utmost reluctance. The Solicitor General had given his opinion, that the Prince was entitled to a full account of the receipts of the Duchy and of the disbursements, at the time of his coming of age: but surely there was some difference between being entitled to have such an account presented, and an absolute right to be paid the whole amount of the receipts, without making any allowance for what

was expended. But supposing there was not a question about this right, but that it had been ascertained and acknowledged, and judgment obtained, where was the fund on which this lien could attach? The civil list, to which those sums were paid, had long since been expended in the purposes directed by Parliament. If then a judgment could not take effect, if no property could be found on which such a judgment would be a lien, what remedy or redress could his Royal Highness have, even if he had obtained a judgment on the Petition of Right. Must he not still come before Parliament for their equitable interposition respecting his case? and if the Parliament should be called upon for equitable interposition, they would certainly be bound to take into their consideration the different sums already paid by the public for the discharge of those debts, which he probably would not have contracted, had he been in full enjoyment of that revenue and those arrears, which it appeared the predominant opinion he was intitled to. This would be opening a sort of an account between the Prince and the Public which might be disagreeable to both.

Those who were most particularly considered as friends of the Prince of Wales, admitted that in consideration of the measure then proposed to the House, his Royal Highness consented, for ever, to abandon his great and well founded claims. It was material that this abandonment should be known; for, as many disagreeable circumstances might be ex-

pected to arise from the prosecution of a suit, in which the King and the Prince of Wales were the parties in one view, and the Prince of Wales and the Public in another, it must be matter of joy to the whole community, that this suit was to be prosecuted no further. It was strenuously denied that this was a *third* application to Parliament for the liquidation of his Royal Highness's debts. This claim or rather this right, existed on the part of his Royal Highness; and this was no application on his part. His Royal Highness was not in the situation of an applicant to the bounty of Parliament and the Public, on the contrary, by the abandonment of his just claims, he made over to them a very large sum. Surely it was not extraordinary that, after a lapse of eight years, accompanied with circumstances which had materially affected the income of every man, his Majesty should send a Message, recommending to his Parliament to make some addition to the income of the Prince of Wales.

The manner in which the Prince's debts had been paid was also a subject of much complaint. There was one description of debt, that was said to have been rejected by a former Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was a case in which the Prince was a collateral security, for money borrowed abroad; but if every other means of payment failed, and the Prince thought himself bound in honour to discharge this debt, why should he be refused that gratification? This, as well as other considerations, would render it impossible that the present measure could enable his Royal Highness

Highness to enjoy the full advantage of his income. It would be recollected, that when the arrangement was made for the discharge of his debts, it was proposed that all the creditors should abate ten per cent. on their accounts. As this was not done on the ground of fraud, but was adopted with respect to all the accounts, however fair they might be, his Royal Highness did not think the proceeding consistent with his character and honour. He, therefore, authorised a statement to the House, that rather than permit his creditors to sustain so great a loss, he would wish another year to be added to the period in which his income was to be abridged.

To this it was answered, that at the time of the last arrangement of the Prince's affairs, the whole amount was calculated at 625,000*l*; but for fear there might still be an excess, Parliament had appointed that the commissioners should receive, 650,000*l*. out of the Prince's income, for the discharge of the debts. At present, no claim against his Royal Highness, that was found to be fair and just, had ever been rejected for want of a sufficiency of means, although it had turned out, that in point of fact, the sum of 650,000*l*. was by no means sufficient to pay the whole amount. For all the debts which were fairly and justly due, debentures were given to the creditors in the following manner: for every 100*l*. they received either a debenture of 100*l* bearing three per cent interest, or a debenture of 90*l*. bearing five per cent. It would therefore be observed, that so far from making a compromise, or being at all obliged to take ten per

cent. short of their debts, they had their choice of accepting immediately debentures for the whole amount, bearing three per cent. interest. If a considerable number of the creditors had chosen to accept the debentures of 90*l*. bearing five per cent. in preference to those of 100*l*. at three per cent. it was because they speculated on the rise of those debentures after the peace should take place. No compensation then could be due or necessary to be made to such creditors for the deduction of ten per cent. under these circumstances, and if any private reasons should induce his Royal Highness to delay for a while resuming that splendour and dignity in his household and establishment, which it was the wish of the House he should be possessed of, those reasons would be of such a nature as, if published, would give his Royal Highness fresh claims to the respect and attachment of the House. If the Public should not immediately be gratified in this point, yet it would be a considerable satisfaction to them, to know that he would be extricated from his debts at least three years and a half sooner than he otherwise would have been, and that the final period would arrive in a year at furthest.

Mr. Fox, while he recommended liberality to Parliament, also enforced the necessity of prudence in the Prince, and extolled him for the possession and display of that quality. "I think," he said, the best advice we can give will be, to say to his Royal Highness, "Consider your income, and determine yourself what degree of state you will assume, and when you will assume it." But if it is resolved that

that his Royal Highness shall assume this state immediately, let an application be made to Parliament for further aid. To this last proceeding I could have no objection, particularly when his Royal Highness abandons the claims arising out of the Duchy of Cornwall. But I deprecate all idea of an application as in 1787. I would say to Parliament, 'Extinguish not only the debts, but the embarrassments, and place his Royal Highness at once in that state in which he has never been, I had almost said, since his birth, but certainly never since his coming to man's estate; that state in which he may say, here is an income on which I may live in a manner becoming my rank and dignity.' I have said these few words in recapitulation of what I said on the former most painful occasion; the present is one of the most joyful; for the Prince is now about to be invested with his full income, of the possession and management of which he has shewn himself fully worthy by his prudence; a virtue, which was the only one he was ever charged with wanting; and which he has now, beyond dispute, added to the many others, which he must be acknowledged to possess.

28th. Considering himself bound by every principle of honour to discharge all the claims over which the commissioners had exercised their authority, his Royal Highness sent by Mr. Tyrwhit a Message to the House of Commons, in which, while he acknowledged his gratitude to the King for his kindness, and to Parliament for its liberality, and distinctly renounced all claims in respect of the arrears of the revenues of the

Duchy of Cornwall, he used the following expressions. "But the Prince, notwithstanding the generosity evinced towards him on this occasion, feels himself bound to declare, that he is still exposed to debts for which no provision has been made, but which he feels himself bound in honour to discharge; and therefore, notwithstanding the kind solicitude expressed by the House for his speedy resumption of the state and dignity appertaining to his rank, he must still be obliged to appropriate to the discharge of those debts a large sinking fund out of his annual income; and however solicitous he might be to comply with the wishes expressed by the House for his speedy resumption of the dignities appropriate to his station, yet he knew but too well, from dear-bought experience, that it would be impracticable to make such a resumption for some considerable time, without the risk of being involved in new embarrassments."

In pursuance of a notice given at the 4th March. time when this Message was delivered, Mr. Calcraft moved, that the House, anxiously desirous to give full effect to the important objects recommended to their consideration in his Majesty's most gracious Message of the 16th of February, should appoint a select Committee to request and receive information respecting the extent of those claims upon the justice and honour of the Prince of Wales, which, according to his official communication, impeded his Royal Highness's anxious desire to fulfil his Majesty's benign intention, and accord to the wishes of this House, by resuming that state and dignity which

which belong to the heir apparent of the British empire." In his prefatory speech the mover assured the house that the present proceeding originated intirely and personally from himself. Upon this subject he had no conversation, concert, nor correspondence with any person, nor did he communicate it to any one before he gave the notice; therefore, he could have had no concurrence or encouragement for doing so, from the Royal personage to whom the motion personally related. He would not have embarked in so delicate an affair, or come forward on this occasion, if he had not perceived an anxious feeling in most parts of the House upon the late discussion, that His Royal Highness should be forthwith relieved from the embarrassments under which he laboured.

On this proposition, Sir Robert Buxton moved the previous question. A long debate ensued, in which, on one side, the sufficiency of the Prince's allowance for all reasonable purposes of state and dignity, and the necessity for a strict economy, were insisted on, and on the other, these arguments were repelled as unfounded, or ridiculed as substituting an undignified parsimony for a liberal economy. The old topic of the arrears of the Cornish revenue was resorted to, and received a great variety of explanations, and formed the ground work of many protracted arguments.

Mr. Johnstone pressed this subject with great vigour. No reasons he said, were stated to prove the necessity of revoking those arrangements which parliament, after great deliberation, had

adopted in 1795. At that period a considerable ferment, a considerable degree of jacobinical spirit prevailed, and therefore it might have been argued, that it would be dangerous to abridge the Prince of any part of that splendour, which certainly has its effect on the multitude. But now the whole people were united in loyalty to the King, affection for the Prince, and attachment to the Constitution; and what they chiefly desired to behold in the Royal Family, was a sensibility of the many burthens with which they were oppressed. But other gentlemen talked of the rights of the Prince resulting from the Duchy of Cornwall.—This question was discussed in 1795, when relief had been solicited from parliament; and it then was the duty of the Prince to urge his right or rely on the generosity of the public. He had chosen the latter: and it was not fair, after experiencing the liberality of the country, to renew the claim of right. On this, however, he was not inclined to insist, especially as in the last year the prince was desired to present his claims to legal discussion. Why was not that discussion brought to an issue? No difference could arise between the King and the Prince, as was stated; for, the revenues having been applied to the public service, the public was answerable, and the King had no more to do with the suit than with any other in which he was made defendant in the way of form. But there existed another very good reason why the suit should not be prosecuted—that it could produce nothing; for, admitting the Prince intitled to the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall from the hour

of his birth, the amount was 234,000*l*.

Now during the last twelve years of his minority there had been issued by regular payments,

128,000*l*.

Extra payments,

50,000*l*.

Half of 32,000*l*. paid jointly to the Duke of York and himself,

16,000*l*.

Allowing that the expences of the first nine years of his minority were 5,000*l*. per annum, which could scarcely be too much as 6,000*l*. was allowed for the Princess of Wales—

45,000*l*.

the whole expenditure was 239,000*l*. to be set against a receipt of 234,000*l*. during the Prince's minority. But was this all? there had been paid 60,000*l*. on his coming of age, 219,000*l*. in 1787, and 52,000 in 1795, beyond the fixed and regular allowances. So that on the whole there were payments to the amount of 570,000*l*. to be opposed to a claim of 234,000*l*. He stated these facts because he thought the people of England insulted when they were told that his Royal Highness had made a sacrifice by condescending to accept between 2 and 300,000*l*. If the present measure was adopted, it proceeded from the generosity and liberality of the nation; for no claim of right did exist.

This mode of charging the Prince with the expences of his minority was vehemently reprobated, and the statements opposed by many members, but by none with more

happy effect than Mr. Sheridan. The honourable member, he said, had gone into an arithmetical calculation to prove, that his Royal Highness had no claims upon the country, and that, upon a fair balance of accounts, there was a charge against him on the ground of the Cornish revenues; and that he ought still to be restricted to the sequestration of his income, until the full time enacted by parliament in 1795. But though the honourable member piqued himself upon his flippancy in figures, his argument was a little of the latest. On the night when he could have offered it in time, namely, when the sixty thousand pounds per annum passed in compliance with his Majesty's Message, the honourable member sat still, and held his tongue; but from the nature of his speech this night, he was bound to resist, in every stage, the bill for carrying that vote into effect. The honourable member, too, with great sagacity, had found out that in 1795, when a former arrangement had been made, in relation to the affairs of his Royal Highness, a spirit of jacobinism prevailed in the land, and that therefore it became necessary to support the dignity of the crown and every branch of the Royal Family, without regard to expence. It was, however, an argument rather strange, that jacobins were to be the best supporters of royalty, and that it was only during the reign of jacobinism in the country, that monarchy was supported in its fullest splendour; but that now when jacobinism was exploded, and the people completely restored to their political senses, to loyalty, and the love of their monarch, the necessity for

for supporting the dignity of the Royal Family, and particularly that of the heir apparent, should completely cease, and that cold calculation and rigid economy were to resume their domination. He had somewhere read a story of a grave conversation between two venerable owls, in a ruined temple, situated in the dominions of an ancient tyrant, in which one bird said to the other, "Long live the good king Amurath! so long as he lives to carry on his devastations, we owls shall never want ruins to build our nests in." So might the Royal Family say, "Long live the jacobins! for so long as their influence obtains, we shall enjoy all the dignity and splendour appropriate to our rank; but (according to the argument of the honourable gentleman) the moment the spirit of loyalty returns, and the love of monarchy resumes its place in the hearts of the people, we shall be thrown on the shelf, and all further necessity for maintaining our respect and dignity be utterly exploded." Equally unfortunate was the honourable member in stating his items of the account current between the Prince and his Majesty, or rather between the Prince and the Public, on the score of the Cornish revenues. The honourable member had said, that the items for the Prince's education ought to be charged against him; the fact was, the Prince was no more chargeable on this ground than the Duke of York, or any other of the Royal branches with whom he participated in the same nursery and the same preceptors; and what would be more ungracious than to charge his Royal Highness's infancy with so much for

cradle, so much for pap, so much for coral, and so much for school books? But the fact was, that this account had nothing to do with the business; as the whole of these charges were defrayed out of her Majesty's privy purse, with that maternal tenderness that ever distinguished her royal character; and it was upon this ground of her defraying the education of the juvenile branches of the royal family, that a liberal increase was granted by Parliament, as it ought to be, to her Majesty's privy purse. An honourable baronet opposite to him, who moved the previous question, had very sagaciously discovered, that to support the dignity of the heir apparent, nothing more was necessary than the inherent virtues of his Royal Highness; that virtue was the only ground upon which a Prince could reign in the hearts of his people, or secure his own felicity: and that the pomp and trappings of state, and the splendour of courts and official grandeur, were all nonsense and useless expence. Be it so then: he had no objection to admit the principle of the honourable baronet, provided the principle was applied generally to all the branches of the Royal Family, and to all the great officers of state, instead of being confined merely to the heir apparent, who, he was sure, from the amenity of his gracious disposition, would as cheerfully submit to the arrangement as any other member of the state. The saving of money to the nation would, no doubt, be considerable, by the substitution of personal virtue for official grandeur. "For instance, Sir," said Mr. Sheridan, "you, whom I have the honour to address,

might dispense with the expensive splendour of that elegant house which is now building for you, and all the state attached to your official suite, whenever you are to obey the orders of this House; in going up to present an Address to his Majesty, you will have no occasion to take with you that shining bauble which is here the symbol of your power, nor to travel in that splendid gew-gaw the gilded coach, at present an appendage of your office. You have only to walk to Saint James's, "wrapt in your virtues and a warm furtout;" and if it should rain, you will have the privilege of carrying an umbrella. There will be no occasion for all the state attached to the movements of our judges on the circuit; they can travel in the mail coaches, and the bar move as outside passengers, if they should not prefer the salutary exercise of walking. The chief magistrate of our metropolis will have no farther occasion to display all the splendour, finery, and raree-show attached to his office, which has been hitherto the wonder of foreigners, as the symbols of our national wealth and civic dignity. You will then hear no more of Mansion House banquets, of turtle and venison feasts, of gorgeous processions on Lord Mayor's days, of aquatic trips from Blackfriars to Westminster, in gilded barges, with bands of music, and civic regalia. No, the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs may proceed to Saint James's in Hackney coaches, and dine on their return at Dolly's Chop-house, instead of banquetting at Guildhall. In short, Sir, by extending this saving principle to Secretaries and

under Secretaries of State, and various other state officers, you may save money, but I question much if you will thereby improve the popular respect for the state, or any thing which belongs to it." Where, he added, was the consistency of voting a considerable sum without any inquiry whatever, avowedly for a given purpose, and yet refusing a motion for inquiry how much farther it might be necessary to go, in order completely to effect that purpose, when it was acknowledged, on all hands, to be desirable? Or, where was the consistency between voting away 250 millions of the public money, to support the state and dignity of foreign Princes, and yet refusing perhaps, a much less sum than 100,000*l.* in addition to the sum already voted, completely to disembarass the heir apparent of the British crown, from those incumbrances, which should long since have been removed; and to restore him to that dignified splendour becoming his rank in the state, and the splendid characteristics of his mind and manners?

Calculations were also offered to prove that the income of his Royal Highness had never been adequate to his high birth and expectations. If a Prince of Wales, Mr. Tierney observed, was to be maintained at all, it was proper that he should be maintained in a style suited to his rank and prospects. If, in the year 1738, the grandfather of his Royal Highness enjoyed a clear income of a hundred thousand pounds, a hundred and twenty-five thousand would not be reckoned large in 1803, increased as was the price of every article of subsistence.

The

The Chancellor of the Exchequer argued at great length against many of the statements made in favour of the original motion, and he particularly contended, that, although it might be assented to, without violating the rules of the House; it could not be followed up by any efficient vote for money, with any regularity whatever; and it was for the House to consider, whether they would become party to a proceeding which could never become efficient, consistently with one of their wisest rules; that rule by which it was understood, that no vote should be proposed, the effect of which was to impose any charge upon the people, without a previous recommendation from the crown. He did not believe that many could vote for the motion now before the House, without expecting that it should be followed up by another, for granting a sum of money to his Royal Highness; and therefore he must say, that it was impossible to vote efficiently upon this subject, without a recommendation from the crown. He had not received the authority of his Majesty to recommend such a measure, or to recommend any measure for the discharge of the debts of the Prince of Wales; and if a motion were made for the appointment of a Committee for that pur-

pose, he should hold it to be his duty to withhold that recommendation.

In the course of the debate many members delivered their opinions besides those already named; the principal speakers in favour of the original motion were Mr. Erskine, Mr. Hilliard, Mr. Fox, Mr. Canning, Sir John Wrottesley, and Mr. W. Smith;—against it were numbered, Mr. Lascelles, Mr. Burdon, Lord Hawkesbury, and Lord Castlereagh.

On a division, Mr. Calcraft's motion was lost by a majority of 45; the numbers being, against the previous question 184, for it 139.

This affair in its progress through the House of Lords occasioned some debates, but they were not of great interest, and the discussion of the main question was mixed with much incidental matter. The result was that an Act passed enabling his Majesty to settle an annuity on his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, to continue until the fifth day of July, 1806, and for repealing so much of an Act, made in the 35th year of the reign of his Majesty, as directed the annual payment of 13,000*l.* out of the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, to the Commissioners appointed by the said Act."

CHAP. VII.

Message from his Majesty on the armaments in France and Holland; Addresses voted in both houses without division. Message from the King for calling out the Militia; change in the constitution of that body. Motion for augmenting the number of seamen; debate; the motion carried. Anxiety of the public on the subject of the negotiation with France; Motions on the state of the nation promised by the Earl of Carlisle and Mr. Patten.

recess. Further notice of the negotiation in both Houses; the French ambassador applies for his passports; short interval of uncertainty; frequent debates; Message from his Majesty, announcing the recal of Lord Whitworth, and promising that papers should be laid before Parliament.

8th
Mar. **W**HILE Parliament was engaged in these affairs, a Message from the King was received in both Houses, stating that as very considerable military preparations were carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, he had judged it expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution, for the security of his dominions. Though these preparations were avowedly directed to colonial service, yet, as discussions of great importance were subsisting, the result of which must at present be uncertain, his Majesty made this communication to Parliament, in the full persuasion, that, while they partook of his earnest and unvarying solicitude for the continuation of peace, he might rely on their public spirit and liberality, to enable him to adopt such measures, as circumstances might require, for supporting the honour of his crown and the essential interests of his people.

9th. Addresses on this Message were moved in both Houses on the following day. Lord Hobart in the Upper House, said his Majesty, by the advice of his Ministers, had thought proper to lay this proposition before parliament, because although Government were determined to take every possible means of effecting a permanent conservation of the peace, by steadily pursuing a system of firmness and moderation; yet it was their undoubted duty to be prepared to meet the alternative,

if necessary, and to manifest to all Europe, that this country would not expose itself, under any circumstances, to the possible danger of a concealed design at sudden invasion, surprise, or serious attack. From the relative situation of France with its foreign possessions, abundant ground might be discovered to prove it probable, that the preparations in question might be directed, as they were avowedly stated to be, to colonial service; yet, as it would be extremely imprudent in this country to rest with security on the mere assertion of France, while France and the British empire stood under their present critical circumstances, and while it might possibly be a mere pretence to cover some deep hostile designs against this country, it became Ministers to advise his Majesty to call upon Parliament to strengthen his hands, and enable him to put the country on its defence, and secure it against the chance of any premeditated attack in any quarter. His Lordship however, assured the House, that the important discussions alluded to, did not appear to be of such a nature as must necessarily produce a war between the two countries, but might be amicably adjusted without recurring to hostilities.

Earl Spencer and Lord Grenville, members of what was called the new opposition, did not object to the measures announced in the Message, but, on the contrary, felt considerable satisfaction at the step

now

now taken; they considered it as an earnest of a new system; as a pledge that the dignity and safety of the country would at last be consulted. In measures of concession and timidity they saw nothing but absolute ruin. They did not however omit to complain that many essential advantages had been lost by the delay of Ministers. While they had been conceding and negotiating, France had acquired many important means of enabling herself to renew hostilities with increased advantage. There could be no other chance of saving the country, but assuming vigorous measures, and shewing the First Consul, decisively, that this nation would bear no more concession; and was not afraid of meeting France even single handed.

Lord Moira, speaking for a portion of the old opposition, would not disturb the unanimity of the vote, although he complained of the total obscurity in which the noble Secretary of State had left the immediate causes of his Majesty's Message. Witnessing too, as we had for some time past, the domineering and hostile spirit manifested towards this country by the government of France, he did not think it consistent with the honour of the House, or the character of this country, that the Address should pass coldly. If we would consult our most immediate interest, as well as maintain our dignity and uphold our national character, we must let the First Consul perceive that we were not to be intimidated by consequences. If we would avert war, we must shew ourselves on a level with the exigency. We must in the immortal language of Shakspeare,

“Be stirring as the time; be fire with fire;

“Threaten the Threatener, and outface the brow

“Of bragging honour.”

Not from any idle ostentation of courage, but to insure this solid, this inappreciable advantage which the Bard truly indicates would be the result.

———“So shall inferior eyes

“That borrow their behaviour from the great,

“Grow great by your example, and put on

“The useful spirit of resolution.”

“Still,” he proceeded, “I think, if the circumstances be such as to call for instant exertion, the country ought without delay to be apprized unequivocally of its real danger. We are not, to measure what such an adversary may attempt, by the difficulties with which he would have to cope. Every man acquainted with the history of the remarkable character who governs France at present, ought to conclude, that so far from damping, it would rather stimulate his ambition. He has already performed things which appeared to all others impracticable; and he has effected them, because in war, enterprises are often rendered feasible solely by that supposed impossibility which entails neglect of defensive precaution. We should prepare our minds for an attempt at invasion. You cannot think me weak enough to hold forth to you the possible subjugation of this country as an object of the remotest apprehension; but there are points infinitely short of that result, so consonant to the views of the chief Consul, that one cannot doubt his eager contemplation

plation of them. Can we misconceive the notion entertained by that man of his power, or can we disguise to ourselves what sort of projects would flow from it, when he tells us and the world, 'that he has 500,000 men ready to chastise any opposition to his will; that all the nations of Europe are organized to his alliance, or interdicted by his influence from countenancing our cause; that England alone cannot struggle with France.' England, single handed, not able to struggle with France! Whence, he asked, did the chief Consul acquire this information? Had he made this deduction from the lesson which the unparalleled gallantry of Lord Nelson, bestowed on him? Did he draw that conclusion from the splendid achievements of Lord Hutchinson? From what period of history had he discovered that British valour, single handed, had not always been ready to grapple with the power of France, or had not shewn itself equal to the conflict?"

The Earl of Westmoreland and Lord Auckland also spoke, expressing confidence in the unanimity and spirit of the people, and exposing the fallacy of Bonaparte's statements with respect to the wealth and resources of England.

In the House of Commons as in the Lords, the Address was voted without a division.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer in moving it, observed that in the Message there were two points to which his Majesty particularly referred; the state of the military preparations in the ports of France and Holland, and the important discussions depending between the two governments. Either would

be separately the ground for exercising vigilance and circumspection, but conjointly they laid the foundation for such preparations as might be sufficient to meet any emergency to which circumstances might give rise. With respect to the discussions referred to in his Majesty's Message, it would not be expected that he should particularly refer to the subjects of dispute, but he had great satisfaction in stating, that there was reason to hope they would be amicably settled on terms consistent with the interest and the honour of both countries. He begged to be clearly understood that nothing stated in the Message, or mentioned by him should be construed into an idea that the preparations which circumstances required had any reference to offensive operations; they were solely measures of defence and means of precaution. These sentiments were enforced and explained by Lord Hawkesbury.

Mr. Fox, although he would not oppose the Address, declared that by this vote he pledged himself to no specific measure. What were the points in dispute could not, in the remotest degree, be collected from the Message. No member knew whether these disputes were connected with arrangements in Europe, in Asia, or in America. Before he sat down, he had only to express a strong hope and trust, that, considering the circumstances of the country, Ministers would feel that there never was a situation in which it was more disastrous to plunge the country into an unnecessary war, and that never were any Ministers more guilty than they would be in recommending

or supporting a line of policy so destructive of the best interests of the people.

Mr. Sheridan gave his vote with less reserve than Mr. Fox, and in animated language, repelled the boast that Great Britain was unable singly to contend against France. Mr. Windham, Mr. Canning, Mr. Thomas Grenville, and Dr. Laurence complained that ministers required the Address without giving the House any information with respect to the subjects in dispute. Mr. Windham particularly observed that it had been often objected to him, that he saw no safety in the continuance of peace, and he had no difficulty in avowing that in this respect his opinion, so far from having undergone any change, had been confirmed by the experience of every day. It had been said that, indulging such sentiments, he must look forward to a renewal of war with exultation, and that therefore he should catch with eagerness at the prospect of hostilities which now presented itself. This was, however, a conclusion which was not, in the slightest degree, founded in fact: for, exactly in proportion as he had seen dangers resulting from the Treaty of Amiens, and as he continued to see those dangers daily increased, so he looked forward to a renewal of war with the greatest anxiety. One of the grand objections which he had to the peace was, that it deprived the country of the means of going again to war with any prospect of advantage. The result of this opinion was, that he must consider war as an evil aggravated by the peace. He desired Ministers seriously to consider the responsibility which they attached to themselves by the

measures which they now proposed. If war was to be the result of the discussion now depending, then they would have the responsibility of plunging the country in hostilities, when the means of national exertion were broken down. If, on the other hand, they were amicably adjusted, they charged themselves with the responsibility of putting the country to vast expence in additional preparations; while the circumstances which proved the necessity of these preparations, they had not condescended to explain. In either point of view Ministers took on themselves a perilous responsibility.

The Attorney General was surprised at hearing some gentlemen insist so much on the necessity of explanation. The House was not hardly dealt with in having no specific explanation given of the grounds of an Address, which in fact pledged them to nothing but what their general duty to their Sovereign and their Country fully warranted. The existence of points of dispute was known, and the adoption of these measures of preparation might accelerate the adjustment of those differences, and in this view, explanation was unnecessary to induce members to agree to the Address. It might produce consequences much to be deprecated, without at all assisting the House, in coming to a decision on the motion for the Address. Ministers, in the event of the termination of the negotiation in a renewal of hostilities, had pledged themselves to give a full explanation, and with this assurance the House ought to remain satisfied. Differing radically from Mr. Windham, he was disposed to think that the opinion of the country in favour of a war was

was the best pledge of its being carried on with spirit and success. If unfortunately the negotiations should be broken off without amicable adjustment, and if Ministers should be able to convince the House and the Country that instead of provoking hostilities, they had made every sacrifice short of dishonour, to procure the continuance of peace, surely the country would cordially go along with them in prosecuting the war, and he entertained no dread of the result of such a contest. The unanimity and energy of the people would fully make up for the superior number and strength of its enemies, and he trusted the conduct of government would be found distinguished by a proper continuation of temperance, moderation and firmness. To the continuance of the peace they would look forward with anxious desire, and to the unfortunate renewal of hostilities without unmanly dread.

10th. The following day, another Message from his Majesty announced to both Houses, that he had thought it necessary to exercise the powers vested in him by Act of Parliament, for calling out, and embodying the Militia. The Addresses were voted without opposition.

It may be fit in this place to notice, that before this period a Bill had passed, for increasing the time of training the Militia, from twenty one to twenty eight days in every year, and that afterward, a Bill was framed for allowing the Lords Lieutenants of counties to grant Commissions in the Militia to officers who had served in the army, although they did not possess the

qualifications in property required by former statutes. This Bill did not pass without considerable opposition, particularly in the House of Lords, and clauses were introduced limiting the dispensing power, to Commissions not exceeding the rank of Captain, and its exercise to those cases alone, where persons qualified in point of property could not be found to accept the Commissions.

In a Committee of Supply, a motion was made for 12th augmenting the Navy by 10,000 seamen, when a debate of considerable length took place.

Mr. Francis, Mr. Fox, Mr. Elliot and Mr. Canning, were the chief speakers against the Ministry; for they did not directly oppose the measure; and Mr. Dent, thinking it insufficient, proposed as an amendment that 25,000 additional seamen should be voted, instead of 10,000.

The opponents of government complained of want of information from those in office. The vote which the Committee were now called upon to accede to, was one which involved considerations of the most important nature; and before any member could, consistently with his duty, agree to it, some general explanation was due on the part of Ministers. In former times it was the constant custom, when such a vote was submitted to the House, to afford the most full and satisfactory information, that they might judge whether the circumstances warranted the vote proposed. Ever since the Treaty of Amiens, the House had not been put in possession of any information as to the exterior relations of the country. The par-

liamentary

liamentary history of the country justified the observation, that it was extremely improper and unwise to go on session after session, without information which had been usual, when votes of men and money were demanded. The executive power had the full right of determining, in the first instance, on peace and war, but this, did not interfere with the right of the House to inquire how far the servants of the crown had exercised their power in a treacherous manner, or preclude them from presenting an Address to his Majesty for their removal, if they should be judged incapable of managing the affairs of the nation under perilous circumstances, connected with the maintenance of peace, or the renewal of war. The prerogative of the crown to conclude peace was clear and undisputed, but those who counselled his Majesty to conclude any peace, were responsible for the merits of its terms, and liable to censure if they appeared inconsistent with the national honour and safety. With respect to his Majesty's right of declaring war there was as little doubt in theory, but in practice a very important distinction existed. In this declaration might be involved every principle of a free constitution, every thing connected with the property, nay, the very existence of the subject. The sovereign might be ill advised, and experience had fully proved this not to be merely a possible case. The country might be plunged into a war, of which it was impossible to see either the equity or the necessity. It might be continued against the will of the Parliament or the people, and the whole, or part of

every man's property might be wrested from him, if in practice this prerogative of the crown were carried to all the extent which theory supposed. But, such a construction of the prerogative would strike every one as monstrous; and while in theory the power of the Sovereign to declare war, was admitted, in practice, and in substance, Parliament possessed the privilege by which alone that declaration could be carried into effect. This privilege was founded in the means they possessed of giving or withholding the necessary supplies. This had an operation in the prevention of war to a considerable degree, though it was only the privilege of the purse which the House enjoyed. As the House of Commons must therefore become parties to every war, it was not to be contended that it should be a mere echo, a mere docile receiver of whatever communication Ministers might think proper to make under the form of a Message from the throne. Without intending to flatter Ministers, it was admitted that the preparations which had been recommended were founded on a firm and honest conviction of their expediency. It was not to be supposed that they would willingly, and without reference to any one object of advantage, take such steps, if they did not imagine that they were essential to the welfare of the country. Their interests as well as their character, equally forbade a supposition, that in this instance that they were deceiving the House or the Public; but instances of such guilt, were not entirely unknown. At all events, it was to be recollected that Ministers

nisters were liable to error, and that what they conceived to be wise and politic, might if explained, appear unwise and in expedient.

Many more remarks were made on the uncertainty in which Parliament was left with respect to the objects of discussion alluded to in his Majesty's Message, and it was observed that, at a time like the present, when every exertion might be necessary for the support of our independence, it was of high importance that the people should repose the most ample trust in his Majesty's confidential servants. The least diffidence in their capacity could tend only to dishearten the people, and to fill them with astonishment and terror. At a moment like this, when we might be called upon to struggle even for our existence as a nation, it was a lamentable consideration that the whole ability of the country was excluded from the government. At the most perilous crisis in which the nation was ever placed, we were deprived of the opinion, the advice, the talents of all those great men whose cordial co-operation was so essential to the salvation of the country.

On the part of government it was stated that the points on which the different members required explanation were various and discordant. One member said, let us not hazard a war, and therefore let Ministers shew us that their system is conciliatory. Another party were afraid of too much concession, and nothing would satisfy them but a full explanation, to prove that the national honour had not been compromised. What advantage, then, was to be derived from explanation, amid such con-

trariety of opinion, while on the other hand, the inconveniences of explanation under the present circumstances were obvious? It must be clear that when negotiations were pending which had given rise to considerable disputes, if they were brought to an amicable adjustment, this could only be accomplished by concessions on the one side or the other. Would it then be prudent that the nature of these concessions should, in the present stage of the business, be explained? In cases like the present, where the objects in view were not brought to a conclusion, and where measures, simply of precaution, were proposed, Ministers might think it their duty not to afford more than what might justify the measure they brought forward. After the circumstances which called for that measure were brought to issue, then if the degree of information that had been afforded to the House appeared insufficient, was it not in the power of the House to move an Address to his Majesty, for the production of additional and more satisfactory information. The case of war, no doubt, would *prima facie* justify Parliament in calling for all possible information. It was the duty, and the serious duty of Parliament to inquire into the grounds and causes of war, and cautiously to examine whether they were necessary and just. But in a case of peace, although the terms of that peace might not be looked upon as satisfactory, yet the same degree of information respecting the mode in which it was negotiated should not be insisted upon. Besides, the two cases differed materially from each other. The inconveniences that

that might attend the one, were much greater than what might ensue from the other. In the case of war, those inconveniences were comparatively small; but in that of peace, after all bickerings were amicably adjusted and composed, how serious might be the inconveniences that would result from exposing to parliament all the irritating circumstances that might have attended the progress of a negotiation, while no one adequate advantage or benefit could be expected for an uncalled-for revealing of them? It was admitted that there was a wide difference between the prerogative of the crown, when exercised in negotiating and concluding peace, and when exerted in preparations for, and a declaration of war. In opening negotiations for peace, and in concluding them, the exercise of the prerogative of the crown is unlimited; though it was competent afterwards for Parliament to canvass and consider the nature of the conditions upon which peace had been concluded, and to impeach Ministers, or propose their removal from office, should the terms of the Treaty betray incapacity on their part. But as the question of war involved a much greater magnitude of difficulties and dangers, so should the House be placed, (and in reality it so stood) in a very different posture respecting that momentous question. It was rightly asserted that the prerogative of the House in granting or withholding the supplies should be held as sacred as that of his Majesty in declaring war; and though the House might not possess a negative on the act of declaring war, yet it most certainly could exert a practical negative on the continuance or the termina-

tion of a war, by granting or withholding the supplies necessary to its prosecution. This privilege of the House, grew out of the nature of the constitution, and was highly essential to the interests and rights of the nation. Ministers did not pretend to call for any greater degree of confidence than what the spirit of the constitution usually granted to persons in their situation; and such as was founded on the opinion Parliament entertained of their principles and conduct. All that was requested, or could be expected, on the present or any future occasion, was, that Ministers should be fairly dealt with; and that the House would not prejudge their conduct, nor withdraw their confidence, unless, upon due examination and enquiry, they should be found to have forfeited their claims to it. The complaint that all the abilities of the nation were excluded from the cabinet, was not countenanced by Mr. Fox, who, without entering generally into the proposition, made a strong exception in favour of Lord St. Vincent's. The Chancellor of the Exchequer made the following observations on that subject. "I will readily avow, for myself," he said "and I believe I may take upon me to make the same avowal for my colleagues in office, that we feel in their utmost extent the difficult and arduous duties which we were called upon to perform, and are sensible of the responsibility we owe to the country for their due performance." "I trust" he added, "it will ultimately be found, that in the hands of Ministers, the security of the country will not be endangered, its rights curtailed, or its honour sullied. I trust that it will be found that no concessions have been made, which they

they will not be able fully to justify by the combined desire of preserving peace, and supporting the honour and independence of the country."

Mr. Dent's amendment was withdrawn, and the original motion passed without a division.

7th April. For nearly a month after this debate, the public continued to be violently agitated on the pending negotiations, and although no further communication was made to Parliament expressly on the subject, it was frequently introduced when other topics were under consideration. At the approach of Easter, it was moved in both Houses to adjourn for twelve days, and no objection was made in either House; although the Earl of Carlisle expressed dissatisfaction at not having yet received information on the extraordinary situation in which the country was placed. It was not his wish then to interrupt the proceedings of government; but the time would shortly come, when a long catalogue of events must be brought under consideration, and when Ministers should be called on to give an account of what they had done. Their whole conduct must then undergo a thorough investigation; a full and accurate inquiry should be set on foot into every material event which had taken place since the signing of the late Treaty of Peace. In the lower House, Mr. Patten said, if no material change should take place in our political situation during the recess, he should, at a very early day afterwards, bring forward a question of inquiry into the state of the nation.

When Parliament reassembled, Ministers were still unable to afford the expected information. Mr. Patten had fixed a day for making his motion of inquiry, but was prevented from proceeding in it by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, observed that he understood it to be the wish of many members, that the discussion should, during the present uncertainty of political events, be postponed, as, in the event of hostilities, they should feel no disposition to oppose this arrangement; but if the contrary, then they should wish to state their objections. He, for his part, was perfectly prepared to accede to this suggestion, and should therefore propose to defer the discussion for a week, as in the interval he entertained strong hope and expectation that he should be able to afford a communication on the subject on which the public mind had been long extremely anxious. After a short conversation, this proposition was acceded to, and the intended motion of Mr. Patten was put off without any day being fixed for its discussion.

On the same day, the Earl of Darnley observed in the House of Lords, that he felt obliged to say a few words on the alarming and anxious state of the public mind, as to the situation in which the country had stood, ever since the delivery of his Majesty's Message calling for military preparation. The public had, it must be confessed, evinced the most extraordinary patience, and had given Ministers credit for the sincerity of their declarations, that they would, at an early period, come forward with

with some communication as to the real posture of affairs between this country and France. He believed the patience of the public, in general, was nearly exhausted; his own mind was filled with anxious wishes for some explanation on the subject, and therefore he gave notice that he would, speedily, bring forward some motion to terminate this state of suspense. During the conversation occasioned by this remark, the promise of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the lower House was mentioned, and the matter proceeded no further.

6th May. Before the time appointed by the Minister, information was given to parliament, tending to confirm the apprehension that war was inevitable. Lord Pelham stated that the French ambassador had that day sent for his passports, in order that, as soon as it was known that Lord Whitworth had left Paris to come to England, he might leave London with his suite, and depart for Paris. His Lordship said, Lord Whitworth had been ordered to press the bringing the negotiation to a conclusion, and instructions were also sent to him, that in case he could not succeed in attaining that object, he should quit Paris as on Tuesday last. Whether he was on his way home, his Majesty's confidential servants were uninformed, as the messenger had not yet arrived, and they could only conjecture from the French ambassador's having sent for his passports that day. As this communication was attended with a proposition to adjourn, though but for a day (from Friday to Monday) a spirited debate ensued, in which the Earl of Darnley, Earl Spencer, and the

Earl of Carlisle vehemently censured the discontinuance of the sitting, although for so short a term, as tending to increase the uneasiness of the public, and perhaps to delay a communication by which it might be entirely dispelled. They even divided the House on the question, but the three objecting Peers were opposed by twenty nine.

In the House of Commons a still more strenuous debate was maintained, but as it tended to occasion improper disclosures, Mr. Pole Carew moved the exclusion of strangers from the gallery, consequently only a few of the early speeches are published. In this House too there was division, in which the number for the adjournment was 185; that for sitting on Saturday 95.

On the Monday, Lord Pelham informed the House 9th. that a change of circumstances had induced Lord Whitworth to delay his leaving the capital of France, but this alteration had not been attended with any change except the necessary delay which arose from the fact itself, and he entertained a confident hope that he would shortly be enabled to make a regular communication to the House. This declaration was deemed satisfactory by the Lords in opposition, and the Earl of Darnley, with the assent of Earl Spencer, agreed to postpone his intended motion. A similar intimation from the Chancellor of the Exchequer was received in the Lower House without any observation.

When Friday returned, Lord Grenville Levison Gower, an- 13th. ticipated the intention of Ministers to move for an adjournment till Monday, by proposing that the House should

should at its rising, adjourn till the next day. This proposition was not only founded on the anxiety of the public, but also supported by the declarations and promises of Ministers themselves. It was now a week since the Chancellor of the Exchequer had made an important communication to the House, which nearly deprived all persons of the hope that the points in dispute would be amicably terminated, and yet, under such circumstances, he moved an adjournment until Monday, stating, at the same time, that he thought Lord Whitworth had left Paris. On Monday he had informed the House that a new proposition had been made to Lord Whitworth by the French government, which induced him to postpone his departure, but matters were in such a train, that a decisive result must take place by Tuesday or Wednesday. Coupling these declarations with that which he understood to be a fact, that the answer of Ministers to the new proposition of the French government was sent off on Saturday night, and that the messenger who conveyed it reached Paris on Monday last, was it not reasonable to expect, notwithstanding the assertions of the Minister, that the decisive result would be received that night or next day. Indeed, he believed the right honourable Gentleman would hardly venture to say, that the messenger might not arrive even before the House was adjourned. Under such circumstances, was it too much to ask that the House should sit next day, in order, that if any decisive intelligence should be received, the minister might, in his place, if no official communication could

be immediately made, state to the House the nature of that intelligence, in order that the anxious curiosity of the public might be gratified?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, said he was thoroughly convinced no information could be received, in consequence of which any official communication could take place, within the time which the noble mover seemed to have in view; nay more, he was decidedly of opinion that no communication should be made to the House on this subject, until the points under discussion between the two governments should be satisfactorily adjusted, or until Lord Whitworth should have actually arrived in this country. There was not the least probability that any communication could be made the next day; and even if there were any slight likelihood of it, he would not hold it becoming the dignity of the House, or duly consulting the convenience of its members, to propose their assembling on an unusual day, merely on the chance of a communication, for which, however, there was no reason even to hope.

The motion being also objected to as irregular, it was withdrawn, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer made the expected motion for an adjournment till Monday, which after considerable resistance, was carried without a division.

When Parliament re-assembled, all doubts were terminated by a Message from the King to both Houses, stating the recall of his ambassador from Paris, and the departure of the French ambassador from London. His Majesty said he had given directions

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tions for laying before Parliament with as little delay as possible, copies of such Papers as would afford the fullest information at this important conjuncture. It was a consolation to him to reflect, that no endeavours had been wanting, on his part, to preserve to his subjects the blessings of peace; but under the circumstances which had occurred to disappoint his just expectations, he relied with confidence on the zeal and public spirit of his Commons, and on the exertions of his brave and loyal Subjects, to support him in his determination to employ the power and resources of the nation, in opposing the spirit of ambition and encroachment which actuated the councils of France, in upholding the dignity of his Crown, and in asserting and maintaining the rights and interests of his People.

It was proposed, in both Houses, to take these Papers into consideration on the following Monday. Lord Stanhope while he deprecated war, did not oppose this proposition; because the interim would afford an opportunity for that House to discuss a subject of the most vital importance—a subject upon which his Majesty's Ministers had long received information; namely, that the French government were in possession of a plan received from an American gentleman,

whereby they would be enabled to effect the destruction of the fleets of this country by means which our admirals could not prevent, and of the practicability of which he was as sure as of his existence. On this important subject, he had himself made to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, many months since, a communication, to which he did not experience the attention which he thought a subject of so much importance demanded. What he wished now to know, and what the House was entitled to demand, was, had his Majesty's Ministers attended to this alarming subject; had they inquired into its possibility, or concerted the means to avert it? They were apprized that not only their ships might be destroyed in their harbours by this project, but even the channel of the river Thames itself might be destroyed by it; and if Ministers did not soon make an explicit communication on this matter, he should, on that day se'nnight bring forward a question upon it. To these observations, no answer was given.

In the House of Commons, the Motion was also unopposed, the only requisition much pressed was, that the Papers alluded to in the Message should be delivered as soon as possible; and Lord Hawkesbury promised them on the next day but one.

CHAP. VIII.

Statement of the dispute between Great Britain and France, so far as it related to Malta. Stipulations in the Treaty of Amiens on that subject; ineffectual applications to the continental powers to guarantee the independence of the order; representation of M. Otto on the subject; answer of Lord Hawkesbury;

bury; evident anxiety of France to gain possession of the Island; statement of the British Ministry on the subject; declaration of Talleyrand. Interview of Lord Whitworth with Bonaparte; explanations of Talleyrand; further remonstrances of the British government; publication of the French Exposé; the King's Message to Parliament; peremptory demand of France respecting Malta; Note from general Andreossy to Lord Hawkesbury; the King's, Message communicated to Talleyrand; his statement of the feelings of the First Consul; Note containing the intentions of France in case of armaments; behaviour of Bonaparte to Lord Whitworth at the court of the Thuilleries; remonstrance of General Andreossy; reply of the British government; observations; further progress of the negotiation; various ineffectual proposals; Lord Whitworth quits France; Declaration of his Majesty.

THE Papers laid before Parliament by Ministers afforded a distinct view of the rise and progress of those discussions which terminated in war between Great Britain and France. The subordinate causes of contention disclosed in them have already been noticed in this volume; particularly the seizure of English vessels on the coast of France; the umbrage taken by the First Consul at the residence of certain emigrants in London; at the freedom of the English press, and at the intended interference of Great Britain in the cause of Switzerland; the mission of spies under the name of commercial agents; the general abusiveness of the French official papers; the insolent Report of Sebastiani published by the French government; and the virulent and insulting reports published from time to time as official documents; particularly that wherein it was stated that England alone could not maintain a contest against France. Allusion has also been made to the dissatisfaction of the French government at the delay in evacuating Malta, and as that, although not the first or original cause of contest, became latterly of the highest importance, and was finally that which led directly to

the rupture, it will be necessary to state exactly the progress of the discussions respecting that object.

The 10th article of the Treaty of Amiens declared that Malta, Gozo, and Camino should be restored to the order of Saint John of Jerusalem, under certain stipulations.

1st. The knights in a general chapter, were to elect a grand master; but if an election was already made, it was not to be considered valid, unless it had taken place before the ratification of the preliminaries.

2d. The English and French languages were to be abolished; nor could any individual belonging to either of those powers be admissible into the order.

3d. A Maltese langue was established, composed of natives of the three islands.

4th. The British troops were to evacuate the island in three months, and it was then to be delivered to the order, provided the grand master, or commissioners fully empowered, according to the statutes of the order, were upon the island to receive possession, and a force afterwards stipulated to be furnished by his Sicilian Majesty should be arrived.

5th The

5th. The garrison was always to consist half of native Maltese, the remainder to be recruited from those countries which continued to possess languages.

6th. The independence of the islands, as well as the present arrangement, was to be under the protection of Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia.

After some less important stipulations the Twelfth article was comprised in these terms. "His Sicilian Majesty shall be invited to furnish two thousand men, natives of his dominions, to serve as a garrison for the several fortresses upon the island. This force shall remain there for one year, from the period of the restitution of the island to the knights; after the expiration of which term, if the order of Saint John shall not in the opinion of the guaranteeing powers, have raised a sufficient force to garrison the island and its dependencies in the manner proposed in paragraph 5, the Neapolitan troops shall remain, until they shall be released by another force, judged to be sufficient by the said powers; and

13th. The several powers specified in paragraph 6, videlicet, Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia, shall be invited to accede to the present arrangement.

From these articles it appears, that, for the satisfaction not only of England and France, but of all the other maritime powers, the neutrality and independence of Malta were necessary, and that they could be secured only by the guaranty mentioned in the treaty. But Bonaparte, fixed his intire attention on the stipulation that

the British forces should evacuate the island in three months, provided the Neapolitan troops should have arrived. The enforcement of this stipulation accorded exactly with his views, and it was most consistent with them that the guaranty should be neglected, or even impeded rather than advanced. The English Ministry, on the contrary, were anxious not for the possession of Malta, which, as a colony was of no value, as it presented no advantage to make amends for the necessary expences of defence and administration, and could offer no new sources for the beneficial employment of British industry; but they were solicitous for the permanent independence of a post, the importance of which recent experience had put out of doubt, and therefore exerted their utmost efforts in procuring effectual guaranties.

The most early and earnest applications were made to the Emperor of Russia, and some scruples, which he at first entertained, having been overcome, the British Ambassador expressed hopes that he would be induced to guarantee the whole arrangement. France had not, however, at that period, made any application, nor does it appear to have been her intention that the guaranty of Russia should ever be obtained.

More than two months had elapsed after the execution of the Definitive Treaty, before any official communication from France was made on the subject of Malta, and then it was announced that M. Vial was appointed Minister plenipotentiary, and the British government on the next day declared that they had nominated Sir Alexander



Ball. In the subsequent correspondence, the temporary mode
5 to 17 of electing a grand ma-
June. ster by a reference to the Pope, was agreed to. The King of England declared he had no other end in view than the due fulfilling of the 10th Article of the Treaty; adverted to the stipulation that Austria, Russia, and Prussia should be solicited to accede to the arrangement; and intimated a desire that France should give instructions to her Ministers in those countries to make, conjointly with the British Ministers, a communication inviting them to join in the guaranty of the island. The answer of the French Minister for Foreign Affairs (dated 9th of June, but kept back eight days) concurred in the sentiments of the King, and promised the required co-operation of Ministers.

Measures for obtaining the guaranty were however, languidly pursued. England had been particularly active and urgent on the subject; France sullenly cold or perversely insidious. The court of Vienna, which was supposed friendly to England, cordially acceded to the Treaty, and although
July 15th. the French ambassador, when he communicated to Count Cobentzel the 10th Article of the Treaty, stated that he had not received any orders respecting it; yet on the 20th, of August, the Emperor's act of guaranty and acceptance was obtained. To Russia, which was considered neuter, and not particularly inclined to favour either party, the French government could not be prevailed on to make any application; and Lord St. Helen's was baffled in all his attempts to obtain an explana-

tion of the intention of his Imperial Majesty, by the constant assurance that the French Minister was without instructions. At Berlin, where the government was known to be under the influence of France, hostile to Austria, and not cordial towards England, the French Minister did not receive his instructions till the 31st of August, and the state of the cabinet did not permit the British envoy to hope for a speedy or satisfactory answer. Spain, the remaining power to be combined in the guaranty, was justly considered as absolutely governed by France, and was already known to be taking measures for preventing the re-establishment of the order of Malta, by confiscating the priories which formed a principal part of their revenue.

Thus after several months had elapsed beyond the period in which Great Britain should have evacuated Malta, and four days after
an angry Note had been de- 21st
livered respecting emigrants Aug.
and the press, M. Otto represented to Lord Hawkesbury, that General Vial, having set out for Malta about the 20th of July, would soon be in a condition to enter into concert with his Britannic Majesty's Minister plenipotentiary on the evacuation. The time allowed for that purpose having already expired, and to prevent delay in executing the Treaty of Amiens, the First Consul would have been desirous that the two thousand Neapolitans could have been transported to Malta at an early period; but Mr Drummond, the British minister at Naples had not been authorized by his government to facilitate this transport, and the motive alleged was that the stipulations

pulations which ought to precede it, not being fulfilled, the evacuation could not take place. In conclusion, he required the British Ministry to give general instructions to his Majesty's plenipotentiaries at Naples, and at Malta, that the evacuation and other conditions of the 10th Article might be executed without obstacle, and without those plenipotentiaries conceiving themselves obliged to refer to their governments on each of the successive operations.

In answering this Note, Lord Hawkesbury accounted for the delay which had arisen to prevent the sailing of the Neapolitans, and gave assurances that they no longer existed. In answer to other parts of the Note, after asserting the anxious desire of his Majesty to see all stipulations in the 10th Article of the Definitive Treaty carried into effect, with the utmost punctuality and with the least possible delay, he noticed the circumstance of the French Ministers both at Petersburg and Berlin being without instructions, and requested that proper instructions might forthwith be transmitted, that the business might be brought to a conclusion.

Such was the state of this discussion, till the time when the more angry remonstrances respecting the effusions of the British press were made, and when Switzerland, and the mission and Report of Sebastiani, together with other causes, increased the irritation of the French and the uneasiness of the British government. The court of Berlin, favouring the views of France, and following professedly the example of Spain, pretended to take but slight interest in the fate

of the island, withheld its guarantee, and spoke only the language of indifference and procrastination. The Emperor of Russia, being tardily invited by France, at length promised that he would accede to the stipulation in the 25th 10th Article of the Treaty of Nov Amiens, on certain conditions, which were to be considered as forming an integral part of that compact, and on which all the other powers were to be consulted.

Early in the ensuing year, and after many violent and insulting publications in France besides Sebastiani's Report, had given just offence to the British government, Talleyrand made to Lord Whitworth the solemn demand already noticed*, that Malta should be immediately evacuated. This demand was easily discerned to be a part of the grand project. France had hopes of obtaining that Island, which would afford an excellent step towards the acquisition of the further objects of ambition; but it was not indispensable that France should possess Malta, provided it could be wrung from the hands of England, the only naval power able to thwart her views. Such being the obvious views of Bonaparte, the Ministry forwarded a dispatch to Lord Whitworth, recapitulating the system of compensation which formed the 9th Feb. basis of the Treaty of Amiens, the subsequent aggrandisement of France, by annexation, in various quarters, and the increase of her influence by interference in the affairs of Holland and Switzerland, notwithstanding the stipulation for their independency. These circumstances would have warranted

* See Page 67.

a claim of new equivalents, but his Majesty, anxious to prevent misunderstanding, was willing to have waived his pretensions of this nature; and as the other articles of the Definitive Treaty had been in a course of execution on his part, so he would have been ready to carry into effect the true intent and spirit of the 10th Article, the execution of which, according to its terms had been rendered impracticable by circumstances which it was not in his power to controul. A communication would have been prepared conformably to this disposition, if the attention of his Majesty's government had not been attracted by the very extraordinary publication of the Report of Colonel Sebastiani to the First Consul, which appearing in the official paper, with an official title affixed to it, must be considered as authorized by the French government. "This Report," it was added, "contains the most unjustifiable insinuations and charges against the officer who commanded his Majesty's forces in Egypt, and against the British army in that quarter; insinuations and charges wholly destitute of foundation, and such as would warrant his Majesty in demanding that satisfaction, which, on occasions of this nature, independent powers in a state of amity have a right to expect from each other. It discloses, moreover, views in the highest degree injurious to the interests of his Majesty's dominions, and directly repugnant to the spirit and letter of the Treaty of Peace. His Majesty cannot, therefore, regard the conduct of the French government on various occasions since the conclusion of the Definitive Treaty, the

insinuations and charges contained in the Report of Colonel Sebastiani, and the views which that Report discloses, without feeling it necessary for him distinctly to declare, that it will be impossible for him to enter into any further discussion relative to Malta, unless he receives satisfactory explanation on the subject of this communication.

In reply to this Letter, Talleyrand, in a conversation with Lord Whitworth ^{15th Feb.} admitted that the jealousy we felt on the score of Egypt, with a view to our possessions in India, was natural. But he could not admit that any thing had appeared in the conduct of the French government to justify alarm. He asserted Sebastiani's mission to be strictly commercial, and expatiated on the sincere desire of the First Consul to maintain peace; adding, that the situation of the French finances was such, that were not this desire of peace in the First Consul an effect of system, it would be most imperiously dictated to him by the total impossibility in which the country found itself in carrying on that extensive state of warfare, which even a partial rupture would naturally lead to. And he desired to know what was the nature and degree of satisfaction which his Majesty would require." Lord Whitworth answered, "that he could not say by what means these apprehensions in England were to be allayed; but in discussing them, government would be animated solely by a sincere desire to be convinced of the truth of his assertions, since on that depended the peace and happiness of Europe.

Whether Bonaparte did not place the utmost confidence in the energy of

of his Minister, or whether he hoped by the influence of his personal character, and the terror of his great name, to awe Lord Whitworth, and through him the British government: what hope he had conceived, or what project he had formed cannot be conjectured; but as soon as the ambassador had dispatched an account of his late conversation with Talleyrand, he received a Note inviting him to a personal interview with the First Consul. This meeting took place in the Thuilleries, on the 18th of February, and it may be safely pronounced that in the annals of diplomacy, few events can be produced to parallel the conduct of the ruler of France, who in a conversation of two hours hardly allowed the ambassador to speak, and in a rambling, unconnected manner, recapitulated all the abuse which had loaded his official paper, adding to the most indiscreet avowals and the most profligate declarations, threats which a brave man could not be supposed to have conceived, and proffers which none but the most unprincipled of potentates could either make or accept.

After treating some time on indifferent subjects, Bonaparte said it was a matter of infinite disappointment to him, that the Treaty of Amiens, instead of being followed by conciliation and friendship, the natural effects of peace, had been productive only of continual and increasing jealousy and mistrust; and that this mistrust was now avowed in such a manner as must bring the point to an issue. Enumerating the several provocations which he pretended to have received from England, he placed in the first line our not evacuating

Malta and Alexandria as we were bound to do by treaty. In this he said that no consideration on earth should make him acquiesce; and, of the two, he had rather see us in possession of the Faubourg St. Antoine than Malta. He then adverted to the abuse thrown out against him in the English public prints; and acknowledged, that the irritation he felt against England increased daily, because every wind which blew from England brought nothing but enmity and hatred against him. As to Egypt; if he had felt the smallest inclination to take possession of it by force, he might have done it a month ago, by sending twenty-five thousand men to Aboukir, who would have possessed themselves of the whole country, in defiance of the four thousand British in Alexandria. Instead of that garrison being a means of protecting Egypt, it was only furnishing him with a pretence for invading it. This he should not do, whatever might be his desire to have it as a colony, because he did not think it worth the risk of a war, in which he might, perhaps, be considered as the aggressor, and by which he should lose more than he could gain, since sooner or later Egypt would belong to France, either by the falling to pieces of the Turkish empire, or by some arrangement with the Porte.

As a proof of his desire to maintain peace, he wished to know what he had to gain by going to war with England. A descent was the only means of offence he had, and that he was determined to attempt, by putting himself at the head of the expedition. But how could it be supposed, that after

having gained the height on which he stood, he would risk his life and reputation in such a hazardous attempt, unless forced to it by necessity, when the chances were, that he and the greatest part of the expedition would go to the bottom of the sea. He talked much on this subject, but never affected to diminish the danger. He acknowledged that there were a hundred chances to one against him; but still he was determined to attempt it, if war should be the consequence of the present discussion; and, such was the disposition of the troops, that army after army would be found for the enterprise. He then expatiated much on the natural force of the two countries. France with an army of four hundred and eighty thousand men, for to this amount, it is, he said, to be immediately completed, all ready for the most desperate enterprizes; and England with a fleet that made her mistress of the seas, and which he did not think he should be able to equal in less than ten years. Two such countries by a proper understanding might govern the world, but by their strifes might overturn it. He said, that if he had not felt the enmity of the British government on every occasion since the Treaty of Amiens, there would have been nothing that he would not have done to prove his desire to conciliate; participation in indemnities as well as in influence on the continent, treaties of commerce, in short, any thing that could have given satisfaction, and have testified his friendship. Nothing, however, had been able to conquer the hatred of the British government, and therefore it was now come to

the point, whether we should have peace or war. To preserve peace, the Treaty of Amiens must be fulfilled; the abuse in the public prints, if not totally suppressed, at least kept within bounds, and confined to the English papers; and the protection so openly given to his bitterest enemies (alluding to Georges and persons of that description) must be withdrawn. If war, it was necessary only to say so and to refuse to fulfil the Treaty. He then made the Tour of Europe to prove that in its present state, there was no power with which England could coalesce for the purpose of making war against France; consequently it was our interest to gain time, and if we had any point to gain, renew the war when circumstances were more favourable. He said, it was not doing him justice to suppose, that he conceived himself above the opinion of his country or of Europe. He would not risk uniting Europe against him by any violent act of aggression; neither was he so powerful in France as to persuade the nation to go to war unless on good grounds. The purpose of his discourse was evidently to convince the ambassador that on Malta must depend either peace or war, and, at the same time, to impress a strong idea of the means he possessed of annoying England at home and abroad.

Lord Whitworth, in the few sentences he was allowed an opportunity of uttering, vindicated the conduct of the English government, repelled the charges made by Bonaparte, and insisted on the grievances complained of by Great Britain. These Bonaparte treated with great indifference; Piedmont and

and Switzerland were trifles; the fate of them must have been foreseen while the negotiation for peace was pending, and was not now to be mentioned. Lord Whitworth also alleged as a cause of mistrust and jealousy, the impossibility of obtaining justice or redress for any of His Majesty's subjects. Since the signing of the Treaty not one British claimant had been satisfied, although every Frenchman of that description had been so within one month after that period; and not one satisfactory answer had been obtained to the innumerable representations made by Lord Whitworth and his predecessor, in favour of British subjects and property detained in the several ports of France and elsewhere, without even a shadow of Justice. Such an order of things was not made to inspire confidence; but, on the contrary, must create mistrust. This, Bonaparte said, must be attributed to the natural difficulties attending such suits, when both parties thought themselves right; but denied that such delays could proceed from any disinclination to do what was just. In conclusion, Lord Whitworth observed with respect to the most propitious moment for renewing hostilities, that his Majesty, whose sincere desire it was to continue the blessings of peace to his subjects, would always consider such a measure as the greatest calamity; but that if His Majesty was so desirous of peace, it must not be imputed to the difficulty of obtaining allies; and the less so, as those means which it might be necessary to afford such allies, for perhaps inadequate services, would all be concentrated in England, and give a proportionate increase of ener-

gy to our own exertions. Bonaparte terminated the interview by declaring he would give orders to General Andreossy to enter into a discussion on the business with Lord Hawkesbury, and retired in apparent good humour.

Three days afterward, Lord Whitworth saw Talleyrand, who assured him the First Consul had been very well satisfied with the frankness with which he made his observations. The British ambassador reduced the whole purport of his portion of the conference to an assurance that his Majesty's Ministers were ready to remove all subjects of discussion, when that could be done without violating the laws of the country, and to fulfil strictly the engagements which they had contracted, inasmuch as that could be reconciled with the safety of the state. As this observation applied to Malta and Egypt, Talleyrand gave Lord Whitworth to understand, that a project was in contemplation by which the integrity of the Turkish empire would be so effectually secured as to obviate every cause of doubt or uneasiness.

It was however a remarkable circumstance, and did not escape the observation of the English ambassador, that Bonaparte did not, like Talleyrand, attribute Sebastiani's mission to commercial motives only, but spoke of it as one rendered necessary in a military point of view by the infraction of the Treaty of Amiens.

In consequence of these interviews, Lord Whitworth, pursuing instructions received from home, observed to Talleyrand, that nothing approaching

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proaching to explanation or satisfaction had been thrown out by the First Consul, in answer to their just representations and complaints in consequence of the unwarrantable insinuations and charges contained in Sebastiani's Report against his Majesty's government, the officer commanding his forces in Egypt, and his army in that quarter. But that, on the other hand, the language of the First Consul had tended to strengthen and confirm the suspicions which that publication was peculiarly calculated to excite.

With respect to the charge advanced against his Majesty's government, of unwillingness to fulfil the Treaty of Amiens, the ambassador observed, that the Treaty had been in a course of execution, on the part of his Majesty, in every article in which, according to the spirit of that Treaty, it had been found capable of execution. Egypt was at that time completely evacuated. The stipulations in the Article relating to Malta, (owing to circumstances which it was not in the power of his Majesty to controul) had not been found capable of execution. The refusal of Russia to accede to the arrangement, except on condition that the Maltese language should be abolished; the silence of the court of Berlin with respect to the invitation to become a guaranteeing power; the abolition of the Spanish Priories, in defiance of the treaty to which the king of Spain was a party; the declaration of the Portuguese government of their intention to sequester the property of the Portuguese Priory, as forming a part of the Spanish language, unless the property of the

Spanish Priories was restored to them; the non-election of a grand master: these circumstances would have been sufficient, without any other special grounds, to warrant his Majesty in suspending the evacuation of the island, until some new arrangement could be adjusted for its security and independence. But when it was considered how greatly the dominion, power and influence of France had of late been extended, his Majesty must feel that he had an incontestible right, conformably to the principles on which the Treaty of Peace was negotiated and concluded, to demand additional securities in any new arrangement which it might be necessary to make with a view of effecting the real objects of that Treaty. And these considerations, sufficient as they might be in themselves to justify the line of conduct which his Majesty had determined to adopt, had received additional force from the views recently and unreservedly manifested by the French government, respecting the Turkish dominions and the islands in the Adriatic (and which had been in a great degree admitted by the First Consul, in his interview with Lord Whitworth) views directly repugnant, not only to the spirit, but to the letter of the Treaty of Amiens. If, however, according to Talleyrand's suggestion, a project was in contemplation, by which the integrity of the Turkish territory would be so secured as to obviate either doubt or uneasiness with regard to Egypt, his Majesty would consider the communication of such a project as indicating a disposition on the part of the French government to afford him explanation and satisfaction respecting some

some of the points which had been the subject of his representations. But after all that had passed, his Majesty could not consent that his troops should evacuate Malta, until substantial security was provided for those objects, which, under the present circumstances, might be materially endangered by their removal.

Before this communication to the French government took place, the *Exposé* was published, wherein it was asserted, that England alone could not maintain a struggle against France; a statement which, coupled with Bonaparte's declaration that he had 480,000 men ready for the most desperate enterprises, and would, in case of a war, risque them all, in repeated attempts to invade England; and with the naval preparations in the ports of Holland, perfectly justified Ministers in the advice they gave his Majesty and which produced the Message of the 8th. of March. In the conversation on the 4th. when Lord Whitworth had disclosed the sentiments of the British government, he pressed Talleyrand to impart the project for insuring the integrity of the Turkish empire, he answered. That what he had termed a project was nothing more than was expressed in the First Consul's Message to the legislative body, where he says, "there is a French ambassador at Constantinople, who is charged to give every assurance of the disposition of France to strengthen, instead of weakening that government! Such an inconclusive declaration could not be taken as satisfactory, and on Lord Whitworth's pressing the point, the Minister said the First Consul had five or six days

ago, ordered instructions to be sent to General Andreoffy, by which he was to require an immediate and categorical answer to the plain question—Whether his Majesty would or would not, cause Malta to be evacuated by the British troops? He concluded this communication was already made, and expected to learn the result in a few days. All the First Consul wanted was, to know precisely on what he had to depend.

To this peremptory demand, Lord Whitworth having returned a firm, though unassuming answer, Talleyrand took occasion at a subsequent interview, to explain away the offensive part of his information. He also endeavoured to convince the ambassador, that the First Consul, far from wishing to carry matters to extremity, was desirous to discuss fairly, and without passion, a point which he admitted was of importance to both countries. He repeatedly assured Lord Whitworth that much as the First Consul might have the acquisition of Egypt at heart, he would sacrifice his own feelings to the preservation of peace; and seek to augment his glory by improving and consolidating the internal situation of the country, rather than by adding to its possessions.

Two days after the delivery of the King's Message, General Andreoffy presented a Note to Lord Hawkesbury, requiring some explanation respecting the protracted occupation of Malta by the English troops, pressing particularly the Article of the Treaty which provided for that event within three months. In answer to this Note, the Ministry again referred to the system

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system of compensations which formed the basis of the Treaty of Amiens, the King's readiness to wave his claim to equivalents, and his desire to have given up Malta, could the guaranty have been completed. They renewed the complaints against Sebastiani's Report, stated the representation which Lord Whitworth had been instructed to make, and the King's expectations on the subject; and repeated the declarations he had already made to Talleyrand.

On receiving information of the King's Message, Lord Whitworth communicated it to Talleyrand, but found him already apprized, and extremely cautious in making observations. He said, the First Consul was pacific; he had no thoughts of attacking his Majesty's dominions, unless forced to do so by a commencement of hostilities on our part; but should always consider the refusal to evacuate Malta as such a commencement of hostilities; and as we had hitherto hesitated to do so, he was justified in adopting the measures which might eventually be necessary. He disclaimed every idea of the armaments fitting out in the Dutch ports having any other destination than to the colonies, and could not comprehend the motives which had necessitated a resort to such a measure on the part of his Majesty's government.

Meeting Lord Whitworth the same day at dinner, he said, the First Consul, whom he had just quitted, was highly irritated at the unjust suspicion entertained in England, yet he would not allow himself to be so far mastered by his feelings, as to lose sight of the calamities which the present discussion might

entail upon humanity. After Talleyrand had dwelt some time on these topics, Lord Whitworth explained the views of the British government.

"England," he said, "did not wish for war; peace was as necessary to her as it could be to France; all she desired, and all she contended for, was security; every thing proved that that security was threatened by the First Consul's views on Egypt; and consequently the refusal to evacuate Malta, was become as much a necessary measure of precaution as the defence of any part of his Majesty's dominions." To this kind of reasoning M. de Talleyrand opposed the moderation of the First Consul, his great self-denial, and his determination to sacrifice even the most favourite points to his sincere desire to avoid a rupture.

As a curious specimen of the moderation and self-denial of Bonaparte, the French Minister put into Lord Whitworth's hands a Note, which marks in indelible characters, the nature and system of the French government. In this Paper the phrase *it is natural*, is used so often as to seem almost intended to be facetious, while the projects it announces are so unjust and tyrannical, so hostile to treaties with all powers, that it occasions surprise that they should even be darkly intimated, but much more that they should be unequivocally and authentically delivered. It advanced as a fact known to all the world, that the expedition at Helvoetsluys was destined to America, and that its sailing was only countermanded in consequence of the King's Message. Unless satisfactory explanations of the

the British armament were given, it was natural that twenty thousand troops should be marched into Holland; natural that Hanover should be threatened, and additional bodies sent to join those intended for America, to form new embarkations; natural that camps should be formed at Calais, and on other parts of the coast; natural that a French army should be continued in Switzerland; and natural that a fresh force should be sent into Italy, to occupy Tarentum. All Europe would be agitated; the French would have been obliged to take all these precautions in consequence of British armaments; yet England would have been alarmed by threats of an intended invasion; the whole British population would be obliged to put themselves under arms for defence, and their export trade would, even before the war, be in a state of stagnation throughout the countries occupied by the French arms.

13th
Mar. These communications of Talleyrand exhibit a great deal of stifled passion, affecting the tone of moderation; but at the court held at the Tuilleries the following Sunday, Lord Whitworth experienced from Bonaparte himself, all the violence of unbridled rage. The first Consul, accosting him evidently under considerable agitation, begun by asking if his Lordship had any news from England; and on receiving an answer, immediately said, and so you are determined to go to war. No! Lord Whitworth replied, we are too sensible of the advantages of peace. We have already, said Bonaparte, made war fifteen years; to which the ambassador said, it is by far too long. Yet, the First

Consul replied, you wish to make war for fifteen years more, and will force me to it. In the same strain and on the same subject, he addressed himself to the Russian and Spanish ambassadors, exclaiming that the English wished for war; they might be the first to draw, but he would be the last to sheathe the sword. "They do not," he said "respect treaties; we must henceforth cover them with a black crape. Woe to those he added who do not respect treaties," and after many threats, he retired to his apartment, repeating the last phrase. All this passed loud enough to be overheard by two hundred people who were present, "and I am persuaded" Lord Whitworth observes "that there was not a single person, who did not feel the extreme impropriety of the first Consul's conduct, and the total want of dignity, as well as of decency, on the occasion." In consequence of this boisterous interview, Lord Whitworth was instructed to make a representation to the French government, and to decline 22d
Mar. presenting himself on days of ceremony, unless assured that he should never be exposed to a repetition of such treatment. The English ambassador had previously expressed his sentiments on the subject, but Ministers thought it their duty not to permit so public an aggression to pass unnoticed.

Andieoffy too remonstrated with the British government on the topics contained in the King's Message, in terms most abrupt and even insolent. The King, he said, was deceived in the report that his kingdom was menaced by preparations made in the 29th.

the ports of Holland and France. The assertion in the Message that there were discussions of which the success was doubtful, was not better founded, for no discussion existed. It was an error to assert that France had increased in power since the Treaty of Amiens, for she had evacuated a considerable territory. "If His Britannic Majesty," he said, "is determined to make war, he may allege all the pretexts he pleases. He will find few less founded." He gave a fallacious colouring to the Mission and Report of Sebastiani, and concluded his letter by observing that Egypt being restored to the dominion of its lawful sovereign, the only object worthy of fixing the attention of the two nations was the execution of the Treaty of Amiens, as far as regarded Malta. His Majesty having engaged to restore it to the order, and intrust it to the Neapolitan army till the order should be in a condition to guard it, would reject all sophistry all distinctions, and mental reservations, and fulfil his engagements; otherwise no means would be left for the two nations to come to an understanding, and all would be chaos. The First Consul would not take up the defiance of war given by England to France, and as to Malta, he saw no subject for discussion, the treaty having foreseen every thing, and settled every thing.

The reply imported that his Majesty perceived with regret that the French government, continuing to withhold all satisfaction and explanation on the points on which he had complained; and evading all discussion on the subject of his representations, persisted in their re-

quisition that Malta should be forthwith evacuated. He could never so far forget what was due to himself and his people, as to acquiesce in such a course of proceeding; and had therefore given instructions to his ambassador at Paris, to ascertain distinctly from the French government, whether they were determined so to persevere, or whether they were disposed, without delay to give such satisfaction and explanations as might lead to an arrangement calculated to adjust the differences between the two governments.

This firm and spirited, though temperate proceeding, left no room to doubt that Ministers were fully aware of the policy of the First Consul, and determined not to be duped by it; not afraid of entering into hostilities where the national interest and national honour really demanded them, though far above that feverish irritability, most frequently the offspring of fear, which rushes into peril to be freed from the tortures of suspense.

The hostility of Bonaparte toward England had never been disguised, and his views respecting Egypt were authentically disclosed in his private conversation with Lord Whitworth. He disdained the subterfuge of Talleyrand, that the mission of Sebastiani was purely commercial, and avowed that it was necessary in a military point of view. Andreossi was instructed to give a new reason, and impute the voyage to the lies, and the atrocious and disgusting calumnies contained in Sir Robert Wilson's History of the campaign in Egypt, and to assert that the researches of Sebastiani in that country arose from his astonishment at finding the British

British forces there. This account is full of gross falsehood and absurdity. Sebastiani sailed from Toulon in September 1802, Sir Robert Wilson's Book was not published till November; and far from being astonished at finding General Stuart at Alexandria, he went expecting to meet him there, and by his own account, reconstituted with him, according to instructions received from Talleyrand.

On the subject of armaments, the French answers were no less vague and contradictory. In his threatening Note on the King's Message, Talleyrand affirmed that all the world knew the armament at Helvoetsluys to be destined for America. Bonaparte, in his outrageous conversation on the 13th of March, furiously demanded, But why arm? against whom are all these precautions? I have not a single ship in the ports of France! Andreossy too, in his Note of the 29th of March, affirmed that the First Consul had made no preparation, and there were but two frigates in the roads of Holland, and three corvettes in that of Dunkirk. The latter observations appear rather evasive than satisfactory: it is not essential to the nature of a preparation extremely hostile to Great Britain, that an overawing naval force should be procured; but undoubtedly Ministers had good information, and such as they could confide in, of the strength and intentions of the armaments in France and Holland. They knew, and it was not to be driven from their memory by assertions however confidently made, or impetuously urged, that there was a fleet at Brest and another at Toulon. They had as guides to their saga-

city the declaration of Bonaparte to Lord Whitworth that 480,000 men, ready for the most desperate enterprises, should be risked in an invasion of England, on the commencement of hostilities; and it appeared, both by the tenor of that conversation, and by the subsequent explicit declaration of Talleyrand, that a refusal to evacuate Malta would be considered as such commencement, and Ministers had explicitly refused to evacuate that Island, dearer to the First Consul than the Faubourg St. Antoine.

In the Paper delivered to Lord Whitworth on the 11th of March, the expedition was said to be intended for America, meaning that it was to take possession of Louisiana, and then on the point of sailing for its destination; but on the 30th of April, a Definitive Treaty was executed, by which the sovereignty of New Orleans and Louisiana was conveyed to the United States of America. This cession was purchased for money, and it must be apparent, considering the rapacity of France, and the caution of America, the distance between the two countries, and the difficulties inseparable from such arrangements, that this Treaty must have been in a very advanced state when Talleyrand made this declaration, and that France, if she had no other object in view, would not have gone on exhausting her beggarly exchequer, in equipping an armament to take possession of a place which in fifty days was definitively sold to another power.

The negotiation proceeded some time longer, but with little appearance of satisfactory adjustment. The British Ministry, never relaxing in their efforts to prepare

prepare such an armament as would place the nation in perfect security, pressed for satisfaction and explanations; Bonaparte and Talleyrand, on the contrary, disappointed in their hopes of succeeding by surprise, unprepared for an open assault, and yet resolved not to do justice, endeavoured by all the arts of chicane, to delay definitive decision, and to involve the British cabinet in the labyrinths of negotiation, without conceding any basis on which the hope of security could be reposed.

On the 4th of April, Lord Whitworth was instructed to ascertain distinctly, in the first instance, whether the French government was disposed to give reasonable satisfaction and explanations on the points on which his Majesty had complained, and to adjust differences. If they continued to evade all discussion, and confined themselves to a categorical demand that Malta should be evacuated, he was to declare the impossibility of the relations of amity continuing to subsist between the two countries, and the necessity he should be under of leaving Paris within a certain time.

As a proposal for the purpose of opening a negotiation, the ambassador was instructed to demand that Malta should remain in perpetuity in the possession of His Majesty, who was to indemnify the order for their losses, and Holland and Switzerland were to be evacuated by the French. England was to confirm the island of Elba to France, and to acknowledge the King of Etruria, the Italian and Ligurian republics. In his first discussion of this proposition, after an interview with Bonaparte, Tal-

leyrand did not strenuously object to the principle that Great Britain was intitled to a counterpoise against the acquisitions made by France since the Treaty of Amiens, but made vehement objections to the word satisfaction.

“He said,” Lord Whitworth relates, “that the First Consul was hurt at the expression satisfaction, to which he gave an interpretation I had never understood belonged to it, as implying superiority; so that if the British government required satisfaction of the French, it arrogated to itself a superiority. I told him, what certainly must be understood by every one, that the demand of satisfaction implied that one party had been offended by another, and of course had a right to demand such satisfaction; that an inferior had an equal right with his superior to demand it; but in the case in question there was perfect equality, and, consequently there was no offence to be found, but in the conduct which rendered such an appeal necessary. The discussion of this point took up a considerable time, without producing any thing decisive.”

On the subject of Malta, Talleyrand said, that although extremely anxious to avoid war, the First Consul insisted, and always would insist on the full execution of the Treaty. He would not, however, object to any mode by which Great Britain might acquire security; and the Minister intimating that means might be found to satisfy both parties, Lord Whitworth consented to forward a Paper delivered by him, in hopes that as an arrangement of the present dispute, a temporary possession of the island

island might be conceded to Great Britain.

It does not appear that Lord Whitworth entertained sanguine expectations from this overture; but if he had been so rash as to form them, they must have been dissipated when he received a letter, 13th April. informing him of the forcible interference of the French chargé d'affaires at Ham-
burgh, with the senate, to compel the insertion in their Gazette of the most low, profligate, and scurrilous libel against the king and government of Great Britain, that had ever been issued by any Government but that of France in her furious revolutionary career. The ambassador was instructed to express the King's unwillingness to believe that the French Government could have authorised so outrageous an attack upon him and his Government, and so daring a violation of the independence of a neutral state. But he was also to declare the impossibility of bringing the present discussions to an amicable conclusion, unless satisfaction should be given for the indignity which had thus been offered to him in the face of all Europe. This application was attended with the desired effect. Talleyrand explicitly disavowed the conduct of M. Rhienhardt, and in the name of the First Consul, promised every satisfaction.

The letter demanding reparation for this insult was accompanied by another, stating the pleasure with which the King learned that the justice of his claim was admitted; proposing, from a willingness to save the honour of France, if that was made a material point, to ac-

cept of the right of garrisoning Malta in perpetuity, giving the civil government of the island to the order, and reserving for the Maltese the privileges stipulated in the Treaty of Amiens. If neither this point nor the absolute possession of the island could be conceded, he would be content to retain possession for a limited term of years (ten was the number afterwards fixed), provided his Sicilian Majesty could be prevailed on to cede the sovereignty of the island of Lampedusa, for a valuable consideration. In that case, Malta should be given up to the inhabitants, and acknowledged an independent state; and his Majesty would be ready to concur in any arrangement for the establishment of the Order of St. John in some other part of Europe. Lord Whitworth was also instructed not to refuse to listen to any proposition made with a view to any equivalent security for those objects, in regard to which his Majesty claimed possession or occupation of Malta. If, however, he should be of opinion, that there were no hopes of bringing the negotiation to a favourable conclusion, he might inform M. Talleyrand of the necessity he should be under, after a certain time to leave Paris.

The first opportunity which Lord Whitworth gained of forming an opinion on the probable success of these propositions, was at an interview with Joseph Bonaparte, who rejected the possession of the island, nor could he consent to the tenure of the fortresses in perpetuity, but voluntarily proposed that Great Britain should hold them for a term; and the embassa-

nor did not dissent, provided Lampedosa could be also obtained. A conversation to the same effect, with Talleyrand, gave hopes of a speedy and favourable arrangement. These hopes fluctuated during some days, in which several interviews took place; but at length, after considerable delay, Talleyrand delivered as the First Consul's answer, that no consideration on earth should induce him to consent to a concession in perpetuity of Malta, in any shape whatever; and that the re-establishment of the order was not so much the point to be discussed, as that of suffering Great Britain to acquire a possession in the Mediterranean.

This observation applied only to permanent possession; but, on the following day, Lord Whitworth received information from the same quarter, that the First Consul would, on no terms hear either of a perpetual or a temporary possession of Malta; his object was the execution of the Treaty of Amiens; and rather than submit to such arrangement as was last proposed, he would even consent to our keeping the object in dispute for ever. In the one case, there was an appearance of generosity and magnanimity; but in the other, nothing but weakness and the effect of coercion. His resolution being thus taken, he proposed the possession of Lampedosa, or any other of the small islands, of which there were three or four between Malta and the coast of Africa, which would be a sufficient station in the Mediterranean, as a place of refuge and security for any squadron Great Britain might find it convenient to keep in that sea.

This proposal Lord Whitworth positively refused to transmit. His Majesty, he said, would never consider Lampedosa equivalent, in point of security, to Malta. Possession (either permanent or temporary) was necessary for our security, and was rendered so, not from any desire of aggrandisement on the part of his Majesty, but by the conduct of the French Government; and so strongly were we impressed with the necessity, that rather than abandon it, we were prepared to go to war.

To these and many other arguments, Talleyrand objected the dignity and honour of the First Consul, which could not admit of his consenting to any thing which might carry with it the appearance of yielding to a threat.

Lord Whitworth answered, "It never could be admitted, that the First Consul had a right to act in such a manner as to excite jealousy and create alarm in every state of Europe, and when asked for explanation or security, to say that it was contrary to his honour or dignity to afford either. Such arguments might perhaps suffice when applied to some of those governments with which France had been accustomed to treat, or more properly to dictate to, but never could be used to Great Britain; his Majesty had a right to speak freely his opinion, and possessed also the means, whenever he chose to employ them, of opposing a barrier to the ambition of any individual, or of any state which should be disposed to threaten the security of his dominions, or the tranquillity of Europe."

This conversation was, in fact, con-

conclusive, although three weeks afterward elapsed in conferences wherein no effectual arrangement was offered, and in correspondences which rendered it obvious that France was solicitous only to create delays. After the positive declaration of Bonaparte, that his greatest objection was founded on the possibility of an establishment in the Mediterranean being acquired by Great Britain, it must be apparent that his offer of sanctioning the purchase of Lampedosa, without allowing a temporary possession of Malta was not considered as the mean of affording such an establishment, or the security with which it was most desirable that it should be attended. Note after Note passed between Talleyrand and Lord Whitworth, exhibiting sometimes hopes of an attempt to conciliate, but generally destroying them immediately by the production of some extravagant proposition, or the refusal of some necessary explanation. The chicanery of the French Government was even carried so far, as to withhold, on various pretexts, the ambassador's passports; but at length Lord Whitworth, having accommodated himself to every delay, for which a motive in the slightest degree plausible, could be assigned, quitted the shores of France.

On the ambassador's arrival in London, his Majesty published in his Declaration the motives of his conduct, and his determination to support his rights and protect his subjects by force of arms.

In this Declaration, his Majesty announced that his earnest endeavours for the preservation of peace having failed of success, he entertained the fullest confidence that

he should receive the same support from his Parliament, and that the same zeal and spirit would be manifested by his people, which he had experienced on every occasion when the honour of his crown had been attacked, or the essential interests of his dominions had been endangered. A succinct narrative was given of all the transactions between this country and France, from the negotiation which led to the Treaty of Peace, till the time of the rupture. After a calm, but impressive enumeration, it concluded in these terms. "Under all these insults and provocations, his Majesty, not without a due sense of his dignity, has proceeded with every degree of temper and moderation to obtain satisfaction and redress, while he has neglected no means consistent with his honour and the safety of his dominions to induce the government of France to concede to him, what is, in his judgment, absolutely necessary for the future tranquillity of Europe. His efforts in this respect have proved abortive, and he has therefore judged it necessary to order his ambassador to leave Paris. In having recourse to this proceeding, it has been his Majesty's object to put an end to the fruitless discussions which have too long subsisted between the two governments, and to close a period of suspense peculiarly injurious to the subjects of his Majesty.

"But though the provocations which his Majesty has received might intitle him to larger claims than those which he has advanced, yet, anxious to prevent calamities which might thus be extended to every part of Europe, he is still willing, as far as is consistent with

his own honour, and the interests of his people, to afford every facility to any just and honourable arrangement, by which such evils may be averted. He has, therefore, no difficulty in declaring to all Europe, that notwithstanding all the changes which have taken place since the Treaty of Peace, notwithstanding the extension of the power of France, in repugnance to that Treaty, and to the spirit of Peace itself, His Majesty will not avail himself of these circumstances, to demand in compensation all that he is intitled to require, but will be ready to concur, even now, in an arrangement by which satisfaction shall be given to him, for the indignities which have been offered to his

crown and to his people, and substantial security afforded against further encroachments on the part of France.

“ His Majesty has thus distinctly and unreservedly stated the reasons of those proceedings to which he has found himself compelled to resort. He is actuated by no disposition to interfere in the internal concerns of any other State; by no projects of conquest and aggrandizement; but solely by a sense of what is due to the honour of his crown, and the interests of his people, and by an anxious desire to obstruct the further progress of a system which, if not resisted, may prove fatal to every part of the civilized world.”

CHAP. IX.

Demand of further Papers in both Houses; explanations of Ministers; The King's Message discussed in the House of Lords; an Address moved by Lord Pelham; seconded by the Duke of Cumberland; principal topics urged in the debate; the Address carried by a large majority. Debate in the House of Commons continued during two days; the Report on the first day defective; Address moved by Lord Hawkesbury; an amendment proposed by Mr. Grey; speech of Mr. Pitt, and of Mr. Wilberforce; course of the argument on the following day; speech of Mr. Fox; answer to it by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; animadversions on it by the Attorney General and Mr. Windham; the Address carried by a great majority.

IN the interval between presenting the Papers to Parliament, and the day appointed for discussing them, several motions were made for additional Papers, the greater portion of which was granted. On these occasions, Ministers explained several points incident to the negotiation, and satisfied those who inquired, on

various topics with respect to which rumours were in general circulation. Lord Pelham admitted that a *contre projet* respecting Malta, and the conditions on which his Majesty would be allowed to hold it for ten years, had been communicated to Ministers; but then it was handed to them in so secret, so confidential, and

20th
May.

and so unofficial a manner, that it would be highly improper to produce it, and he cautioned the House against relying on it as a basis of any negotiation.

20th. In the lower House, Mr. Grey required some Papers to explain the negotiations which he supposed to have taken place between the British Government, and the French ambassador in London; but these, Lord Hawkesbury assured him, were confined to some very trivial points. Mr. Whitbread asked for an answer to the following question: Whether there were authentic accounts of Mr. Talbot having left Paris? or if Portalis was gone from London? Lord Hawkesbury said, no authentic accounts had been received respecting Mr. Talbot, nor did he know whether M. Portalis was gone from London, nor was there any truth in the report that they had remained for special purposes. In answer to another question from the same member, the Secretary of State assured the House, that since the departure of Lord Whitworth, no communication had been made on any practical point which Ministers thought themselves justifiable in disclosing.

Mr. Grey asked, whether, previous to the departure of the English and French ambassadors, any new communications had been made? There was a report in town, he believed, in consequence of French Papers received that day, that the Emperor of Russia had offered his mediation, and he inquired whether it had any foundation? If any communication had been made, though in such a circuitous mode that it could not, in point of form, be laid before

the House, yet he hoped, as such information would be highly important, the noble Lord would not refuse to impart it. Lord Hawkesbury said, that after Lord Whitworth left Paris, it had been communicated that an arrangement might be made for this country to retain Malta for a certain number of years, on condition of the French holding Otranto and the other situations they had before possessed on the Gulf of Tarentum; but the communication was altogether such, that Ministers did not think it consistent with the honour and dignity of the country to listen to it. He had heard, that the Emperor of Russia, just at the close of the negotiation, had expressed a wish and a hope that matters could be amicably terminated, but nothing of his personal mediation was mentioned.

Mr. Canning asked whether any formal answer had been given by the French Government as to the continuance of the French army in Holland, in defiance of the wishes of the people in that country, and of the terms of the Treaty of Amiens? Lord Hawkesbury answered, that no formal remonstrance had been made, neither had any formal answer been returned. There had been communications, but they evinced no disposition to give satisfaction with regard to the essential points in dispute, and in fact they appeared only to have been made with a view to gain time; they were certainly not such as Ministers conceived it would have become them to have laid before the House. Mr. Sheridan moved an Address for the communication of Papers on this subject, but on the remon-

france of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, withdrew it.

Mr. Johnstone having observed that in Lord Whitworth's dispatch of the 4th of May, Talleyrand insinuated a wish to cede Malta to Russia, in answer to which note, the Secretary of State said, "to Russia alone England would give Malta, but the English government well knows Russia would not accept it;" and General Gascoyne having demanded certain papers relative to Malta, and the Italian Republic, previous to the signing of the Preliminaries of Peace, a spirited debate ensued. In the course of it, Mr. Ward said he thought it absolutely necessary that those infamous lies which had been propagated concerning Lord Hobart should be done away. It was impossible to suppose he would have told the Maltese deputies to come to his house to speak to him, but not to shew themselves at his office, lest he should give offence to the French Government. He wished to know what foundation there was for such a disgraceful report? The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, the only answer he had to make was, to repeat what he had already stated in the course of the debate: namely, that he never heard the imputation thrown out until he came to the House that day. The motions for papers were negatived; indeed many opposition Members thought them superfluous, and Mr. W. Smith said he could not help acknowledging that Ministers, had uniformly shewn a disposition to comply with every reasonable requisition.

At the close of the debate Lord

Temple inquired whether it was true as reported, that Georges had been deported to Canada by the British government. Lord Hawkesbury warmly noticed this as one of the violent attacks which that noble Lord was in the habit of making against Ministers; they would have considered themselves highly criminal, if they had compelled any individual to transport himself from this country to Canada.

On the day appointed for taking the King's Message ^{23rd.} into consideration, an Address was moved by Lord Pelham, assuring His Majesty that the House observed with the strongest feelings of indignation that his endeavours to preserve peace had been frustrated by a restless spirit of ambition and domination, in the government of France, and of their fixed determination to concur in calling forth the resources and exertions of the country, in support of a cause in which were involved the honour of his Majesty's crown, the rights and liberties of his people; and all that was dear and valuable to them, as a free and independent nation.

The motion was seconded by his Royal Highness the duke of Cumberland, in a speech of great ability, and supported by a great number of Peers; particularly the Duke of Clarence, Lord Mulgrave, Lord Melville, Lord Ellenborough, and the Earl of Rosslyn. Earl Spencer and Lord Grenville also supported the Address, but expressly accepted a condition, made by Lord Pelham in opening the business, that the conduct of the ministry should be reserved for future discussion. Earl Moira adopted a

mode of conduct nearly similar, but indulged a greater latitude both of praise and censure. The Address was opposed by Earl Stanhope, in a speech on which Lord Mulgrave observed, that he had never heard a greater display of English feeling and French partiality. If the noble Lord had been a ventriloquist, and had taken upon himself to give, in his own person, a specimen of a debate in the House of Lords, the invisible gentleman in his belly answering and refuting all the arguments that issued from his mouth, he could not have done it better. At one time his speech was all English, at another time all French. An amendment to the Address was moved by Lord King, who proposed to omit some and substitute other paragraphs, the purport of which was, that the House would see with satisfaction that his Majesty would listen to any further offer of amicable settlement, consistent with the honour and interests of the country. The Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Lansdown, and the Duke of Norfolk also expressed an anxiety for the preservation of peace, but although they censured Ministers, did not oppose the Address.

The sentiments of the Lords on each side, on the various topics of discussion, are worthy to be preserved.

The Ministers urged that it was necessary the House should come to an unanimous vote, and deprecated the consideration of the present as a party question. The Papers on the table would prove that Ministers had no wish to conceal any part of their conduct, since the signature of the Definitive Treaty,

and they had, to the best of their abilities and knowledge, acted a conscientious part during the whole of that period. For the fairness and moderation of this request, they received the praise of Earl Stanhope, who gave them credit for the candour with which they had introduced the motion, and hoped that all party feelings, and party distinctions, or sides of the House, would be banished at a period so perilous as the present was, whether the nature of the contest, or the enemy with whom it was to be sustained were to be considered.

From a perusal of the papers, the great and indeed the only question was, whether a distinct and legitimate ground of war had been established? or, in other words, according to the Duke of Cumberland, whether this country, which had so long held a proud and distinguished rank among the nations of the earth, should or should not cease to be independent? for if we were patiently to submit to that accumulation of aggression, injustice, and insult which appeared to have been the continued system of the French Government, we must descend from the station and rank which our ancestors always maintained in Europe, and take our place among the vanquished and feeble nations, which had been so unfortunate as to become the prey of French ambition and plunder, and the sport of French insolence. In support of these opinions, the different acts of the French Government which were disclosed in the papers were enumerated and enlarged upon.

The Duke of Richmond, however,

ever, considered these complaints as of small importance, comparing them to the hundred grievances, which Spain brought before Europe at the commencement of the last Spanish war, which had never been heard of before, and were never heard of since.

Lord Pelham insisted that war was, by the conduct of the French Government, rendered inevitable. It was necessary to the support of the national honour, and the protection of national rights. The interests of our commerce, the safety of our liberties; the existence of our independence were all involved in the manifestation of effectual resistance to French aggrandizement and ambition. These observations were enforced by Lord Ellenborough, who said that if we had not at present adequate justification of war, he knew not what insults, provocations, or dangers could justify christian men in appealing to the laws of self-defence. It was a war to redress all our wrongs, and to repel all our dangers. We were going to war, not for inferior considerations, but the greatest stake of civil society—for every thing which an independent nation could prize—for the right of legislating for ourselves, which the enemy had proposed to submit to the standard of their arbitrary principles. Such valuable privileges should never be abandoned to the dictates of any sovereign, whether lawful or usurping, or to any mass of men however formidable in power.

The Duke of Richmond would not admit that war was of necessity to be resorted to. Magnified as the various grievances stated in the King's Declaration were, and

seriously as they were insisted on, they all vanished when the *ultimatum* of Ministers was read. Not one of them was therein noticed, but all the objects contended for in the negotiation were abandoned, and the controversy was brought to the single point, whether Great Britain should obtain the cession of the Island of Lampedusa. Lord King too, doubted greatly the prudence of going to war at this juncture, without an immediate and pressing necessity. He considered the war now entered upon as a war for correcting the errors of the Treaty of Amiens. Malta was an important object, but he did not think it worth being purchased at the expence of war. He therefore wished that all means for effecting peace might not be abandoned. The Duke of Norfolk and some other peers, also expressed their wishes that means might be discovered for maintaining peace, and thought that if any opportunity should offer, it ought to be embraced.

These sentiments were vehemently opposed by Lord Grenville, who declared the contest to be, not only for all our honours, but for all our rights and interests. It was a war of necessity, justice and expediency; it was in resistance to a state of aggression, violence and insult, that could not be endured, without sinking the country to the lowest state of degradation; and he was happy to see such a spirit reviving, as would enable us to meet a war with dignity, from which we could not recede without meanness—a war, which was not matter of choice on our part, but necessity. From the particular situation of this country at

at present, and from the general circumstances of Europe, it was impossible that Great Britain could exist in degradation. She had now only the option between two evils—war, vigorous and determined war, or farther temporizing; and from the moment she should resolve on the latter, the whole frame of her existence would begin to fall into pieces; her resources would decline, her commerce would be annihilated; her importance would disappear, because her freedom and national pride would be no more: her people, indeed, might remain, but completely changed, and divested of every trait of the British character.

The defenders of Government, while they depicted the ambition, aggressions, incroachments, and evident hostile intentions of Bonaparte, cautiously abstained from the use of any language which might subject them to the charge of inflaming national rancour by unnecessary abuse.

Notwithstanding the clear statement made by the noble Secretary of State, the Duke of Cumberland would again go over in detail the wrongs and insults which this country had endured. I must trace, he said, those wrongs of the First Consul of France; and when I say the First Consul, I should wish, if it were possible, to avoid speaking personally; I should wish to speak of his acts as Consul, but to say nothing of the man. Speaking only of him as Consul, I must ask, which of the nations of Europe is it that he has not subdued or endeavoured to subdue, and place in the rank of an obsequious vassal, whose happiness and whose very

existence should depend on his smiles or frowns? Where now is Holland, that for a century maintained, by its industry, a most respectable rank in Europe? That nation is trampled down by his legions, who, to add insult to injury, are pleased to call themselves allies.—Where is the free, the virtuous, and the gallant Swiss nation? For centuries they, too, in the bosom of peace, had cultivated the virtues, the sciences, and the useful arts. They had not meddled in the strife of nations; they always preserved the strictest and most honourable neutrality; but the destroyer came and swept away the produce of the industry of ages; and, what was dearer to them than their wealth, their independence and ancient liberties. Where is Italy now? Italy, which for ages has not lifted its head among contending empires, but whose ambition has merely been to call back into civilized Europe the monuments of ancient arts, the sciences, and the taste of the early ages of Greece, refined by every improvement of modern times. Where now are those unoffending countries? They all lie at the proud feet of France, to endure either the anger or the clemency of their conquerors. Among their first acquisitions since the peace was Lombardy, which they pleased to call the Italian Republic; then followed the Isle of Elba, Piedmont, Parma, and lastly Switzerland. Holland, which was one of those nations whose independence they had acknowledged by their treaties, was now overrun with French troops; and as to this country, if it could submit to the insolence and unjust pretensions of France, it would soon

soon be in as degraded and humiliating a situation as any of those small nations which were now obliged to bow to the mandates of a French Minister, and obey his instructions. It was impossible for any one, who considered the conduct of the French Government from the signing of the Definitive Treaty, not to perceive that it was influenced merely by the lust of dominion, and that sort of vanity which might be supposed to possess those who fancied themselves the conquerors of Europe. They had ventured, in speaking of this country, to say, "England is no longer able, single handed, to contend with France."

These observations were ably enforced by the Duke of Clarence, who animadverted with severity on the declaration of Bonaparte, that the acquisitions he had made were mere trifles; and Lord Ellenborough declared, that by the law of nature and nations, even an aggrandisement by succession, or otherwise, might have been ground of jealousy and suspicion; but when that aggrandisement had been obtained by violence and injustice, it could no longer be doubted that we were intitled to make new demands.

In addition to these topics the several speakers on the side of Government treated on the points in dispute between the two countries, as detailed in the papers. The arrogant manner in which Bonaparte demanded the transportation of the French nobility and clergy; his lofty requisition that the liberty of the press should be restrained; his unjust oppression of our commerce; this last, it was said, in a country like this, must be an

object of the greatest importance to the nation, and an object of the greatest solicitude to its Government; but the French had in a time of peace, acted with the most inveterate hostility. They had not endeavoured to depreciate our manufactures, and substitute their own, by laying on any protecting duties, or any fair mode of rivalry, No; it was by force, and by injustice. They not only rigorously prohibited the entrance of our manufactures into their country, but excluded them also from every country which was under their influence, or, rather, which could be terrified by the consideration of their power, joined to that of their rapacity and injustice: their tribunals had confiscated our vessels on the most frivolous pretences, they had refused, in every instance, justice to British claimants, and they were pleased to call this conduct the conduct of a nation at peace. This country too, had been told that it had nothing to do with the affairs of Europe, or with the oppressions and vexations that France might please to exercise on other nations, and that all our rights were derived from the Treaty of Amiens. When did France make this discovery, or when did Great Britain forfeit the rank and estimation she had hitherto held among other nations?

Nor was the Mission of Sebastiani, or his Report forgotten. This Report boldly disclosed the ambitious projects of France with respect to Egypt, and ultimately with respect to India. This Report, at the same time that it announced projects of ambition, such as hardly any other power had ever entertained, shewed, by this daring avowal, which

which was officially published in the Gazette of the First Consul, that the French Government no longer supposed there was any power which could thwart their schemes of conquest and plunder. Egypt was, in their opinion, already a colony of France. The first Consul himself said, that sooner or later it must belong to France; and his Minister confessed, that the possession of it must naturally affect the safety of our empire in India, and yet, when Ministers thought themselves not only justified, but bound in duty to retain Malta, not as a compensation for the unjust aggrandisement of France, but as a security against her designs in the Mediterranean, we are gravely told by the French Government, that although they are perfectly indifferent as to the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, or whether they ever recover the island or not, yet they will not permit England to retain Malta, because they do not choose that England should have any footing at all in the Mediterranean. But not to Egypt alone was the Mission of Sebastiani; it extended to the Republic of the Seven Islands, the independence of which was stipulated for in the Treaty of Peace. Here the sacred name of Religion was called in to answer the purposes of the French Government, and the First Consul was graciously pleased to take under his protection the church of this independent republic.

On the other side, it was alleged that all which had been said of Holland, of its distresses and sufferings, and of its intimate connexion with Great Britain as to common interest, had been very much exaggerated and twisted to serve

particular ends, as the views of men, and the state of public affairs varied. There was nothing, at all events, of such necessity as to press this country into hostilities on account of Holland. With respect to Switzerland, notwithstanding its boasted independence, it was undeniable that it belonged in fact to other powers, and not to us to interfere for its deliverance. Austria had clearly a more intimate connexion with Switzerland, and a more powerful cause to interpose than we could possibly have; yet she was deaf to those complaints in which also her own interests were allowed by every one to be most materially implicated. No apology could be found for an act so tyrannical as the seizure of Parma and Placentia, but was there no other power more interested in the repression of that despotism than Great Britain? Were we, upon all occasions, to volunteer our resources and exertions when those more immediately interested did not think proper to interfere? Why was Russia quiescent, which openly avowed the deep concern she felt in the preservation of these countries?

But then, said the Marquis of Lansdowne, "another ground for going to war is discovered in the Mission of Sebastiani to Egypt. I beg leave to state, that in this very instance, which is made a strong cause for the renewal of hostilities, there is nothing that can justify us in appealing to arms, though it contained much that was offensive in the manner of it. Does not every noble Lord who hears me, know that the Governments of all countries are in the habit of sending persons abroad in order to collect information, sometimes

times of a commercial, and sometimes of a military nature? Are we now to learn, for the first time, that of all other governments that of the monarchy of France was most attached to that particular system, that it sent agents to distant parts to acquire intelligence relative to the trade, the geographical and political state of these parts, and that the information thus collected was carefully arranged and preserved? But it is maintained as another cause of war, that the First Consul has views upon Egypt. I have no doubt, my Lords, that he has, and I believe any one in his situation would be actuated by just the same views. I am, however, very far from thinking his designs are of a nature so very alarming as they are described, for it is nearly impossible he could have such views and make such a declaration as we are assured he has done, that Egypt sooner or later would belong to France." Was it to be expected that, in the situation of France and of Europe, all views of ambition should be extinguished in the breast of the First Consul. He was far from supporting the whole of that person's character. No honest man, he believed, could approve of his conduct. Yet it was not because the First Consul had developed views of ambition that we ought to conclude that he intended to go to war with us. Our business, however, was not to allow ourselves to be hurried away by disapprobation of the First Consul's measures, or by an exaggerated alarm at his ambition, but to follow a steady course of national policy.

The attacks of Bonaparte on the liberty of the British Press were

in like manner palliated or defended. The Marquis of Lansdowne said he never could bring himself to think it stood in need of protection while the trial by jury was enjoyed by British subjects. Earl Stanhope said Ministers had a long string of complaints against the French Government, respecting the curtailment of the liberty of the press, the dismissal of emigrants, and the seditious publications of bishops. The insolence of Bonaparte, in requiring these concessions to his haughty demands, had been made a subject of very general complaint. He was ready to declare, that after having perused the papers with the utmost attention, he saw no proof of his insolence. If the French Government really required that the liberty of the press should be curtailed, that the freedom of discussion in both Houses of Parliament should be limited, then Ministers ought to have insisted on an immediate and distinct explanation. If the answer was not satisfactory, they ought to have recalled our ambassador that day, and on the succeeding day our cannon ought to have roared to avenge the insult offered to the national honour. But while he was an advocate for the liberty of the press, he was not to stand up for its licentiousness. Some late publications were of a most mischievous tendency, and could not be justified on any principle of regard to the rights of independent states. It was of great importance that the liberty of the press, as it ought to be exercised, should be clearly and accurately defined. The criterion between what was false, scandalous, and scurrilous was, what would be tolerated

rated with respect to the Ministers of the crown. What they would not bear to be applied to their conduct, it was unfair and criminal to apply to the conduct of the first magistrates of other states. On this point he thought the First Consul had a right to complain, because it did not appear that any specific case of insolence on the part of the government of France was established. Earl Moira also said, he did not mean so much to dwell on the sentiments of the English newspapers, as upon those which appeared in French newspapers published in London, particularly the *Courier de Londres*, a paper understood to be in a great degree under the patronage of Ministers; and in which the French Government was reviled in the grossest terms. And why, he would ask, should a paper which could not be employed for any purpose of amusing or informing the people of this country, be suffered to pursue a system of conduct destructive of amity, especially when Government had power, under the alien act, to send the editor out of the country, if it chose to discountenance such proceedings? Their declining to do so was not less a justification of the remonstrances on this subject, than a ground of suspicion as to the dispositions of his Majesty's Ministers.

The mention of Sebastiani and of Egypt introduced much discussion relative to Malta, and the principle of retaining it because Bonaparte had acquired so much additional power. "When I hear the value of Malta so very much cried up," the Marquis of Lansdowne observed "your Lordships will pardon me if I do not lay such

stress upon the acquisition of that island. How comes it that the great importance of Malta has all at once started into notice? Your Lordships cannot but recollect that four or five years ago it was not thought of so much value, when it was offered to this country by the Grand Master. Besides, as it is in our possession, where is the absolute necessity that compels us to go to war for it? Is it to secure that which might have been done by negotiation? The Duke of Richmond too while he admitted that Malta, as a key to Egypt, was of the utmost importance to us, contended that if Malta could have been obtained for a valuable consideration, he should have preferred that mode of securing it.

Earl Stanhope carried his opposition on these points much further than any other peer. He did not think that, in the principle on which the retention of Malta was required, Ministers were justified. Their argument was, that because, since the signature of the Definitive Treaty, France had received a considerable accession of power, therefore England was required to hold Malta, by way of additional security. To such a principle he never could give his approbation; but, if, for the sake of argument, he should admit it, Ministers could have no objection to his contending that it ought to be equally applied on all sides. With this understanding he should contend, that instead of the power of France being augmented since the peace, it had been materially decreased. In Europe it might, indeed, be said, that it had been increased, but this was a necessary consequence of antecedent events. After
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the battles of Marengo and Hohenlinden, all the subordinate states of Europe were virtually under her controul, and any formal cession was merely a nominal, not a real accession. But, what was the decrease of their influence and power, in other parts of the world? Since the signature of the Definitive Treaty, the important colony of Saint Domingo, a colony, in point of real value and importance, superior to all other French possessions in the West Indies, had been lost. By means of the free people of colour in Saint Domingo, Bonaparte might have gained all the others, both British and Spanish. But Ministers, after all this, still reverted to the views of Bonaparte respecting Egypt. Was it meant to be insinuated, that the predilection of Bonaparte for Egypt was any thing novel? Was it not well enough ascertained that the possession of it was one of his most favourite objects? The strong inclination expressed on this head by Bonaparte was not a sufficient ground for the retention of Malta, in the way in which it was by Ministers proposed to be retained. There was something laughable in the whole arrangements relative to the retention of Malta. It appeared in a dispatch dated the 12th of May, that at the time when Lord Whitworth was preparing to set out from Paris, M. Talleyrand brought forward a proposition, holding out a prospect of allowing us to retain Malta in perpetuity for a valuable consideration. On this Lord Whitworth solicited his passports and left Paris without any explanation, a mode of conduct which violated the plainest principles of common sense. In

another dispatch Lord Whitworth said of Talleyrand, "I found him to day entirely disposed to convince me that the First Consul was desirous to discuss fairly, and without passion, a point which he admitted was of importance to both countries. He repeatedly assured me, that much as the First Consul had the acquisition of Egypt at heart, he would sacrifice his own feelings to the preservation of peace, and henceforth seek to augment his glory by improving and consolidating the internal situation of the country, rather than by adding to its possessions." "Fair words these," said Lord Stanhope, "I would not be induced to give up Malta for them; but when it is offered to give us that island, in perpetuity, for a consideration, is it not worth endeavouring to find out what consideration would suit him? Jersey and Guernsey are strong for the purpose of annoying him, but of little use to us. Why not, give these up? Is it not better, than that two nations should destroy one another?"

This last proposition met with vehement reprobation from all sides of the house; from Lord Mulgrave, the Duke of Richmond, and Lord Grenville. It was with profound astonishment they heard the noble Lord talk of giving up those islands, which had been so long united to, and were so sincerely attached to Great Britain, the advantage of which we had so often proved in war, the benefit of which we had so constantly experienced in peace: those islands which made a vigorous defence upon former occasions against the common enemy, and whose exemplary rejection of every principle of Jacobinism, ought

ought to endear them for ever to every Englishman. But the noble Lord wished the country to forget their services, to forget their attachment, to forget the advantage derived from them, upon the most disgraceful principle that could be conceived. To deliver those islands into the hands of the French republic, would be an act of the greatest ingratitude and injustice, as well as an act of the greatest impolicy. The idea, Lord Grenville said, was not at all to be endured; and he would be sorry that it should go forth to the public from among their Lordships without being marked by the strongest reprobation. What! would the noble Earl, who professed himself an advocate for liberty, recommend to have so many thousands of British subjects transferred to the most severe and degrading slavery which at present exists in Europe? Was that the kind of protection he would grant in return for allegiance?

With respect to Malta, the conduct of Government was vindicated by the circumstances apparent in the papers; by the aggrandisement of France; the evident use to be made of the evacuation by turning it to advantage in an attempt on Egypt; and the impossibility, owing to the insidious intrigues of France of securing the independency of the Order, after their revenues had been sequestered, and no great power would undertake to become their guarantees. On this point the sentiments of Lord Melville were particularly intitled to notice. This question he said was freed from much of the difficulty and perplexity in which it had been involved. He rejoiced most heartily that nobody

could stand up to deny that the 10th Article of the Treaty of Amiens was totally incapable of being carried into execution. He congratulated the House, he congratulated the Country, that it was so incapable of being executed; nay, he thought it matter of congratulation that the French, by their obstinacy, had prevented any new and adequate arrangement for the independence of Malta from being substituted in the room of that which circumstances had so completely rendered impracticable. What indeed would have been the situation of Malta with all its guarantees? Was the guarantee of Spain, of Prussia, of France to be relied upon? It would not be pretended that such securities were of any avail. The only guarantee of importance, and which could have any efficacy, was that of Russia, in conjunction with Great Britain. He spoke of the importance of Russia in such an arrangement with the greatest satisfaction, for he considered it mutually for the interest of the two countries to cherish the strictest union and alliance. Nevertheless, he was happy that the guarantee of Russia was not to be attached to an arrangement in every way so inadequate to the object it had in view. It was in fact most advantageous for Russia that Malta should be under the protection of Great Britain. It was Great Britain alone which, by its naval superiority, by its capacity to avail itself of the harbours and naval station of Malta, was calculated to be the custodian of Malta. Every other plan for its protection and for its independence was futile and inadequate. Now indeed he was at liberty to contem-

contemplate the possibility of realising an object of so much importance as the settlement of Malta under British protection. Well did he remember the melancholy moments he had passed, when, after reading the Definitive Treaty, he found Malta exposed to so much danger of falling into the hands of a power that would employ it for our destruction. The importance of that island had long appeared to him to be very great, and Europe had in the most decisive instances witnessed it. It was impossible that all the efforts of France, that all the armaments she could send forth could obtain possession of Egypt while we, with a superior navy, had the opportunity of availing ourselves of the harbours of Malta. Malta, therefore, was to be considered as of infinite importance to the strengthening and security of our empire in India. He considered it as a rock or great tower, on which the flag of Great Britain, displayed and floating, would hold forth an invitation to the people of the Mediterranean, of the Adriatic, and of the Levant seas, to rally round it, and to avail themselves of the protection of this country. It therefore was subject of congratulation that, without any charge upon our good faith, an opportunity had occurred in which the 10th Article of the Treaty of Amiens could not be executed. As we were now going to war, and as Malta formed one of the main objects of the war, he wished that its value should be fully understood, and that we should likewise keep in view the necessity of availing ourselves of its advantages to the utmost. He hoped to hear no

more of the Order being restored; or of the independence of the island being in any manner guaranteed. While Great Britain was able to keep a superior fleet in the harbours of Malta, in the protection of Great Britain it would be secure. We were also freed from any consideration of the knights of Saint John. They had degraded and overthrown their Order by an act of perfidy; nor could they be restored without the severest injury to the people of the island. The Order was odious to the Maltese for the act of treachery by which they had put them under the government of France, and it was doubtful whether the people would not have deemed themselves less unfortunate in being transferred to France, than in being again placed under the command of an Order which they had so much reason to hate and to distrust. Besides, it was to be considered that we went to the aid of the Maltese, previously engaged in the reduction of the French; and it was greatly against the wishes of the people that the Order was to be reinstated upon any terms. We ought, therefore, to secure to the Maltese a wise and suitable form of civil government, to be enjoyed by them under the protection of the British power. This object ought to be prosecuted and settled without any delay, so that whenever any new negotiation should be set on foot, we might be enabled to say that the people of Malta, under a form of government agreeable to their wishes, were now established under the protection of Great Britain. He wished it to be understood that he considered the retention of Malta

for ever to be a most essential object, and one which, in the relative circumstances of France and this country, we were fully entitled to prosecute by war. The attainment of this object would be of the utmost benefit to all the states of the Levant, and under our protection alone, Malta could be rendered independent and happy.

Amid these discordances of opinion, peers on all sides spoke the most animating language to the country; they censured every attempt to enfeeble the public energy by affected lamentations, and exaggerated descriptions of the privations and burthens to be incurred: the resources of the country were equal to any necessity. If we had not the chivalry and gallantry of Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, we had to oppose to the enemy the heroes of Aboukir, of the Nile, of Saint Jean D'Acre, of Saint Vincent, and of Camperdown. Similar heroism and similar achievements, would signalize the present contest; and with such resources ought we to submit to insults? To the energies of the people, Parliament would supply wisdom, counsel, and unanimous resolution, to withstand the common enemy, without being influenced by any low considerations of party. If the war should be of any long continuance, the consequences of defeat would be the overthrowing of our altars, the destruction of our nobility, the degradation of the country, the extinction of the national honour, and the loss of that character which had hitherto made our people respected among the nations; whereas, if we should prosecute it with that

vigour with which our former wars had been carried on, there would be no doubt of the same success. We should convince the world that we had not degenerated from the patriotic spirit of our ancestors; and we should teach France, that there is still in Europe a powerful and unconquered nation, which, just and moderate in its own conduct, will not bear injustice or insult from any other, and is always prepared to defend its own dignity, and to oppose unjust ambition, aggrandizement and encroachment.

The House dividing on the question for an Address, there appeared Contents 142, Non Contents 10.

The discussion in the House of Commons continued two ^{23rd} days; Lord Hawkesbury, on ^{24th} the 24th, opened the business in a speech which is described as one of great ability and evident preparation, and moved an Address, by which the House assured his Majesty of the just sense they entertained of his anxious and uniform endeavours to preserve to his people the blessings of peace, of their strong feelings of indignation, that his Majesty's endeavours had been frustrated by the restless spirit of ambition and domination in the government of France, and their firm determination to co-operate in calling forth the resources of the United Kingdom for the vigorous support of his cause.

Mr. Erskine opposed the statements of Lord Hawkesbury, and was followed by Mr. Grey, who moved an amendment, limiting the Address to assurances of co-operation, and an expression of the satisfaction

tion with which the Commons received his Majesty's Declaration, that he was willing to afford, as far as might be consistent with his own honour and the interests of his people, every facility to any just arrangement by which the blessings of peace might be restored.

Of the debates on the first day, only an imperfect account is preserved, as the persons who took reports for the periodical publications were, by the throng of curious auditors, excluded from the gallery where they usually sit, and no memorial is preserved of any speeches but those of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Wilberforce.

The former, after being absent from Parliament during the Session, made a speech of extraordinary and unexpected brilliancy and force, surpassing the expectations, even of his warmest admirers; he supported the measures of government while Mr. Wilberforce expressed qualified disapprobation of them.

After noticing some of the propositions laid down by Mr. Erskine, Mr. Pitt treated at large on the various topics contained in the papers; and took it as a point admitted on the other side, that there was such clear evidence of views of aggression and hostility on the part of France, as justified this country in retaining Malta for its own security. This was, in fact, he said, the first great point on which the question turned, and he contended that the whole of Sebastiani's Report, and the circumstances of his mission to Egypt; the express and deliberate avowal by Bonaparte himself of his views and intentions, in a formal con-

ference with Lord Whitworth, and the information of the same intentions through the official channel of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, afforded the clearest and most indisputable evidence that the First Consul had formed the determination, even while Malta was yet in our hands, of resuming his hostile projects against Egypt; that the pursuit of such a project was an undeniable act of hostility against this country, and aimed at some of its most important interests; that it was, besides, a direct violation both of the letter and the spirit of the Treaty of Amiens itself, under pretence of which Treaty alone our evacuation of that Island was demanded, although under circumstances which, in other respects, according to the letter of that Treaty, did not authorise such a demand; that the disclosure of this hostile project clearly justified this country in requiring fresh security against it, and if such security was refused, in having recourse to arms for that purpose, at the moment which appeared to be most for our advantage. Having exposed at length the futility of the pretences advanced by the French government, especially on the subject of Sebastiani's mission, and the unequivocal avowals of their further intentions, both by Bonaparte and Talleyrand; he observed that to all the evidence founded on these several documents he had heard but one argument opposed—the improbability of the French government thus disclosing its views, if it really entertained them. On this point it might be sufficient to observe, that it might indeed be difficult to account for such a disclosure,

closure, even on the supposition of such a project being really intended; but that it was not only difficult, but impossible to account for it at all, on the supposition of its not being intended. The difficulty of accounting for the disclosure was removed, by referring to the new and peculiar policy which had marked the conduct of France on many extraordinary occasions, from the very beginning of the Revolution; that where any measure was in contemplation more flagrant and atrocious than another, and more likely to shock the general feelings of Europe, and perhaps to excite vigorous and united resistance, instead of carefully concealing it till the moment of execution, it had, on the contrary, been studiously announced before hand; the effect of this policy had been gradually to familiarize men's minds to that which at first they could scarcely even believe, and that those schemes which, in the first instance, were received with horror, and would have been opposed with indignation, came afterwards to be contemplated with neglect and indifference; and that which at first no man thought it possible seriously to attempt, was by degrees considered as natural and probable, and, in the end, as that which it was hopeless and impossible to resist. He therefore put it to the House, whether, after having observed this practice, it was possible for us to be so credulous and childish as to act on the belief that Bonaparte would abandon the projects he had formed, only because he had himself told us he would persist in them; and whether we thought that if, for whatever reason, he had been led pre-

maturely to disclose this project, even while Malta, the great security against its execution, was still in our possession, he would renounce the attempt when that security had been surrendered by us, and put, in fact, into his possession? He wished the House to consider what was to be our future conduct, if after all the warnings given us, we were now to surrender Malta, and the attack upon Egypt were to follow in six or twelve months afterwards. Were we prepared for the ridiculous, but disastrous alternative to which we should be reduced, of either submitting without a struggle to national calamity and disgrace, because, foreseeing our danger, we had voluntarily and wantonly sacrificed the best means of averting it; or, when it was perhaps too late, were we to enter upon a difficult and almost hopeless contest, having by our own act given up the arms by which we could be enabled to conduct it to a successful issue.

Mr. Pitt then took an able and ample review of the conduct of France in all particulars relative to Great Britain since the Treaty of Amiens, and declared himself convinced that there never was an occasion on which it more clearly became the indispensable duty of Parliament to concur with his Majesty in the declaration of the necessity and justice of war, and to assure him of firm and effectual support. But in giving these assurances, he trusted that other gentlemen felt impressed with the same sense which he did, of the awful importance of the engagement into which they were preparing to enter, and that they considered those assurances, not as formal

words of ceremony or custom, but as a solemn and deliberate pledge on behalf of themselves and the nation, whom they represented, knowing, and feeling to their full extent, the real difficulties and dangers of their situation, and of the arduous struggle which it compelled them to endure, and being prepared to meet those difficulties and dangers with every exertion and every sacrifice which the unexampled circumstances of the times rendered indispensable for the public safety. The scale of our exertions could not be measured by those of former times, or confined within the limits even of the great, and till then, unexampled efforts of the last war. He was convinced that some system far more vigorous and effectual than any even then adopted, would be found necessary, both in our finance, and in the preparation for national defence. On the provisions to be made for these two primary and paramount objects, it would principally depend whether we could effectually disconcert the favourite projects, and disappoint the main hopes of the enemy. It was evident that if they indulged themselves in any expectation of success in the present contest, it was built chiefly on the supposition that they could either break the spirit and shake the determination of the country, by harassing us with the perpetual apprehension of descent upon our coasts, or that they could impair our resources and undermine our credit, by the effects of an expensive and protracted contest. To defeat the first of these purposes, it was not sufficient to make those naval and military preparations which would prevent any inva-

sion that might be attempted from being ultimately successful (an event which he trusted he was justified, in common with others, in considering as utterly impossible), but to make such vigorous and extensive arrangements for national defence, as might diffuse a sense of the most complete security against even the temporary impression to be produced by such an attempt, and might enable every individual to lay down his head to rest, in the persuasion and confidence that nothing was omitted which could enable us at once to meet and repel the danger, at any moment, and in any quarter, in which it might threaten us.

In order to disappoint the second object, that of wearing out our resources, he trusted the House would, from the beginning, form its system of finance, not with a view only to the expence which might be necessary in the first year of the contest, but that they would look at once to the possibility of its being protracted to as long a period as that which was lately terminated—that they would consider fully what, on the probable scale of the war, would be the whole extent of the burthens necessary to be imposed on that supposition. He trusted that, if possible, not even a fortnight should be suffered to elapse without enabling Parliament to adopt such measures as would convince both France and the world, that we had from that hour provided the means of supporting the force, and defraying the expenditure which might be necessary for maintaining our internal security, and for the vigorous and effectual prosecution of the war, to any period.

to which it could reasonably be supposed to extend. We had not an option, at this moment, between the blessings of peace and the dangers of war—from the fatality of the times, and the general state of the world, we must consider our lot as cast by the decrees of Providence, in a time of peril and trouble—he trusted the temper and courage of the nation would conform itself to the duties of that situation; we should be prepared collectively and individually to meet it with that resignation and fortitude, and, at the same time, with that active zeal and exertion; which, in proportion to the magnitude of the crisis, might be expected from a brave and free people; and we should reflect, even in the hour of trial, what abundant reason we had to be grateful to Providence, for the distinction we enjoyed over most of the countries of Europe, and for all the advantages and blessings which national wisdom and virtue had hitherto protected, and which it would now depend on perseverance in the same just and honourable sentiments still to guard and to preserve.

Mr. Wilberforce, on the other hand, admitted that the general spirit of faithlessness, ambition and aggrandizement manifested by the French government towards all other countries, with the commanding tone and port which they had assumed in all their dealings; that their marked hostility towards this nation, combined with their formidable means of giving effect to that hostility; their views on Egypt, their obtaining of which, would be highly dangerous to our possessions in the East Indies; all

these considerations, confirmed and heightened by the several acts of injustice and indignity, stated so forcibly in his Majesty's Declaration, constituted such a body of aggression, injury, and insult, and manifested such a rooted spirit of hostility towards us, as to give us a right, on principles of provident self-defence, to declare war against France, if, all circumstances considered, war should appear to be dictated by the principles of sound policy. But the real security, the true interest of this country strongly enforced the expediency of avoiding war, if possible, in the present situation of our affairs, and, he could not but believe that Ministers had plunged into it rashly and unnecessarily, and that the chief ground on which they had rested their cause, the main hinge on which all had turned; was not such as they could fully vindicate. All the dispute, he contended turned on Malta, and he declared that Ministers were not warranted in making the demand of retaining that Island, and had therefore acted unwisely, not to say unjustly, in putting the whole cause on this issue. Granting that difficulties had occurred, difficulties not only not created by us, but of which France had been the secret instigator, which by preventing the execution of the conditions by which we meant to provide for the independence of the island, had fairly prevented our evacuating it on the day fixed by the Treaty of Amiens; yet still, we should have used our endeavours to overcome those difficulties, and to provide other means of accomplishing the same end. On Sebastiani's Letter he would not say much, but it

would scarcely warrant the conclusion which had been drawn from it. The views of the First Consul on Egypt were not doubtful, but they were not unknown or new. Ministers were aware of them at the time they concluded the Treaty of Amiens, and ought then to have guarded against them, instead of now requiring the possession of Malta instead of its independence. Malta, said Mr. Wilberforce, is indeed a valuable possession, but the most valuable of all the possessions of this country is its good faith.

“It appears to me,” he proceeded, “that the King’s Message to Parliament was a measure which tended to create a breach between the two countries. Certainly it has not been proved that any great armaments were making in the ports of France; but I will pass over this topic—I confess that great allowances ought to be made for administration, who, it must be remembered, were in the painful situation of being responsible for the security of this country. But it was urged in defence of his Majesty’s Ministers, that they must make a stand somewhere; they had been subjected to a long course of injury and insult, and it was unfair to state the point on which they at last took their stand, as if it were the only point of difference: true, but in proportion as it was necessary, in the circumstances of his Majesty’s Ministers, that they must take their ground somewhere, in that same proportion was it incumbent on them to select the ground on which they could make their final stand, with more than ordinary caution and judgment. Again,—The conduct

of Ministers in the case of Switzerland, renders it almost impossible for me to concur in declaring in the words of the Address, my sense of their anxious and uniform endeavours to preserve the blessings of peace. The conduct of government was, in that instance, unwarrantable, and they were not justified in exposing this country to the manifold evils and dangers of war, for the sake of the liberties of Switzerland.”

Mr. Wilberforce then adverted to the disadvantage of contending against France without allies, and insisted on the policy of postponing a contest. Bonaparte, he admitted, had declared he would regard our retention of Malta, contrary to the Treaty of Amiens, as a declaration of war; that declaration was made in an early stage of the proceedings; but what passed afterwards, afforded reason to believe, that the independence, at least, of Malta, if not our retention of it for ten years, would have been acquiesced in, rather than the war should be re-commenced. The difference between himself and Ministers, he said was, that they wished to seek for peace through the mouth of the cannon, he through the mediation of the Court of Russia.

In the debate on the second night, the members of the new opposition; Mr. T. Grenville, Mr. William Elliot and Mr. Canning justified the war, and desired an unanimous vote in favour of the Address. Had only one of the causes contained in the papers been assigned, that alone it was contended, would have been sufficient ground for the rupture. The mere act of sending persons to this country,

country, apparently invested with diplomatic characters, and under pretence of preserving the relations of peace, while, at the same time, they were actuated by motives of the most determined hostility against this country; while they were regarded and treated with all that hospitality and attention, which their supposed sacred characters intitled them to; the mere sending persons, who, when they were receiving that hospitality which a generous nation thought it its duty to show towards them, were at the same time tracing out the destruction of the country, was so scandalous, so shameful, and so unprecedented an act of aggression, that, instead of questioning whether it is a just ground of war, it might rather be asked whether it had been properly resented? But they who maintained these opinions carefully separated their support of the just rights of his Majesty and the nation from any approbation of the conduct of Ministers; and this separate mode of viewing the parts of the case was recommended by Mr. Whitbread, who while he supported the amendment moved by Mr. Grey, cautioned the new opposition against giving their countenance to Ministers so as to warrant a supposition that their measures were entitled to support.

Mr. Whitbread viewing all the topics of discussion separately, thought some of them not sufficient to warrant hostilities, and that others had been so long passed over, that the period for taking notice of them had definitively elapsed. For the violence of Bonaparte, he made an extraordinary excuse. The Chief Consul, he said, was a great man, and subject to the most

violent gusts of passion; but what fell from him in such moments was not to be considered in the light of deliberate conversation.

Ministry were powerfully supported by Mr. Dallas, who, in a speech of some length, vindicated their conduct, and exposed that of the enemy; and by Mr. Serjeant Best, who considered that too much time had been occupied in discussing the Papers before the House; for, it was admitted on all hands, that they contained abundant and legitimate causes of war, and yet the House was still discussing whether they should agree in the Address to his Majesty upon the justice of the war. If he were asked, would he go to war for Malta, he would answer, No! he would not go to war for Malta, or a much more extensive possession, in the abstract: but it was the manner in which France demanded Malta, it was the disposition she had shewn, it was the designs which she had openly avowed, that in his opinion justified this country in going to war. If the smallest spot of earth was demanded of us, in the manner, and under the circumstances that France had demanded Malta, he would refuse it, because he considered it as essentially connected with the safety and interests of the British empire.

The most formidable opponent of the measures of government was Mr. Fox, who, as if roused to a peculiar exertion by the brilliant and successful display which had been made by his old political antagonist, Mr. Pitt, poured forth an oration worthy the high character of the speaker. It was characterized by his friends as a master piece of oratory and political wisdom,

dom, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer noticed it as the most commanding piece of sophistry he had ever heard delivered in Parliament.

Mr. Fox, would not, in a question on such an Address as the present, consent to postpone the consideration of the conduct of Ministers. The Address proposed to thank his Majesty for his uniform efforts to preserve the peace of the country; as the Papers exhibited quite the reverse of any such proposition, he was far from feeling a disposition to thank them for their uniform consistency in endeavouring to avoid hostilities. As other gentlemen had laid down general principles, he would also state some. He maintained, that, throughout the question there was no just ground of war, except the refusal of satisfaction. "If an injury be received," he said, "the proper mode of proceeding is by the demand of reparation, and the justice of the quarrel will then depend on the refusal or acquiescence of the party said to be the aggressor. Some who possess power will occasionally take that reparation into their own hands, but it will scarcely be maintained that this is the most justifiable means of proceeding." The question to be considered was, whether the conduct of France towards this country, had been unjustifiable since the conclusion of the Treaty of Amiens? As to any aggression that might have been committed against other nations, he denied that it was a just cause of war to England. We had not, any guarantee to bind us to maintain the independence of Switzerland. The aggrandizement of a rival country to a certain extent,

might furnish a ground of quarrel for self-defence, and induce a country such as this to enter into a quarrel with another, circumstanced as France might be supposed to be; but after the numerous partitions and spoliations witnessed and sanctioned in recent times, he would not admit that any thing of that kind which had happened since the peace would justify the renewal of hostilities. Had this country always gone on the principle of substantial security; instead of the few intervals of peace we occasionally enjoyed, England would have been in a state of perpetual and uninterrupted war for the last two centuries. These principles Mr. Fox applied to Germany, Piedmont, Switzerland, Holland and Saint Domingo.

As to the complaints on the Liberty of the Press, Mr. Fox expressed himself in these terms. "I am unquestionably one of those who would not disturb the freedom of the press in England to please any foreign country, and should, to the utmost of my power, equally resist such an attempt on the part of the government of England. Proposals to that effect made by the government of France could only proceed from the grossest ignorance of our laws and constitution; but being capable of explanation, they could afford no proper ground of quarrel. The press, at times, has no doubt deviated into licentiousness, but that is no more than a partial evil, springing from an universal good. In the system of reciprocal abuse, which seems to have been adopted, and which has the appearance of having been countenanced by the republican governments, there must
necessa-

necessarily be some subject of emulation; but I should recommend to both parties to attend to a passage in the very best of poems, and put by Homer in the mouth of the Goddess of Wisdom. When two heroes were quarrelling, and prepared for battle, this goddess told them what may be thus translated into English—"Gentlemen, put up your swords, and then abuse each other as much as you please." This, in my opinion, was a very sage admonition, whether from the lips of the Goddess of Wisdom or the Goddess of Reason, of whom we have heard such frequent mention. This reciprocal abuse is certainly extremely scandalous; and while we say to the French you can controul your press, though we cannot restrain ours, we cannot expect from them the simplicity to believe that our Ministers have not influence enough to restrain this abuse, at least in some of the papers. Our Ministers tell us that all the influence they possess over the newspapers is confined to the preference they may give some of them in furnishing them with articles of intelligence. For the truth or falsehood of this I cannot answer; but surely Bonaparte might, if he pleased, allege the same excuse."

The French princes to whom this country afforded an asylum, were considered by Mr. Fox as on a parallel, at best, if not inferior to the Irish rebels who had taken refuge with Bonaparte. "If France," he said "were to expel all the Irish who might in moments of carelessness have been betrayed into seditious proceedings, and we to send off all the French in the same situation, it might so

happen that some of the most virtuous men in the world would be hunted from the face of the earth. I do not pretend," he proceeded, "to entertain any great degree of respect for the princes of the House of Bourbon, but I confess, that there is not one of them for whom I would draw the sword and involve two nations, on whom so much depends the repose of the world, in all the calamities of war."

He considered Bonaparte's assertion that England was not able singly to struggle against France, impertinent, but no very serious insult. He thought much too great stress had been laid on several of the expressions of Bonaparte, by the commentaries of Lord Whitworth, in his account of the conversations between himself and the First Consul, and that the report, from memory of so long a conversation, must necessarily be, at least, defective. He ridiculed the conclusions drawn from the tone and manner of Bonaparte, that he was proud and haughty in talking of an attempt on our coast, and saying it was an hundred to one that he would be destroyed in the attempt, and that he *despaired* of accomplishing his end. This, he said, reminded him of the most extravagant passage, in the most extravagant work, of the most extravagant, though admirable poet, Dryden, who made his wild hero Almanzor, say

"you shall not dare
To be so impudent as to despair."

The Report of Sebastiani in the aspersion thrown on General Stuart was highly indecent, but might be the more easily overlooked, as the talents and character of that brave officer

officer must prevent those charges from making any impressions injurious to him. If the French had seized any ships, as stated, merely because they had English merchandise on board, the great injury was to their own commerce, by affixing upon them an inhospitable character. If the persons sent over as commercial agents were in fact military officers, it was the duty of Ministers to send them away immediately, and then demand an explanation. If they had not done so, it was to be attributed to their own neglect. As to the publication in a *Hamburg paper*, if the French Minister, Rheinard, availed himself of his political situation to compel the insertion of it, that was an act of aggression against that republic, not us. Talleyrand expressed his astonishment at it, and would no doubt have disclaimed it, if our ambassador had not been ordered so hastily away. He then proceeded to argue that the conversation at Court between Bonaparte and Lord Whitworth, only shewed how little stress should be laid on such representations. It passed certainly in the presence of a great number of witnesses, but it was equally certain that several of these persons related it very differently. All this, however, passed before the recess took place, and the Minister never thought it worth mentioning till he had first opened the budget, and spoke in such a manner of the prospect of a permanent peace as was calculated to delude the nation into an erroneous opinion of the state of public credit. This he considered as a proof that the conversation was not at that time considered by Minis-

ters to be a cause of war. It had been argued, that although one circumstance may not furnish sufficient cause of war, the accumulation of many may, as it was said to be the last pound weight that broke the horse's back; but if the Minister foresaw that his back was so soon to be broken, he should not have made a financial representation so flattering as to produce a delusive effect.

On the subject of Malta, Mr. Fox laboured with great assiduity, contending that, in the judgment of the persons best qualified to form an opinion, Malta was not the key of Egypt, nor Egypt the key of the East Indies, nor the East Indies a vital interest of this country, although it must be acknowledged to be a very important one. The French expedition to Egypt was a wild and extravagant scheme, which he believed would not ultimately, even had they obtained it, have been of service to them in an attack on the East Indies. We had expelled the French from Egypt before we were in possession of Malta, and he could no more value the former country for being the scene of our exploits, than he would the field of Blenheim in any continental arrangements. If France aggrandized itself in Europe, we did the same in the East Indies: and representing them as different, would be the same as the excuse of the Lady, suspected of gallantry in the East Indies, and on being taxed with it replied, "Never guilty, upon my honour, on this side of the Cape of Good Hope." The Ministers could not be actuated by a desire of keeping their faith with the order of Malta, since they had offered

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to compromise the dispute, if they might retain possession of the Island ten years. As strong a desire of aggrandizement had been displayed on our part, when we delayed the evacuation of the Cape of Good Hope, as by Bonaparte in any of his projects relative to Egypt or India; and granting that Bonaparte retained his designs on Egypt, and thought the possession of Malta requisite for the furtherance of them, it would be idle to suppose, that by publishing Sebastiani's Report, he would have avowed that intention at the moment he supposed us to be on the point of surrendering the Island.

After ridiculing the conduct of Ministers on this subject, as wavering and indecisive, he adverted to the point in the negotiation when they determined on demanding explanations. The manner in which this part of the negotiation was conducted, he said, was of a piece with what preceded it. They tell Lord Whitworth to demand an explanation, and when Talleyrand asks what explanation is wanted, the negotiation is at a stand. Next, they will be satisfied with nothing short of security, and when the nature of this security is inquired into, it turns out that they are equally unprepared for a distinct reply. Last of all, comes their proposition for keeping Malta for ten years, as if ten years in a political point of view, were to be considered as any thing short of perpetuity. But the manner in which this negotiation was conducted, was peculiarly worthy of attention; the simple proposition about Malta would not, perhaps, have been at all palatable to the First Consul; there would have

been an abruptness in it, which might have hurt his feelings. Ministers therefore determine to make the arrangement as easy a triumph as possible. The king of Sardinia had, eighteen months before, been stripped of his dominions. He had been consigned to neglect and oblivion. The Emperor of Russia had offered to exert himself in his behalf, and solicited the interference of Ministers; but they answered 'we have difficulties enough of our own; we can have nothing to do with him; we can afford to give him nothing but our good wishes.' Before this new drama of negotiation was opened, he was politically dead and buried. Ministers, however, are determined once more to bring him on the scene, and like the ghost of a king deceased, before the tragedy opens, he plays the part that Ministers choose to assign to him. Ministers go on pushing Bonaparte to agree to their demands about Malta, and the indemnities to the King of Sardinia fill up a niche in their ultimatum. If the King of Sardinia obtains nothing, he is left exactly in the same state which Ministers found him.

In a similar strain he reviewed the conduct of Ministers as connected with their professions of desiring peace, and remonstrating against the encroachments of French ambition. After leaving the continent in the state in which it was now placed, with Holland under the yoke, with Switzerland enslaved, with all the weaker powers under French influence, without the least prospect of continental support, he could not think a war for Malta, plain Malta, justifiable. He recommended with extraordinary

nary energy the acceptance of the mediation of Russia; it was important to obtain the guarantee of so great a power, not merely for the independence of Malta, but the deliverance of the weaker states of Europe. In fine, he drew a terrifying picture of the horrors and privations which must ensue from war. The sacrifices which the country would be called upon to make had been impressively described by Mr. Pitt, with all his usual splendour of diction and richness of imagery. He desired the House to consider that this was not information given by a novice. It was the communication of an artist. The mode of practice adopted during the last war was inapplicable to the present state of the political body. Formerly he was contented with pulling the teeth, cutting the limbs, or attacking their extremities. Now he would be under the necessity of amputating the limbs, and probing them to the quick.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer complimented Mr. Fox on the ability displayed in his speech, but combated the arguments it contained, and denied the conclusions it enforced; and he exposed the fallacy of his general reasoning respecting the propriety of interfering to prevent the subjugation or destruction of other nations, and in the instances of Switzerland, the liberty of the press, the expulsion of the emigrants, and the mission of Sebastiani, an event which was considered by his Majesty's government as the avowal of an intention in the French, to violate the Treaty of Amiens, by endeavouring to overthrow the Turkish Empire. We were now

at war; but, if any body could bring forward a practicable proposition by which peace could be preserved, the Minister would be an enemy to his country, who should not accept it. He meant a proposition that could give peace, and a fair prospect of the enjoyment of its blessings. Under the present circumstances, however, he would only be deceiving the country, were he to say, that he either saw or knew any thing in the French Government that warranted any such expectation. We must expect and be prepared to meet, an arduous contest. If we suffered ourselves to be unnerved, and diverted from the unexampled efforts, which the country was now called upon to make, we should not only not discharge the duty due to the public, but we should be obliged to make still greater exertions at no great distance of time. He was desirous, at this moment, of unanimity, but he could not ask any man's support to the Address, unless he had made up his mind to great sacrifices. We must provide for our domestic security, and submit to great privations to guard the vitals of the country, as well as its extremities, from attack.

The Attorney General expressed his disapprobation of Mr. Fox's speech, in stronger terms, describing his eloquence as a cloak to sentiments calculated to destroy the unanimity of the House. He had talked much of the value of the blessings attending peace; the House also knew the value of peace as well as the honourable gentleman, but peace could not be valuable to the country when maintained at the hazard of our ruin,
and

and perhaps the loss of our existence as a nation. He had also described the miseries of war, but the House was to be directed by wisdom, not eloquence; let any man look over the Papers now on the table relative to the negotiation, and, he was sure it would be acknowledged, that the French wished to destroy the British power.

Mr. Windham, in language still

more spirited, censured Mr. Fox's arguments, "if arguments they might be called," as fallacious; they went like poisoned arrows to each member, and were the effect of wickedness. He had used eloquence to destroy every thing that is valuable to society.

After some observations and explanations occasioned by these remarks, the Address was carried by 398 against 67.

CHAP. X.

Mr. Fox gives notice of a Motion for accepting the mediation of the Emperor of Russia; his Motion; his Speech; answer of Lord Hawkesbury; observations of Mr. Pitt; after some explanations the Motion is withdrawn. Motion of Earl Fitzwilliam for censuring Ministers; defence of their conduct; Motion of adjournment; observations of the Earl of Caernarvon; Lord Ellenborough; Earl Spencer; Lord Melville; Lord Hobart; Lord Grenville, and various other Peers; the Adjournment and vote of censure rejected. Motion to the same effect by Col. Patten in the House of Commons; Speech of Mr. T. Grenville; answer of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Pitt moves the other orders of the day; he is opposed by Lord Hawkesbury, and by Mr. Canning; his Motion negatived by a great majority; Col. Patten's Motion similarly rejected.

IT was a favourite notion with Mr. Fox, and he often adverted to it in the course of his speech on the causes of the rupture, that Ministers ought to have recourse to the Emperor of Russia as a mediator between this country and France. So strongly was 25 May. his mind impressed with this opinion, that on the following day, he gave notice of a Motion on the subject; and as he declared that even the delay to be occasioned by a few days recess at Whitsuntide might be injurious to the effect of his proposition, the House fixed the next day but one for the discussion.

27th. Mr. Fox moved for an Address, praying that his

Majesty would avail himself of the mediation which the House understood to be offered by the Emperor of Russia, to bring to a termination, consistent with the honour and dignity of his crown, and the interests of his people, the differences existing between this country and France; and which mediation might not only be the means of terminating war, but of conducing to the solid and permanent repose of Europe.

In offering this proposition the mover declared, that, as on a late occasion the opinion of the majority had been against him, he bowed with respect to that judgment. The country being now engaged in war, should have his ardent sup-

support; but as he was persuaded there could not be a dissentient voice on the question, that it was desirable to bring it to an honourable termination as soon as possible, he thought it his duty to call the attention of the House to a proposition, which had been recently made by the Emperor of Russia to interpose his mediation for the complete settlement of the differences subsisting between Great Britain and France. Among the advantages which must result from the mediation of this powerful, respected, and much esteemed sovereign, Mr. Fox stated the following: Should the country be obliged to prosecute the war for the attainment of any objects of which that sovereign should approve, it would have the material support of that approbation, which would add to the sanction of his great name, the opinion of the world in our favour. We might, through means of this mediation, contrive to procure the adjustment, not merely of the question respecting Malta, but in fact, of all the points in dispute. The power and character of the mediator, and his rank in Europe would justify the strongest hopes. His character, stood upon the most elevated grounds; and if the report of all men spoke true, that elevation was highly deserved; just to the people committed to his government, and benevolent to all mankind, he was very much affected by the changes which had taken place in the situation of Europe; warmly attached to peace, he was highly disgusted with the conduct of France, since the Treaty of Amiens. This mediation would tend to the satisfactory termination of the war, and also to a satis-

factory regulation of the state of the continent.

After detailing the motives which should induce the Emperor of Russia to assume the task of mediation, and describing the language he might hold to each of the contending parties, Mr. Fox earnestly advised Ministers to attach themselves to that power from which alone they could expect to derive any material assistance towards accomplishing the ends they had in view, either of an honourable and immediate peace, or a successful war. "With that power, alone" he said "if you could contrive to form a close alliance, you would be able to protect all the other states of Europe from unjust attack. I perfectly coincide with those who maintain, that this country should not submit its claims to the arbitrary decision of Russia, or any other power; but will it not be wise to explain the justice of those claims, and to interest a powerful state in your cause. If, after having done so, the French government should refuse you a fair satisfaction, and its system should appear to lead to the subversion of the continental powers, do you think it improbable that Russia would connect herself with you, on fair defensive principles, to repel such injustice? Acting in concert with such a power, and for a just object, you could have little danger to apprehend. With such a junction, Europe would have little to fear from the ambition of any man"

In corroboration of this opinion, Mr. Fox adverted to the general state of Europe, to shew that none of the powers which remained free were likely to join with France against such an union. Prussia, although

although he could not praise her conduct for some late years, was pacific; and Austria, from prudence and necessity, not less so. From the lassitude occasioned by the last war, from the diminution of her resources, and from the change of her councils, she did not seem at all disposed to warfare. That respectable, and universally respected character, the archduke Charles, after the immortal glory which he had acquired in war—a glory not to be reduced by defeat, now, happily for mankind, seemed to consider his best glory to consist in discharging the obligations which he owed to the people, through whose assistance he had been enabled to establish his fame, by endeavouring to secure to them the enjoyment, and studying to promote the advantages, of peace. Besides; the interference of Russia would even induce a good opinion of our cause in the minds of the people subject to the authority of the French Government. We could, at all events be certain of the good wishes of the people of Holland, Switzerland, and many parts of Italy. It might be said, that these people could give us no assistance. Under the present circumstances, perhaps, they could not; but the case would be materially different, if we had the co-operation of Russia. Were the present opportunity neglected, the same power might be slow to come forward, and there was no other to which we could refer, because there was none that could or would assist in checking the aggrandizement of France.

Lord Hawkesbury opposed Mr. Fox's Motion, considering that as it rested on no grounds acknowledged in Parliament, the House

would not interfere with the exercise of the Royal prerogative. The grounds which would justify such an interference were, when Ministers had neglected to do what the House might be of opinion ought really to have been done; and when the conduct of Ministers, in various particulars, seemed to be totally at variance with what it manifestly ought to have been in the cases which might be so scrutinized. But as, in the present case, no such charge had been made or even intimated, the Secretary of State, although he concurred in almost all the leading principles of policy advanced by Mr. Fox, would not assent to his motion. He also denied that any offers of the nature alluded to had been made by Russia. After a long, irksome, and critical negotiation of several weeks; after witnessing the situation in which this country was placed; after the most frank and full explanation of every circumstance during the negotiation, which was now completely frustrated by gross evasion on the part of France; the only disposition which had since been shewn towards accommodation was, that the Emperor of Russia so far interfered, as to propose again opening the negotiation, with a view of allowing the government of France to explain their sentiments. On the whole, Mr. Fox's conduct on the present occasion, far from having a beneficial effect to the country in general, rather had a contrary tendency, in injuring his Majesty's Ministers in the public opinion; and therefore, not on account of its general principles, but principally because there could be no necessity, at the present moment, for making any such motion, and because nothing but evil seemed

seemed likely to arise from it, his lordship was determined to oppose it.

Mr. Pitt declared his perfect acquiescence in the general principles laid down by Mr. Fox, and with great satisfaction heard Lord Hawkesbury's approbation of those principles, because it left on his mind no doubt that if any effect could be given to those principles, (and it belonged to the executive government in the first instance, to give them application,) no favourable opportunity would be lost of putting them in practice. He rejoiced to be able, on this occasion, to agree with the honourable gentleman in his general principles, though he could not but remember there had been times when the honourable gentleman differed from him, on the application of those principles, with a vehemence that looked very like a condemnation of them.

If there could arise out of the mediation of the Emperor of Russia, any chance of producing a general system on which peace could be restored, and confirmed by respectable guarantees; a peace by which not only the objects in dispute between Great Britain and France, but other points relative to the state of Europe, could be adjusted, it would be a consummation so important, that to obtain it some arrangement even less advantageous to this country in a separate view would be admissible. What that arrangement should be, either as to the general system, or our particular interest, it was impossible beforehand to determine. It would depend upon all the circumstances of the case. On the other hand, if that system were not attainable, our interest would pre-

scribe other views and other precautions. Though unwilling to separate ourselves from the continent; though not unwilling to make some deduction from the sum of our own demands, and from the means of separate security, to augment the strength of the general system, it might happen that we should be left, without any fault of our own, to maintain a separate struggle.

Yet although Mr. Pitt so strongly felt and so explicitly acknowledged the justice of Mr. Fox's general principles, he did not approve of the motion he had brought forward, and assigned his reason in these terms. "Unless some practical benefit is to be derived from pressing the motion, I hope the honourable gentleman will be inclined to withdraw it. To press it to a division at the present moment, would be attended with one of two inconveniences: either the previous question would be carried, by which there might be room for the misconstruction that one part of the House was hostile to the principles on which the honourable gentleman argued; and on the other hand, if the motion were carried, it would imply a doubt that the House entertained an opinion that ministers did not concur in the principles so well laid down, and were unwilling to give them effect; a suspicion for which, after what has been said by the Secretary of State, there appears no foundation."

Mr. Fox, in reply, vindicated the consistency of his political principles, and said, if it could be stated by Ministers that there was at this moment, a disposition to accept of the mediation of Russia, he had no objection to withdraw his proposition; but unless he re-

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ceived a more distinct assurance from Ministers of their readiness to accept of the mediation than was contained in Lord Hawkesbury's speech, he should feel it his duty to press the motion.

In consequence of these remarks Lord Hawkesbury explained the nature of the mediation offered by Russia at length. The impression on the mind of the Emperor Alexander was, that there was a certain degree of reluctance on the part of the two governments, to explain distinctly the points in dispute. It had, accordingly, been proposed that the Russian Ministers in London and Paris should interpose their good offices for procuring this explanation. A desire was also expressed on the part of the Emperor, to do all in his power to facilitate an amicable adjustment; but as, at this time, Lord Whitworth was on the eve of quitting Paris, Ministers considered the offer far too loose and general, to be then adopted. At the same time they did not conceal from the court of St. Petersburg, that with reference not only to the particular points in dispute, but also to the establishment of a guarantee for the general independence and security of Europe, they were ready to accept of the mediation of Russia. They had also declared their readiness to explain, in the most frank and explicit terms, the views which they entertained on the points in dispute, and the mode which to them appeared best calculated to bring about an amicable arrangement. In end of his Majesty's Declaration, an express assurance was given of his readiness to listen to any proposal for restoring the bless-

sings of peace, and Ministers were now ready to receive any offer of mediation on the part of Russia, or to offer to her mediation the points in dispute.

Satisfied with this explanation, Mr. Fox withdrew his motion.

The propositions for an inquiry into the conduct of Ministers, which had been threatened before Easter, were now made in both Houses. The Lords first took up the subject, on the motion of Earl Fitzwilliam, who submitted three Resolutions, importing, that it appeared from the king's Declaration, that the conduct of France toward this country since the peace had exhibited "one continued series of aggression, violence, and insult;" and necessarily created a "thorough conviction" of a system deliberately "adopted by France for the purpose of degrading, vilifying, and insulting his Majesty and his Government;" and that Ministers having throughout this whole period, neither communicated to Parliament any knowledge of the sense they entertained respecting the conduct and system of France, nor any regular information of the particulars on which the same was founded, or the steps taken thereupon, had withheld from the House the necessary materials for the due and full discharge of its constitutional functions; and that by encouraging throughout the country an unfounded security and confidence in the permanence of peace, they had embarrassed and perplexed our commerce; deceived the expectations, and unnecessarily harassed the spirit of the people; and materially increased and aggravated

the difficulties of our actual situation. His third resolution contained a vote of censure.

The speech which introduced these Resolutions contained, without a variance, all the topics which had been alleged against the conduct of Ministers since the signature of the preliminaries of peace, beginning with Piedmont, the Italian Republic and Parma, and ending with the negotiation concerning Malta. His Lordship declared he was actuated by no motives of personal hostility to Ministers; on the contrary, for many of them, individually, he felt the greatest respect, and no man was more ready to do justice to the respectability of their private character; but as, during the whole course of these transactions, they had withheld from Parliament all information, he could not, without deserting his duty to his country, refrain from making his present motion.

The Earl of Limerick defended the conduct of Ministers, and Earl Grosvenor, in concluding a speech on the same side, moved the previous question on Earl Fitzwilliam's motions; Lord Borringdon, the Earl of Fife, the Duke of Cumberland and the Earl of Westmoreland were also heard in vindication of Ministers, and Lord Darnley and the Earl of Suffolk against them. The debate, although maintained with great ability, presented little novelty, when Lord Mulgrave, deprecating the agitation of any question which could divert the attention of the country from the great objects which ought now to engage their attention, or weaken the general disposition to resist the invasion threatened by France, moved an adjournment.

This motion gave a new turn, and additional spirit, to the debate. The attack and defence of Ministers were continued on the same grounds, but although the proposition for an adjournment proceeded from a peer who had spoken in their favour, the Ministers themselves deprecated it, with as much vehemence as was shewn by some of the peers in opposition, and one peer at least, Lord Melville, who had not before been supposed hostile to administration pressed the adjournment with his utmost ability. By these means, the friends and opponents of Government spoke in terms not exactly conformable to their party associations, as to the measure to be finally adopted, although they maintained their usual sentiments with respect to the conduct of Ministers.

The Earl of Caernarvon supported the motion of Earl Fitzwilliam. After vehemently censuring the proceedings of Ministers during the peace, he continued. "They have again plunged the nation, weakened by concessions, into a war, with an enemy grown stronger by their indiscretion. They found the country (when they had the presumption to undertake the management of public affairs) at the conclusion of a war, though not successful to the extent of our wishes, yet not unproductive of glory and valuable acquisitions, the produce of many victories, a situation which may well be illustrated by the old emblematic oak in Lucan,

"Sublimis in agro
Exuvias veteres populum Sacratæque potant
Dona Ducum."

and after two years miserable experi-

periments, the nation is placed by them in the melancholy reverse of the same picture,

“ *Nudos ad æthera ramos
Extollens, trunco non frondibus efficit
umbram.*”

The question now immediately under our consideration is, whether we shall silence, by an adjournment, an examination into the conduct of Ministers, in whose care, their own peace, fortified by their own concessions, and supported by their own submissions, has never taken root, before we suffer them, without remonstrance, to practise on our last resources, in a war as truly experimental in their hands, as their late unfortunate and ill-omened peace.”

Lord Ellenborough, on the other hand, reprobated the attacks on Ministers, and the causes from which they proceeded. The respect and esteem which he felt for his Majesty's confidential servants, both in their public and private capacity, made him indignant at the frequency of such reflections, made by those who, from day to day, rang the changes on the hacknied charge of the incapacity of Ministers, their weakness and their imbecility; so that, forsooth, in a moment of great emergency, they were to learn capacity from the incapable, strength of the weak, and knowledge from the completely ignorant. The whole conduct of his Majesty's confidential Servants, he contended, was regulated with a greater degree of propriety, and supported with more ability, than if it had been aided by the Herculean shoulders

of some persons who seemed to be pointed out at present as their successors.

Earl Spencer said, they were not mere vague charges that were made against Ministers. They were arraigned of incapacity and misconduct upon specific facts and circumstances presented to the attention of the House in the papers on the table. Those who brought forward and supported the resolutions proposed, did so from feelings of public duty.

Lord Melville, in a speech which contained some praise and some censure of Ministers, supported the motion for an adjournment. He objected to the resolutions as tending to impair the energy, by affecting the unanimity of the country; but in another view he was adverse to the resolutions. It was admitted that they were equivalent to an Address for the removal of Ministers, and should be so followed up. Now granting that the House might concur in such a motion, was there any reason to believe that the Sovereign had ceased to repose confidence in his Ministers? After saying who are not fit to be Ministers, are we ready to say who are? Are we ready to say that, should any intermediate danger or struggle occur, the state shall be endangered by a cessation, as it were, of all vigorous and stable administration? Was the House then prepared to say who were to be Ministers, in order to secure a vigorous administration, in case the present were removed? Those who might see in the conduct of Ministers, as it appeared in the papers, something to commend, something to be cleared up,

and something perhaps to regret, could not approve or disapprove in the lump.

Lord Hobart anxiously resisted the adjournment; Lord Carysfort supported the original resolutions, and Lord Alvanley complained of the unfairness with which Ministers were treated. The usual mode, he said, of bringing forward propositions of this sort, was by moving that a Committee be appointed to examine into the conduct of Ministers, and then the House would judge whether there was sufficient ground for appointing such a Committee. For want of such a mode of proceeding, the House had wandered from the question; for they were now debating about an adjournment, while the principal point in question was almost lost sight of.

Lord Grenville denied the position maintained by Lord Alvanley, and after pressing his usual complaints against Ministers, enforced by topics derived from the papers lately laid before Parliament, declared his assent to the original Resolutions.

After some observations from the Lord Chancellor in vindication of Government, and from Lord Mulgrave by way of reply, together with short speeches by Lord Grantly and the Earl of Warwick, the House divided; the motion of adjournment was lost by a majority of 88, and the original proposition by nearly an equal number, the peers who divided against Government being only eighteen.

On the following day
3d. June. Colonel Patten made his motion in the House of Commons, proposing Resolutions to the same effect as those moved by Earl

Fitzwilliam in the Lords. His argument contained no new matter, nor was it combined or arranged with any peculiar force. He was supported by Lord Kensington, Lord Temple, Sir William Young, and several other members, whose observations were opposed by Mr. Isaac Hawkins Browne, Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. Foublanque, Mr. Archdall, Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, and some others, when Mr. T. Grenville addressed the chair in a speech of considerable force and length.

He treated as false, malicious, and unfounded, the insinuation that the motion originated in mean considerations of party spirit; in the mere wish of one set of gentlemen to drive others from confidential situations under government, with the view of occupying their places. He maintained there was no impropriety in bringing this matter forward at the present time. He was anxious that, at a moment when we were engaged in a contest more trying and more hazardous, a contest in which great exertions and great sacrifices would be more powerfully required than in any former struggle, that an inquiry should be instituted into the capacity of those who were to direct the application of the national resources, and the national strength; to ascertain whether the battle which was to be fought would be fought with proportionate energy and courage; to see that every department of the public service was properly administered; to take care, that if the country was to submit to extraordinary sacrifices, the exertions which were made were directed by those to whom all ought to look up with

with confidence. He would not pretend to deny that the object of the Resolutions was to call in question the conduct of Ministers, throughout the whole of the negotiations and discussions which had taken place, from the time the peace was concluded.

In this view, he adverted to the conduct of Ministers during the whole period in question, affirming, according to Mr. Patten's second Resolution, that they had not made to Parliament such full and ample communications as could lead to any estimate of the real situation of the country, and therefore the House was debarred of the constitutional right of giving any opinion on the state of public affairs. On the 14th of May, 1802, Mr. Addington had used these expressions; "I am impressed with a thorough conviction that the peace which has now been concluded will, in all probability, be of as long duration as any of the pacifications concluded at various periods of the last century. I see nothing in the appearance of the present times, in the present Government of France, or the character of the individuals of whom that Government is composed, which at all induces me to think that the peace will not be lasting." At the same time, he had resisted a motion for an Address requiring the immediate adjustment of various points which were still left open for discussion; he had then held out that there was a prospect of the continuance of peace, and a recommendation was given to cultivate the advantages which a state of peace presented. With this general impression the last Parliament was dissolved.

On the meeting of the new Parliament, no information of the real state of the country was afforded, and yet, every one of the grounds of war enumerated in his Majesty's Declaration had then taken place, and were as well known to Ministers as at the period when the Declaration was published. To shew that this assertion was well founded, he observed, that from the documents on the table, it appeared, that from December 1801, to the same period in the following year, a series of these complaints had been preferred to Ministers, and no spirited remonstrance had been offered on the subject. The visit of the military Consul was known before his Majesty's Speech was delivered, for it appeared by a paper which was a few days since laid before the House, that the instructions of Talleyrand to Fauvelet, who had been sent to take soundings of the harbour of Dublin, that they were dated at an early part of the month of November, and consequently were known to Ministers when Parliament was opened. That the designs of the First Consul with respect to Switzerland were known, was a matter of general notoriety; Ministers themselves had presented a remonstrance long before that period. Of the annexation of Piedmont to France, Ministers were not uninformed. The confiscation of the revenues of the Spanish priories of the Order of Malta, there was also every reason to think that Ministers were acquainted with, even before the definitive Treaty was concluded. The Mission of Sebastiani, Ministers were fully apprized of long before they thought proper publicly



to allude to it; they were not ignorant of the time when he left France, and on the 29th of November, a dispatch from General Stewart announced his arrival in Egypt. Thus did it appear, that all the principal grounds of the Declaration were perfectly well known to Ministers, long before the Declaration made its appearance.

But, he would not confine himself to these circumstances, but would refer to others of not less importance, though they were not introduced into the Declaration, and very materially implicated the conduct of Ministers. The first of these points, was the arrangement of the German indemnities, which to a considerable degree, involved British interests. When he said this, he meant to allude to the insult which had been offered to his Majesty, by mulcting a part of his Hanoverian dominions, to satisfy the avarice of the greater powers. Complete mystery had almost wholly covered the business of the indemnities to the House of Orange. For this arrangement an article had been introduced into the Treaty; but till the papers were laid on the table, the House had been totally ignorant in what train the negotiation on this subject had been left by Ministers. The whole business about the Order for the evacuation of the Cape, and its subsequent retention, was intirely passed over in silence. By papers subsequently called for, it appeared, that on the 16th of October, Ministers had dispatched Orders to retain the Cape, though by a solemn Treaty, it was to be given up within a limited period. Under such circumstances, Ministers had

taken on themselves to violate a direct stipulation of the Treaty. They had chosen, particularly, to dispatch orders to suspend the execution of the Treaty, and of consequence to declare the country in a state of war. This extraordinary step had been taken by Ministers, just about one month from the time that Parliament assembled. Did Ministers, when Parliament assembled, inform the House of the extraordinary measure to which they had resorted? They had not said a single word on the subject. In a very few weeks after, it had appeared proper to them to evacuate the Cape, and then a war virtually intervened: still Ministers continued to observe the same silence. The system pursued by Ministers would, under the cloak of responsibility, destroy every Constitutional principle of Parliamentary right of discussion, and inquiry. He sincerely believed, for himself, that if the negotiation, which had lately terminated, had taken a favourable turn, we should have heard nothing of the whole of the orders and counter orders of Ministers; the whole would, in a short time, have been resolved in the darkest night. He then reviewed at length the conduct of Government on all the subjects of dispute noticed in the King's Declaration, and after recapitulating and enforcing all his arguments, concluded by giving his cordial vote for declaring his Majesty's present Ministers unworthy of the confidence of Parliament, and unfit to manage the affairs of the Empire at so perilous a crisis.

In vindication of his own measures, the Chancellor of the Exchequer

quer observed, that with respect to the Treaty of Amiens, he should now only repeat what he always felt and said respecting it; that conscientiously and deliberately he entertained the same opinion of it as he did at the time it was immediately under discussion, and that opinion prompted him to pronounce, that it was a measure not only wise, prudent, and necessary at the time it was adopted, but that it had since been productive of the most beneficial consequences; nor would he hesitate to affirm, that he should not have now to congratulate the House, and the Country, on the spirit, the vigour, and the unanimity, which the present emergency had called forth, were it not for that very Treaty which was so loudly arraigned and so severely stigmatized. He and all the other members of Government had been anxious to maintain it, but since their wishes in that respect had been frustrated, and war had necessarily arisen, he was prepared to meet the crisis with the feelings of an Englishman; and, desirous as he was to sheathe the sword, he should now be found no less determined to unsheathe it, until it should appear that the honour of the country remained untouched, and that its safety and independence were more effectually secured.

As to the temper of Ministers, he observed that their desire of peace had, no doubt, induced them to manifest no inconsiderable share of patience and forbearance; but they felt that the situation of France itself, and the circumstances in which was placed the person who held the chief rule in that country, called for some allowances. His

mind was so pampered with victories; it was so dazzled with the additional splendour that was shed upon his name, that it might not be fair to expect he would immediately sit down quiet, and soberly examine what might best belong to his new situation. Under that impression it was judged wise to observe a certain degree of forbearance with respect to what should otherwise be noticed in the French Government at other times and under other circumstances. A desire to make these allowances produced the forbearance which had marked the conduct of Ministers; a conduct to which was now owing the spirit and the energy which the country seemed prepared to display. That forbearance which some Gentlemen were so prone to censure, Ministers had reason to boast of. It had produced no bad consequences, if we were to go to war: it had neither delayed too long, nor had it brought it on one hour too soon.

On the charge of withholding communications, he said that both he and Lord Hawkesbury had stated that they had no reliance at any time on the continuance of peace, but such as arose from a view of the situation of the enemy, and the consciousness of our own strength. France might have discovered the same restless spirit of ambition that had ever marked her character. Yet, on the occasion which had been referred to, Mr. Addington allowed he did say, that the peace might last as long as any other; and then also added, that the only chance of its continuance arose from the energy of our strength, and the impregnable security

security of our resources. He was of the same opinion when the Preliminaries were discussed; the same language had he held in the debates of last session. But it was observed, that the conduct of the French Government should have inspired different apprehensions. "I am sure," said the Minister; "I am not very much disposed to flatter and compliment the person who is now at the head of the French Government; but still I must say, that I could see nothing in his conduct which led me to believe that it was his policy to renew hostilities. In this, I am willing to allow that I may have been deceived; but his sending, at the time, the remaining navy of France to Saint Domingo, his exposing so a large portion both of his naval and military force, were surely pretty reasonable indications of a pacific system; nor can they well be accounted for, but on a principle of peace. It has also been asserted, that in the discussion on his Majesty's Speech, on the 23d of November, an assurance was expressed by me, that there was no probability of a rupture. What I then said was in answer to an honourable Gentleman, who observed that he was concerned to see that it was likely hostilities would be renewed. All I asserted on the occasion was, that I saw no probability of an immediate rupture at that time. Similar language is said also to have been used by me when the question respecting the income of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was under discussion. I am supposed then to have observed that we were in profound peace. That I mentioned our being at

peace, I readily agree, but I do not think I made use of the word *profound*. The circumstance which led me to make use of the expression was an allusion to the language that was used in 1796, when the same subject was under the consideration of Parliament. It was then observed, that it was right to continue the restrictions on the expenditure of his Royal Highness, on account of the extreme difficulties of the times. But I observed, on the occasion alluded to, that the restrictions that might be proper in time of war, might as properly be done away in time of peace, and if I added the word *profound*, it was probably only from the usual combination of the two words. No other expression of the nature hinted at has escaped my lips. Another conversation has also been referred to, which took place in a discussion on the consolidated Fund. In that conversation I am again supposed to have said, that I had no expectation that the war would be renewed. What I said then, merely referred to the state of our national and military strength, which I asserted was not intended to answer any views of ambition and aggrandizement, but had only in contemplation the assertion of our just rights, and the maintenance of the blessings of peace. But I am eager now to release the House from any further reference to any language used by me. I wish them to rest their opinion on better authority; let the House, therefore, consult the records of Parliament, and they will there find what were the real sentiments of Ministers. Let them consult the Speech of his Majesty at the beginning of the session,

session, the Address, and even the amendment to the Address, which were moved on that occasion. Do they imply any thing like the opinion which I am asserted to have uttered? On the contrary, did not the sentiments there expressed, create great anxiety in the minds of some Gentlemen? Is it to be supposed that I should have expressed a perfect conviction that no renewal of hostilities would take place, at a time when I was agreeing to a large naval and military establishment? Why then should those who proposed such precautions, be imagined to be wholly without apprehension of war? This surely would argue a strange and unaccountable inconsistency between their opinions and their measures. The preparations then advised and pursued, are therefore the best proof of what were the real sentiments of Ministers; and if that proof were not sufficient, an additional one might be found in the observations which I made at the time it was proposed to renew the restriction on the cash payments of the Bank; that the state of Europe was the best argument that could be urged in favour of its adoption."

Ministers, he added, were also accused of not making formal communications to Parliament of the matters that gave rise to the discussions. Such communications might be attended with the worst effects, and therefore it was prudent to withhold them until the time came for making them with safety. In like manner, Mr. Addington exculpated himself from the charge of not making proper communications on each topic of dispute with France as it arose,

shewing that on every occasion, such disclosures must have produced great evils, without being attended with any advantage.

"Ministers," he said in concluding, "anxiously wished to preserve peace, but notwithstanding that anxiety, the honour of the country was never committed, as the documents on the table will abundantly prove. They will exhibit, indeed, strong marks of forbearance, but not one of unbecoming weakness. While there remained a hope of peace no communication was made to Parliament, because it was deemed, and I think justly, that such communications would frustrate, rather than promote, the attainment of that desirable object. What the conduct of Ministers has been throughout, I hope that the House have now before them full and ample communications, and if a single document be wanting, by the help of which the conduct of Ministers may be better elucidated, they will feel it their duty to the House to furnish it without delay. In my own and their name, I am now ready to say, that in whatever light the House may be induced to behold their conduct, Ministers are ready to meet their decision. We only call for a decision; we do not venture to ask for approbation: we are anxious, however, to escape censure; if it be merited, we submissively acquiesce in the sentence of the House: but if it be unmerited, let our minds be relieved from the charges which the Resolutions now proposed hang over us, and let them go unfettered to the discharge of those arduous duties of which they are desirous to acquit themselves with zeal, diligence,

diligence, and fidelity. Let us know that we do not go forth in the eyes of the country branded with the stigma of the displeasure of the House; or, if we have unfortunately incurred their disapprobation, let it be proved by a direct charge; if the House say the charge is not founded, our gratitude will be unbounded; if they say it is, we shall bow to the decision with the consciousness of having exerted our best endeavours to deserve a better fate."

The general attention of the House was most powerfully excited when Mr. Pitt arose to deliver his sentiments, and the purport of his speech occasioned no less surprize than pain to the friends of the Ministry. He declared the difficulty he felt in giving a decided opinion, and the more especially so, after the manly appeal of the Right Honourable Gentleman who had just sat down, to the positive decision of the House. "If I was prepared," he said, "to give it in the ample manner called for, I should certainly do so according to the direction of my conscience. If, on the contrary, I was to give it according to the opinion of the Right Honourable Gentleman who spoke last but one, and that I should be induced to address his Majesty for the removal of his present Ministers, I hope I should be as ready to make a sacrifice of my personal feelings as any other Member of this House. If on the other hand, I could feel as the Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Addington) feels, that the declaration made by his Majesty's Ministers is, throughout all its hearings, so clear and decisive, as to draw forth that unqualified

approbation they seem to demand, I should not hesitate to deliver that sentiment with all the freedom which the peculiar nature of the case requires. If in a case of such difficulty, I could see the matter so clearly as to have no doubt, I should then say it is a title to approbation. But to that extent I cannot concur in the propositions; nor am I prepared to agree with the express negative proposed to be put on them."

Among the reasons for his difficulty, he assigned his unwillingness to interfere with the just prerogative of the Crown, or adopt resolutions which must compel a change of Ministers. "To displace an administration at such a moment," he said, "is not the work of an hour, or of a day; and it is highly important for the House to reflect on the interval that it may produce, with an Executive Government interrupted and deprived of its efficient means of conducting its most essential concerns." Thus forbearing absolute censure, from motives of loyalty and prudence, and refusing intire approbation, because not convinced that Ministers were intitled to it, he moved that the other Orders of the day should be read.

Not less surprized than affected at this speech and motion, Lord Hawkesbury, declared, that with every wish to do justice to the feelings of his Right Honourable Friend, in making the motion with which he had concluded his speech, he and his colleagues should be shrinking from their duty to themselves, if they could accept the compromise offered, between a direct censure and a total acquittal. A charge of crimination, founded upon

upon papers laid on the table, had been brought forward. He asked, if there was an instance in which propositions founded on such documents, and involving the conduct of Ministers, had not been met either with a direct negative or affirmative? A motion of inquiry might be got rid of by a previous question; but, when a direct charge was made, grounded on facts, arising out of public documents, a previous question was not the fit way of disposing of the subject. Those who wished to destroy the administration ought to vote for the Resolutions, because that was their obvious tendency; while the vote which his Right Honourable Friend had proposed, would have the effect to discredit Government, to leave them discredited, in possession of functions which they could not exercise with honour to themselves, nor advantage to the public. On the Russian armament, he well remembered that his Right Honourable Friend and himself had not thought it sufficient to get rid of a motion of censure, by a previous question, but in circumstances when the Government in one point had given up, yet the charges were met boldly, and directly

negatived. He wished that, on the present occasion, Ministers might either be acquitted or condemned. If it were the desire of Ministers to retain their places at all hazards, they might accept the compromise which had been offered; but he could say for himself and his colleagues, that they had no desire to remain in office longer than they could be useful to their country.

Mr. Canning also opposed Mr. Pitt's proposition, but in a long speech, he strenuously urged the adoption of the original Resolutions. After the debate had continued some time longer, the House divided, when the numbers for Mr. Pitt's motion were 56, against it 333. The House being resumed, Mr. Pitt, with several of his friends, went away, and Mr. Fox having declared that it was not his intention to vote for the Resolutions, though, at the same time, it was impossible for him to approve of the conduct of Ministers, also departed with some of his adherents. The question being then put on Colonel Patten's motion, the numbers were, for it, 34, against it, 275.

CHAP. XI.

Holland becomes a party in the War—The King's Message to Parliament on the Subject. Preparations in England for defence; the supplementary Militia called out; Message for an additional force; debate on it in the House of Lords; the Secretary at War proposes in the House of Commons to raise fifty thousand men as an army of reserve; opposed by Mr. Windham; the bill supported in principle, but opposed in many of its details by Mr. Pitt. Progress of the bill through the Upper House. Bill for enabling the King to require the Military service of all his subjects, commonly called the levy en masse;

en masse; observations of Mr. Windham; of Sir Francis Burdett; the bill is amended in the House of Lords; renewed debate in the House of Commons; observations of Mr. Windham, Mr. Sheridan, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Alteration in the Mutiny Act. Commissioners appointed to inquire into abuses in the Navy.

IT is one of the misfortunes arising out of the overgrown power and influence of modern France, that independence in nations is growing more and more imaginary. States, which by the form of their governments, and the effect of treaties ought to be perfectly free, and to form compacts of peace, or issue manifestoes of hostility, according to their own opinions of propriety or convenience, are now dragged into wars contrary to their inclinations, and in opposition to their real welfare, merely because their activity may be deemed advantageous, or their neutrality might be found detrimental to the interests of a more powerful neighbour. Thus it was with the once really, and still nominally, free and independent states of Holland in the present contest. Policy and inclination equally disposed them to peace, and the British Government was perfectly inclined to leave them in repose, but the irresistible mandate of France involved them in a war, in which they could foresee nothing but misery and loss, while peace presented every prospect, not only of ease, but of profit and happiness.

17th June. Parliament was informed of this fact by a royal Message, in which his Majesty stated, that from an anxious desire to prevent the calamities of war being extended to the Batavian Republic, he communicated to that Government his disposition

to respect their neutrality, provided a similar disposition were manifested on the part of France, and their forces withdrawn from the Dutch territories. This proposition not having been acceded to by France, and measures having been taken in direct violation of the independence of Holland, his Majesty had directed his Minister to leave the Hague; and he had since, with regret, given orders, that letters of marque and general reprisals should be issued.

On this Message both Houses voted an Address without debate.

As Bonaparte openly disclosed the intention of hazarding a large portion of his military force in the invasion of Great Britain, and as preparations for effecting that object were ostentatiously made, the attention of Government and of the nation was irresistibly drawn to the adoption of proper measures of defence.

When the British 20th May. ambassador was ordered to withdraw from the French Court, measures were taken to complete the quota of the counties, and facilitate the raising of the Supplementary Militia, and a bill for this purpose was brought in by the Secretary at War, and passed. A Message from his Majesty 25th. speedily followed, announcing, that he had taken the lawful measures for causing the Supplementary Militia to be raised, enrolled, drawn out, embodied, and marched as occasion might require.

After

18th June. After the war with Holland had been announced, his Majesty, by another Message, stated, that, for the more effectual defence of the united kingdom against the avowed designs of the enemy, and for the purpose of providing such means as might be best calculated for a vigorous prosecution of the war, it was important that a large additional force should be raised.

The motions for an Address on this Message were opposed in both Houses, or rather the plans disclosed by Ministers for giving effect to the King's recommendation were severely arraigned.

In the House of Lords, the business was opened by Lord Hobart, who stated that a large force was necessary to be collected in this country for resisting the enemy; every exertion had been made, and was making, to increase the regular army; but those exertions could not produce the force which it was desirable to have stationed in the country. To obtain such a force by ordinary means would be so difficult, and he was sorry to say necessity required that means of a compulsory nature should be resorted to. In the last war, there were raised for the Militia 114,386 men, including Scotland. The number now raised for the established and Supplementary Militia, amounted to 72,963 men, to which it was proposed by the present plan to add 40,000 for Great Britain: this would make the whole force for this country 112,963, being 1,423 less than during the last war. It was the intention of Ministers, that the army to be raised should consist of 40,000 men for Great Britain, and

the islands of the Channel (Guernsey and Jersey), and 10,000 for Ireland:—The service of the troops to be reciprocal, those raised in England to serve in Ireland, and those raised in Ireland to serve in England. It was proposed, that the Officers should be persons who had held rank in the army, and had served either in the fencible corps, or in the East India Company's service, which would produce an effectual supply. This force was intended to be raised, on the principle of the Militia, by ballot, to be taken out of the counties and districts, with the addition of such volunteers as thought proper to offer their services, and enrolled for Great Britain, Ireland, and the Islands in the Channel. The age of the persons to be from 18 to 45; and as there was nothing in any act of Parliament to prevent men raised for the Militia, from entering into the regular army, this measure would operate as a means of increasing the disposable force of the country.

As this speech referred to levying a force in augmentation of the Militia, and to be provided by similar means, the debate turned chiefly on the merits and defects of that mode of armament. The Duke of Clarence, while he expressed the most thorough conviction of the justice of the war, and the most sanguine confidence in the unanimity and valour of the nation, did not think the proposed force sufficient, and as he was of opinion that offensive, not defensive warfare was most proper under the circumstances of the country, he considered 50,000 men, to be raised according to the plan proposed, less efficient than 40,000, raised to

go all over the world. Earl Grosvenor and the Earl of Caernarvon censured the Militia system in general, and particularly that part which allowed the supplying of substitutes, and the exemption of the clergy, the universities, women, and some other classes of subjects. A ballot, it was said, is a tax to raise money, under the pretence of raising men; it is calculated only to discharge the public purse from the expence of the levy, and throw it on any individual, rich or poor, without consideration of justice, without attention to any principle of equitable distribution of public burthens according to the abilities to bear them; it is a tax founded on no sound principle of taxation. The pretence that men, not money, is sought; is a fraudulent artifice. The earl of Suffolk recommended that there should be a military survey, and that 20,000 men should be raised and placed in the centre of the country. He was of opinion, that a force should be assembled which, by means of carriages, might be at any point of attack in thirty hours. If this plan was adopted, we might always have a greater force than France could bring together at any one time. He had stated, that plans should be arranged for enabling Lords Lieutenants to raise troops, and that an efficient deputy Lieutenant should be appointed, who should give orders for every thing necessary to be done. He hoped there would be an army of reserve, commanded by an officer of whom the country had an high opinion. For this purpose he named Earl Grey and Earl Moira.

The latter nobleman declared

himself perfectly satisfied with whatever destination his Sovereign had graciously been pleased to allot to him, and were his Majesty to call upon him to serve in the ranks as a private, he should, in that subordinate station, unsheathe his sword with the same cheerful alacrity and ardent zeal, as if called to the chief command of the most numerous and gallant army. He was of opinion that the hands of Ministers should be left unshackled, and their power wholly uncontrolled; for more danger might be apprehended from harassing them in the plan they laid down, than benefit could be derived from projecting a better plan, which could only protract the execution of the former. "There is not," he said, "an hour, not a moment to be lost. While your Lordships are debating, the enemy is acting; while we are devising plans of defence, they are executing means of attack; while we are idly precluding in a war of words, they will come on us in a war of action; they will surprize us unprepared, and overpower us slumbering at our fire sides."

"Occupat incautum, patriasque obtruncat ad aras."

His Lordship also blamed the tardiness of Ministers, who being thoroughly acquainted in the month of March with the designs of France, came late in the month of June to propose measures of security, the execution of which was still to be delayed, in hopes of their being improved by parliamentary discussion.

Several other peers had delivered their sentiments, when Lord Grenville

ville declared he could not but join with those who complained of the want of activity of Ministers in not coming earlier forward with this or some more efficient measure of defence. Lord Moira's statement of their neglect, did not comprize the whole; they had known ever since the signing of the Treaty of Amiens, that every act of the French government had been an act of aggression and insult. They had known this for a whole year, and yet they did not preserve in existence a force, of which they might, on the declaration of war, immediately have availed themselves, but they contrived to call out the Militia, at the very time it was necessary to recruit the army. The two services could not go on together. The whole conduct of Ministers was of a piece; it was all neglect and protraction. Something, he said, had fallen in debate on the subject of conscription; however unpopular the opinion might be, he was willing to bear his share in the unpopularity, by avowing that it was of the very essence of all governments, and the very compact of all societies, that the government had a right to call upon the whole, or any part of its subjects, for common defence against a common enemy. It was already the case with seamen, and was equally justifiable towards any other class of subjects, when public danger required it.

Lord Hobart, in reply, sarcastically thanked the noble Lord for his readiness to take a share in the unpopularity of a measure, to which he trusted there would be no occasion to resort, and vindicated government from the imputa-

tion of delay in embodying the Militia. In this statement he was supported by the evidence of the Duke of Richmond, who declared, that, as Lord Lieutenant of the county of Suffex, he had received the Secretary of State's letter in the last Autumn, to summon his Militia to be ballotted for; and the delay in bringing them forward was not imputable to Ministers nor to Lords Lieutenants, but to the Act of Parliament itself, which rendered it necessary to summon so many meetings to call for lists to be produced, and to take all the necessary steps previous to forming the regiments.

In the Lower House, the Secretary at War opened the same plan, in a speech of great ability and method, styling the 50,000 men intended to be raised, an army of Reserve. "In other times," he said, "and under other circumstances, when we might be menaced with ordinary dangers, I do not hesitate to express my opinion, that with a force nearly amounting to 140,000 men in Great Britain and Ireland (for so much it will amount to when the Supplementary Militia shall have been raised), and that force combined with our powerful Navy, I think we should have been entitled to look with contempt on the impotent preparations of the enemy, which would scarcely have dared to quit their ports, from the certainty of either being sent to the bottom of the sea, or dashed in pieces, should they reach our shores, by the cannon and arms of the brave men whom they would there find ready and eager to receive them. Without over-rating the danger of the present times, I believe it possible
that

that some of the enemy may reach England or Ireland; but if they do, I have no doubt but the same fate eventually awaits them; and therefore, when our security is so avowedly threatened, and when offers of assistance towards effecting a descent are made by many of the provinces of France, I cannot but smile at the audacity which dictates the design, and lament the abject folly and weakness which proposes to contribute to its success. I have no doubt that the passage of the enemy to this country, with all the means of effecting it which they can bring together, will be regarded by all the generals of the French army (and even by those who have so lately and so earnestly solicited the honour of accompanying the First Consul in the vessel which is to bear to the shores of this country the destinies and the vengeance of France) as equally hazardous and tremendous with the passage of the Styx itself,

Stabant orantes primi transmittere cur-
sum,
Tendebantque manus ripæ ulterioris
amore.

— — — — —
Fata obstant tristisque palus inamabilis
unda
Alligat et novies Styx interfusa coerces."

After some further observations on the disposition and projects of the First Consul, he proceeded; "If whole armies and fleets are to be successively sacrificed, in order, at last, to obtain the precarious chance of throwing a few thousand men upon our shores, to introduce confusion, and bloodshed, and fire and rapine, and desolation into this land, so long and so happily exempt-

ed from such miseries—when, I say, such enterprizes are denounced to us from high authority, it surely becomes the bounden duty of the state to leave nothing to chance, but to provide most seriously and efficaciously against every possible contingency. Upon this ground, therefore it appears expedient to take the necessary measures without delay, for immediately levying, assembling and equipping a large force, in addition to the army now in the field, in order that it may be ready to support such points as occasion may require; and, upon consultation with the best military opinions, it is considered, that an army of Reserve of 50,000 men, in addition to what is at present on foot (which may be calculated, exclusive of India, at 110,000 regulars, and 90,000 Militia) will not only give the most complete security and protection to the United Kingdom, but enable his Majesty to employ a much larger portion of his regular and veteran force, in offensive operations.

The Secretary at War then proceeded, with much precision and ability, to unfold the nature and scope of his plan, insisting that it would be adviseable for Parliament to keep their eyes steadily fixed on three leading principles.

1. That the force should be levied as speedily, and be made as efficient as possible.
2. That it should be made available for the general defence of Great Britain and Ireland, so as to enable us, in the shortest time to set at liberty a large portion of the regular army for offensive operations.
3. That as far as might be consistent

sistent with the two former objects, it should be levied with the least possible pressure on individuals, and in a manner the most usual and accustomed.

“ With these views,” he said, “ I would propose, that the army of reserve should be formed by a levy on all the male inhabitants of the kingdom, between 18 and 45, fit to bear arms, (with certain exemptions) that when levied, it shall be immediately assembled, on certain points to be fixed upon by the Executive Government, armed, clothed, and equipped, in all respects, for the field, and placed under the command of officers, taken, as much as possible, from the regular forces, or from half pay, to be appointed and commissioned by his Majesty. I should further propose, that the services of the army of reserve shall extend to every part of Great Britain and Ireland interchangeably, as well as the islands of Jersey and Guernsey; and that the men shall be held to serve for four years, that is, the ballotted men; and where substitutes are provided, they shall be held to serve for four years, and for one month after the ratification of any definitive treaty of peace. And further that the levy in question shall be made, upon the foundation, and according to the practice and machinery of Militia ballot, wherever practicable.”

After describing the various means for giving effect to this levy, and the purposes to which it was to be directed, he stated that the exemptions would be generally the same with those of the supplementary Militia, with a few alterations. The exemption was not to extend to peers. All commissioned

officers, officers on half pay, all non commissioned officers and privates in his Majesty's service were to be exempted. The exemption was also to include all resident members of the universities, all clergymen, and licensed preachers, but this under certain restrictions. No articulated clerk was to have the benefit of the exemption, whose articles had not been signed on the 16th of June, 1803, the day on which his Majesty's Message was brought down. He was of opinion that the regulations respecting apprentices was of too wide and extended a nature, and very proper for the interposition of Parliament, as it created much difficulty in the recruiting service. Seamen and sea-faring men would be exempted, but great caution would be used in wording the clause with respect to them. All persons mustered, trained, and doing duty, in his Majesty's dock yards would be exempted, with a similar caution. Also every poor person having more than one child under ten years of age, making some distinctions. He then noticed the regulations to be adopted with respect to substitutes, and in conclusion, moved an Address, and for leave to bring a Bill or Bills accordingly.

This motion occasioned a debate of considerable duration, in which the speech of Mr. Windham claimed peculiar attention. He agreed in the necessity of extraordinary exertions at this time, and had waited impatiently to hear what plan the right honourable gentleman meant to propose for the defence of the country; but confessed himself most grievously disappointed in the expectations he had formed. “ My

first and principal objection to this plan," he said, "is this: it tends to do away, and completely cut up the army; and will make it utterly impossible that we should ever have a standing army. For many years past we have had the Militia raised, not by the persons ballotted for, but by substitutes: the consequence of which has been, that so large a bounty has been given for substitutes, as to do away all competition between the army and militia. It has therefore become almost impossible to recruit the army, and that difficulty will be increased by the present measure. There is one point, however, of the present plan which I approve of, and that is, the part by which the force to be raised is to be commanded by officers of experience. But, at the same time, I must deny, that this can ever be considered as a disposable force; or that any of those advantages can be derived from it which we might expect from a standing army. Instead, therefore, of pursuing such a plan as this, I would recommend, that a commutation should be made for personal service for a fixed fine; and that all substitution in the Militia should be abolished for a fixed time. I would by that means increase the army as much as possible." Mr. Windham allowed the great merits of the Militia, but still contended that after they had done the utmost, which zeal, activity, ardour, and courage, could do, it was from the very nature and constitution of that force, impossible they could possess the qualities of a regular army: they could not have either the discipline or the experience of an army. It might as well be

said, that men could become sailors before they get into deep water. We never could rely on them as we could on veteran soldiers; nor expect that they could do as much as men taken from a distant service, and who had been in different parts of the world. As the enemy must know all this, and must also know that he could, whenever he pleased, come and attack us here, in a state of inactivity, resting on our oars, and waiting for his approach, therefore, Mr. Windham contended that this species of force was inefficacious and mischievous; and that a standing army was the only force on which the country could place a full and complete reliance, whether meant for the purposes of defence or attack.

"I have the same objections," he proceeded, "to officers raising men for rank, namely, that they will, in order to get their rank, give large bounties to procure men. There is a danger that they will do something worse, that they will stoop to improper practices to obtain men. The officers of the British army have never done so; and I am happy to say they have this great superiority over all other officers in the world, that they are better gentlemen. The measures now proposed will no doubt tell very well in Parliament, as being the first time they are broached; but I am convinced that they will not be approved of by those people who have acquired experience in such matters, nor will they afford satisfaction in the end. They put me in mind of goods exposed for sale in the windows of our shops, which shew to great advantage when artfully and judiciously placed, and please the gazing

gazing passenger; but which, on trial, do not afford that degree of benefit or satisfaction which was expected, nor at all answer the purposes intended. Volunteers, raised upon the footing of those we have already reaped some considerable advantage from, are not at all to be looked upon as a proper body of men to oppose a French army. They are, I must confess, very useful in regard to rendering internal services to their country; but we all know that they are, in general, men who, from their constitutions, mode of life, and respective professions, are ill adapted for the opposition of an enemy. After making the army as great as you can, then is the time to resort to Militia; and after this last mode has been found prudent and expedient, then you may have a volunteer force of a different description, and such as would be no burthen to the country, nor be the means of drawing men from their homes. I allude to the most efficacious and spirited step of raising the country *en masse*; and I think we ought, at the present most alarming crisis, to be employed in adopting such means as may be necessary for that purpose. By this mode we might be enabled, upon all necessary occasions, to command our armed peasantry. I am well aware that a force of this sort can do nothing of itself; and I know that a regular army may do without such assistance: but where that regular army happens not to be sufficient for the exigencies of the state, the other may afford very great and important aid."

Mr. Windham dilated with great wit and great ability on the advantages to be derived from

such a force, and refuted many arguments which he supposed might be raised against it; he insisted that it would diffuse a general knowledge of tactics, and a general desire to defend the country. Every motive of action, every principle, every fear, he contended, ought to be excited for that purpose; and every person resorted to who was likely to promote the general security. Every thing ought to be done that the mind can invent or genius plan. Every officer of consideration in the country should be called on to give his opinion; not slightly, or in words, but deliberately, and in writing; and for such opinion he ought to be responsible. A number of new ideas which no single man could produce, would thus be struck out.

Many other Members spoke in the debate, but the motion was carried without a division.

The Bill occasioned considerable discussion in all the subsequent stages of its progress. On the second reading, Mr. Pitt declared, that he had, after the maturest consideration, determined to give his decided approbation to the principle of the Bill. It was generally on the same principles on which opposition to the measure had been founded, that he felt himself called on to give it his warm support. He maintained this opinion in a long and able speech, and in subsequent stages also repelled the arguments advanced against the measure; the House of Commons was never divided during its progress.

In the Upper House the Bill also occasioned several debates. The Duke of Cumberland considered substitutes, who received money

for entering into the Militia, as on a footing with regulars, who had a bounty for inlisting, and maintained that they ought to be equally subject to serve wherever wanted. Earl Moira represented the urgent necessity for maintaining a large disposable force, as it would oblige the enemy to garrison his coast at all points, and thus distract his operations. On the third reading the Earl of Suffolk made some objections to the Bill, but it was supported by the Earl of Clifton, who declared he had no particular predilection for his Majesty's Ministers, nor any desire to over-rate their abilities. He thought abler men might have been found, but from many votes of that, and the other House of Parliament, on different parts of their conduct, it was evident that they had the confidence of Parliament, and it was clear, that they also had the confidence of their Sovereign; he had no right, therefore, to conclude, that they had not likewise the confidence of the country; and he felt, under these particular circumstances of the moment, that it was his duty, as it was that of every man who could do it with a safe conscience, to afford them every support and assistance in his power. With regard to the present Bill, he thought it a wise and efficient measure, and he approved of it the more, because, in his conscience, he believed it to be the only practicable mode of suddenly raising a numerous body of forces for the internal defence of the kingdom. He trusted it would be found to be a most useful Bill, and the effect extremely beneficial to the public

service. His Lordship also censured, in strong terms, the sentiments of apprehension, and even despondency which some Peers had expressed. Far from coinciding in their childish alarms, he would, for the sake of argument, admit for a moment, that the enemy did effect a landing; nay, more, that he made his way, in spite of all our forces, and all our endeavours; that he reached this rich and luxurious metropolis, laid it in ashes, put a momentary end to trade and commerce, made bankrupts of all the wealthy jews, and brokers on the Exchange, and annihilated the three per Cents; still he would not abandon himself to despair, and think the cause lost. He should, even then, feel hope, from a consciousness that there remained much worth fighting for, and that the spirit of the people would still exert itself, and with renewed energy and undaunted valour pursue the foe, till they drove him out of the country.

The Bill passed: separate acts were framed extending similar provisions to Scotland and to Ireland.

The Secretary at War next moved for leave to bring in another Bill, to enable his Majesty more effectually to exercise his ancient prerogative in requiring the military service of his subjects. The Act already passed contained provisions for enabling the King to take such preliminary measures for ascertaining the strength and resources of the different parts of the kingdom as were necessary, with a view to further measures of internal defence. It likewise provided a compendious mode of acquiring pos-

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July.

possession of such property, on the part of the public, as might be necessary; and there were provisions for giving a summary mode of indemnifying those who might suffer either by the preparations, or by actual invasion; but, upon mature consideration of that Bill, which was similar to the Bill passed last war, in the year 1793, it did not appear to him to go quite far enough. It was particularly defective in one point, namely, in enabling his Majesty to command the assistance of all his subjects fit to bear arms, for the purpose of repelling the invasion of a foreign enemy. This, the Secretary at War contended, was the ancient and undoubted prerogative of the crown, and he cited a passage from Blackstone, shewing its derivation from the Saxon Constitution, and several acts of Parliament and acts of state proving its frequent exercise.

He apprehended he should not be required to urge the necessity of such a measure. The situation in which the country at present stood was perfectly known. It was threatened by a most formidable and vindictive enemy; an enemy not only threatening invasion, but making preparations for it; not only having the insolence to menace us with contaminating our shores, but with actual subjection. True it was, our force, both by sea and land, was powerful; but when he considered that the enemy possessed a considerable portion of the continent, and was every day extending his influence; when he reflected that powers unable or unwilling to resist, were compelled to grace the car of the First Consul, it was not enough to rely on

the force we had, great as it was. When he turned his eyes to the continent, and saw the great preparations that were making; when he considered that France was master of the whole coast of frontier from Holstein as far as the shores of the Adriatic, with the exception of Portugal, it was impossible to say that she might not possess herself of the course of all the great rivers and the most considerable ports of Europe. Under these circumstances although every one must have a reliance on the skill and vigilance of our navy, the most powerful in the world, and capable of sustaining a conflict with that of the whole world—a navy that, perhaps, could blockade every port the enemy had, and burn, sink, and destroy all the ships they ventured to send out, yet this was not enough; we ought to have the means of overwhelming and exterminating any expedition that might be directed against our shores. Though with the army we had, it was possible to line the whole coast of Great Britain and Ireland, it however could not be done in such a way as to prevent the enemy from taking a temporary possession of some part of it. No one could suppose, that, with our present army, we could do any more than assemble the main body at such points as were most material, with a view to a general plan of opposition, and the ultimate decision of the contest; but the enemy might, undoubtedly, be able to throw a considerable force on the coast. In case of an actual invasion, the operations in the field would, of course, be extremely active, and

the conflict severe; we therefore, ought not to look to the slow mode of recruiting by ballot, but we ought to resort to the ancient law, and to those powers of the prerogative, by which the King could command all his subjects to bear arms. We could not contemplate a better period of history than the days of the Plantagenets and Tudors. Let any one consider those armies which had been produced in the field by some of the wisest Princes on the Throne. Let us see how Queen Elizabeth was supported, when she was attacked by the Spanish Armada, an expedition not dissimilar to the present one. How was that army which begirt the Throne produced? By having recourse to the ancient prerogative of the Crown.

He next proceeded to develop the out-lines of his plan, which divided itself into two heads, the first related to the enrolment, and assembling the men when enrolled; and the second to the exercising and drilling them. He proposed to make use, as much as possible, of the machinery of the Militia, and to avail himself of the powers entrusted to the Lord Lieutenants and deputy Lieutenants. The Lieutenancy, in every county, should meet as soon as possible, for the purpose of directing an enrolment of all the men in every parish, between the ages of 17 and 55. The men comprehended in the enrolment should be divided into four classes, in a way something similar to that which took place in the Militia. The first would contain all between 17 and 30, unmarried, and without children of the age of ten years; the

second all between 30 and 50, who were in the same predicament; the third all between 17 and 30, who were married, and had no more than two children; and the fourth class should include all the rest. He then stated the order of enrolment, rights of exemption, and modes of appeal, with some subordinate regulations, and proposed that these forces, when assembled, should be subject to military discipline, and be sent to any part of Great Britain, into any existing corps, or any new corps that might be raised; that the time of their service should be limited to the period of the invasion, and that as soon as the enemy were exterminated, or driven into the sea, they were immediately to be set at liberty to return home; that upon assembling, every man should be entitled to two guineas, to furnish necessaries, and when their services were over, and they were at liberty to return home, one guinea over and above the usual sum allowed in the Militia, should be paid them. He should also propose, that when these men were so assembled, they should take an oath of fidelity during their service, which should extend not only to repelling foreign invasion, but to quelling any rebellion or insurrection.

He then proceeded to the mode of training. His Majesty was to be enabled to direct the Lord Lieutenants to make preparations for exercising the young men of the first class once a week in the different parishes. For this object, the King might order sufficient arms to be provided. These arms might be lodged in the churches or other

other convenient places, and should be kept in order, at the expence of the parishes, and parish officers and constables appointed for the custody of them. There were other provisions in the Bill he intended to submit, directing the Lord Lieutenant and the Deputy Lieutenants to appoint officers to command the men, dividing them, as much as possible, into companies of parishes; or where the parishes were too small, uniting several. He should recommend that over every 120 men, the Lord Lieutenants should appoint officers. That every person in the first class should attend once a week for the purpose of being exercised, provided the distance of his abode from the place of exercise, did not exceed three miles. Persons omitting to attend were to pay a fine, proportioned to their circumstances in life, from five shillings to one shilling, the fine to be increased on repeated omissions. There were provisions enabling the Deputy Lieutenants and commanding Officers to agree with out-pensioners to train the men. When any part of these men were called out, if any young man was desirous of serving in the cavalry, he should be at liberty to do so, upon his appearing equipped as a dragoon. If, however, there were volunteers in a parish, equal to half the amount of its population, the remainder, though not exempted from enrolment, would not be required to serve personally. In such an emergency, no man deserved the name of an Englishman, who did not march out to meet the enemy; he ought to be set up as a mark of infamy; and therefore, no corps so volunteering should refuse to

march under their own officers to any part of Great Britain, where their services might be required. This plan was to extend to the whole of Great Britain, but it could not be made applicable to Ireland, where the parochial divisions were not carried to the same perfection as in England; besides the powers given for raising volunteers had been carried to such an extent, by the zeal and courage so natural to the people of that country, that the measure was not necessary.

The Secretary at War then displayed at great length the benefits to be derived from this measure, and in conclusion moved for leave to bring in the Bill.

Mr. Windham, far from disapproving the principle on which the motion proceeded, solemnly accused the the Ministry of a gross neglect of duty for having, while apprized of the danger of invasion, so long omitted to resort to this most necessary measure. He decried those who affected to believe that the invasion would never be attempted, representing their quietude as proceeding from want of information, and producing the effect of impairing the national energy. What he asked, were those description of persons who spoke most confidently on there being no danger from invasion? He found amongst them many very eminent lawyers, many very orthodox divines, many worthy, well-meaning country gentlemen, many very respectable merchants, many very industrious agriculturists, and many, very many beautiful women. People of these descriptions, saw nothing in the least alarming in the French undertaking a descent,

while, on the other hand, the General and Admiral, the Soldier and the Sailor, saw nothing but their immense extent of coast, from the Texel to the Adriatic; their numerous and formidable armies; their skilful and enterprising Generals; and their number and variety of modes of effecting a descent. Put the question, however, to a man who never saw the sea but from some watering place, and never embarked in any thing more than a bathing machine; talk of invasion to such a man, and he would laugh the idea to scorn. He would make nothing of such a danger, and would dispatch his 30,000 invaders as fast and as easily as Captain Bobadil would his twenty men. Let the same question be asked, however, to an Officer of science and experience, and he would tell you that it was much easier to say it than to do it. Those, indeed, were competent judges, and he believed it would be found that no persons derided enterprize so much as those who possessed none of it themselves.

After dwelling on various points, in which he considered the means of national defence inadequate, and those which ought to be resorted to for the purpose of exciting public spirit neglected, Mr. Windham pointed out the urgent necessity for a great military Council, to divert the warlike operations of our enemies. Such an institution might be formed without disparagement to any Officer, however high, or of the Commander in Chief himself, of whose industry, talents, and meritorious exertions, no one entertained a higher opinion than he did. From the combined efforts of a skilful and well

selected Council, more might be expected than from the utmost exertions of any individual, however great his ability. He next adverted to the project of driving the country, and the instructions sent on that subject to the Lords Lieutenants of the counties. In this he perfectly concurred in the sentiments expressed sometime since by an honourable officer (Col. Craufurd); for although it might be of advantage to have officers in convenient stations for *depots*, and rules laid down for the incidental using of them, yet he conceived the plan proposed to be utterly impracticable, and productive of the greatest confusion, so that a town might be trampled by the weight of its own bullocks, and the military operations very much impeded. The scheme of the Minister would, in all probability, realize Major Sturgeon's description, "dogs barked in the rear, bullocks advanced in the front, and threw us all into confusion." Mr. Windham then described, with great force and fervour, the views and means of the enemy, the one embracing the entire destruction of the British community, the other comprizing all the ports, shores and rivers of the continent. Their object was to drive us again like savages into the woods; and they would conjure up for our destruction all that had ever been said of Carthage. He did not approve of many regulations in the outline of the Bill; and he particularly regretted that Government tried to do so much by compulsion and law, and endeavoured to do so little by national energy.

A long debate ensued, in the course of which both Mr. Pitt and
Mr.

Mr. Fox declared their perfect concurrence in the principle of the Bill. Sir Francis Burdett declared that in his opinion the best and only effectual scheme of defence at this crisis, might be comprized in one measure, namely, a repeal of all the acts applying to Constitutional topics, which had been passed since the accession of the present King, and then we might rationally hope to rouse the ancient enthusiasm of the people, and furnish them with real motives to fight for the blessings of constitutional freedom and personal security. This oracular effusion, though uttered early in the debate, was not noticed by any one. The motion passed without opposition.

In the subsequent stages of the Bill, many alterations were made from the original draft, and many Members delivered their sentiments on the effect of this measure in particular, and on the proper means to be adopted for defence of the country, but no serious opposition was attempted.

In the House of Lords there was less difference of opinion, but Ministers having found it necessary to make some further alteration in the Bill, during its progress, it came, according to the forms of Parliament, back to the House of Commons to be passed again in its amended state. On this occasion, Mr. Windham and
 4th Aug. Mr. Sheridan displayed a memorable difference in opinion with respect to the system of defending the country by means of volunteer forces, and on some other subjects.

Mr. Windham maintained that the system of volunteering was establishing a dangerous aristocracy

in the country, which would defeat the object of the measure. There were many men who would be restrained from entering into volunteer corps by the inability of some to purchase the necessary uniforms; and the natural modesty of others, which would make them tenacious of entering into the same corps with their superiors in rank. The opinion he entertained of the subject was very much strengthened by some pertinent remarks in the public prints; their contents were not, in general, of that description.

Mr. Sheridan ridiculed the Right Honourable Gentleman's sarcasms on the public prints, observing, that in compliment to his friend, Mr. Cobbett, he probably preferred the weekly to the diurnal publications. He praised the readiness, zeal, and alacrity of the volunteer corps, and remarked, that, with the exception of the regulars, there was not a corps in the kingdom on which the late Secretary at War had not cast some degree of odium. He approved of this Bill, because it encouraged volunteer exertions, and pointed out the station in which every man in the country ought to place himself. It had been stated by the Right Honourable Gentleman, with respect to the General Defence Bill, that its object ought to have been to march companies to the army, and that their first destination was to be that of filling up the regiments of the line. He had spoken to gentlemen upon that subject, who thought that a nobleman, gentleman, tradesman, or farmer, all of whom were liable to the operation of the Act, if they did not volunteer, would be very much surprized to find themselves, per-
 haps

haps in the course of a month, in a regiment, and liable to be tied up to the halberts. It was impossible for any man to make a comparison between the volunteers and those who were drilled on compulsion. Could the latter be compared with those patriotic volunteers, who were sacrificing their time in perfecting themselves in their exercise? But the Right Honourable Gentleman had said, he disliked that superiority and spirit of aristocracy in towns and villages, which it was the tendency of the Bill to introduce. He denied that it would have any such effect. The only effect of the Bill was that of allowing persons to volunteer instead of being compelled to serve. They were not obliged to wear an uniform. If in villages they voluntarily came forward without uniform, they were exempted from the operation of the General Defence Bill. He was satisfied with the power this Bill gave his Majesty, with regard to the acceptance of volunteer services. We ought not to stop while any thing was left to be done. We should look forward to the possibility of the most disastrous, calamitous, and disgraceful events again occurring. The state of Ireland was such, that although every man must rejoice at its present security, we ought not to calculate on its remaining free from disturbance.

Mr. Windham, in allusion to the part of the House from whence the Honourable Gentleman had spoken (the Treasury Bench) described him as a new convert, and observed, that like a young soldier, he had fired his musket too soon. When a measure was brought for-

ward that was new, various in its operations, and depending upon a thousand different causes, the effects of which were impossible to be foreseen, time ought to be allowed to discuss it. This Bill had been read a first and second time the preceding day; not a moment's time was to be lost in debating it; but it was impossible that a measure like that of arming the nation could be carried on with such speed. It must proceed with regularity; it was like the Seven Ages described by Shakespeare. The Bill must first be prepared; it must then be brought in; it had to go through the forms of the House; first and second readings; committed; third reading; and the same stages in the other House; it must then be passed, after which it was to be sent into the country to be carried into execution. Then there followed such a clattering, such a bustle, and tumult; what with the various duties of the tything man, the Lord Lieutenant, and the Deputy Lieutenants, the whole business was as confused as a horse race. The tything man was going to the schoolmaster to read the Act, and the schoolmaster to the justice to understand it. In short, before this Bill could produce the men, the enemy might be at the door. It would be some time before we had the men in their shoes, but how long it would be before they became soldiers, "seeking reputation in the cannon's mouth," he could not say. At present we had an army only on paper, but he wished for something better than paper bullets. The country was not to be defended by the Chancellor of the Exchequer coming vapour.

vapouring down to the House, exclaiming Don't be afraid! I am the man. Something like him, who, when he was told up stairs, the House was on fire, said, What! and I here! After the Right Honourable Gentleman had set the four corners of the world on fire, it was not his coming down with his little bucket, or thimble full of water, that would extinguish the flame. He next referred to the writings and principles of Mr. Cobbett, on whom he pronounced a high panegyric, stating, that he had met every bad revolutionary principle by principles of the most good, loyal, and virtuous tendency, and that he deserved to have a statue of gold erected to his honour. As to the mode of carrying the Bill into execution, he was of opinion, that if Ministers combined the higher orders, and left the lower orders to themselves, they would put the defence of the kingdom upon a bad footing. He desired to know how the volunteers were to be combined. Was it to be a mixture of the old and the young, the robust and the weak, the husband and man of family, and the single man, the enervated with the strong? If this was to be the system, the volunteer corps would be merely places of refuge from that service which the prerogative of the King might call upon every man for. It was providing a place of retreat for those who wished to avoid service.

Mr. Sheridan replied to these observations in terms of spirited sarcasm, and after answering several of Mr. Windham's arguments on the measures before the House, referred to what he described as the Right Honourable Gentleman's

filly panegyric upon Mr. Cobbett, and the erection of a statue of gold to his honour. The Right Honourable Gentleman, he said, seemed to mutter at this; nay, he groaned; he was glad to hear him groan. However he hoped, he would go on with his statue of gold, and make it a colossal statue; but he advised him not to solicit subscriptions at the Royal Exchange; it was not likely he would be very successful there, for, he believed, in one of that Gentleman's papers, he had observed, that the stocks could not exist if the monarchy existed. It was not very probable, that the writer of such a sentiment would be very popular in that wealthy city, where alone any subscription could be raised with effect.

Mr. Archdall warmly censured Mr. Windham for his panegyric on Cobbett, and referring to the statements of that journalist respecting Ireland, asked, if for them he ought to have a statue of gold.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer also reprobated the course of opposition pursued by Mr. Windham. There was not, he said, one mode of defence of which he had not spoken of with contempt, except the regular army. Fortunately his authority was not equal to his zeal, or his observations might do considerable harm. Of the Militia and Volunteer Corps, he had spoken in a manner that had excited disgust, and had produced inquiries respecting the conduct of the Militia in Ireland, the result of which had been most satisfactory. He never would cease to be of opinion that the Right Honourable Gentleman had, throughout the whole period that had elapsed

elapsed since the presenting his Majesty's Message on the 8th of March, done every thing that was calculated to dispirit and dismay the people, and to add to the hopes of the enemy. The Right Honourable Gentleman himself must have read with mortification, that importance was attached to his opinions by the French Journalists, and that they were sources of exultation to them, as they were of regret to ninety-nine out of a hundred in this country. If he had moved an Address to dismiss his Majesty's Ministers, he could only have said, that in the course of eleven weeks, they had laid the foundation for the largest force that ever existed. If, notwithstanding their efforts, and they had not been wanting, he was of opinion that they were unworthy the confidence of the King, let him claim the opinion of the House; but it was not consistent with his public duty to be continually endeavouring to weaken the confidence of the House towards those in whom his Majesty placed confidence.

Separate Acts provided for the raising a military force in the city of London, in Scotland, and in Ireland, and provision was also made for the cloathing and equipment both of the accustomed troops and such of the new levies as stood in need of supplies.

In the course of the Session too, an alteration was made in the law for punishing mutiny and desertion. Formerly deserters might be ordered on foreign service, for life, at the discretion of the Court Martial before which they were tried; but by the new Act, they might be transported as felons,

for life, or for a shorter term, according to his Majesty's pleasure.

As connected with the interests and welfare of the navy, on which the safety of the nation so materially depends, it may be proper in this place to mention, that at an early period of the Session, Captain Markham introduced a proposition for correcting certain abuses which were known to prevail in some departments of that service. The late administration, he said, had instituted an inquiry into these abuses, and many reports, ably drawn up, had been presented; but their time and attention were so engrossed by the pressure of the important business which they had to transact during the course of a long and labourious contest, that it was impossible for them to find leisure to pursue, as they wished to do, a system of correction. The Bill he should bring in, would proceed on the same principle as that which they had then in contemplation; it was printed by the select Committee of Finance, and it would have in view the naval department only, which, however, it was the object of the Bill to examine from top to bottom. What were the motives which now induced the Admiralty to bring forward this measure, it was not necessary for him, perhaps it were improper, to detail. He could safely say, however, that its great and only object was the public utility. The investigation of so complex a matter involved a long and labourious enquiry, which the Admiralty had not sufficient leisure time to embark in. Besides, the Board of Admiralty did not possess the necessary powers for prosecuting such an enquiry with effect, as they could

could not examine witnesses upon oath, or call for papers and records which might be indispensable for a full and satisfactory inquiry into the subject. This object could be adequately attained only by the appointment of a commission named by Parliament, and vested with all the requisite powers for bringing to light the irregularities and abuses complained of, and for devising the most effectual means of correcting and preventing them in future. This Bill was opposed by Lord Temple, and some other Members, as unnecessary, because the navy board always had sufficient authority for the required purpose, and as vesting in the commissioners an undue and unconstitutional authority; his Lordship said no such powers had been attempted to be given, since the days of the Star Chamber. The Chancellor of Exchequer answered these assertions by shewing that powers of greater extent had been conferred by the Act of 1785, and the Bill passed.

In the House of Lords, however, it was vigorously attacked by the Duke of Clarence and some other peers; the Lord Chancellor expressed his jealousy of the extraordinary powers confided to the Commissioners, and, at his suggestion, amendments were introduced, saving to the subject the right of refusing to answer questions, when his answers might tend to criminate himself. His

Lordship, although aware that Parliament had, in cases of aggravated abuse, gone beyond this Bill, and in case of the South Sea business, thought it necessary to compel the parties interrogated to confess their guilt, still contended that in the case of the present Bill, which was not intended to operate as a Bill of punishment, but merely as one of inquiry, there was no occasion for departing from the sacred principles of the common Law of England.

Lord Ellenborough said, he thankfully received the Noble Lord's clause, because he agreed completely with him as to the propriety of its adoption in the present instance; but he trusted Parliament would never think itself warranted to part with the right, in flagrant abuses, of compelling the offender to reveal the guilty secret that lay lurking in the wretch's bosom; the enormous frauds which had come to his knowledge, while he held the office of Attorney General, made him feel it necessary to make that declaration.

The Commissioners named in the Act were, Sir Charles Maurice Pole, Hugh Leycester, Ewan Law, John Ford and Henry Nicholls, Esqrs. Before the end of the Session they were called on for Reports, and presented some which gave considerable information and much satisfaction.

CHAP. XII.

Measures of Finance; the Chancellor of the Exchequer brings forward a Plan for consolidating various Duties in the Customs; Plan for completely establishing the Bonding and Warehousing System; Acts for consolidat-

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ing the Duties of Excise, Stamps, and the assessed taxes; Details respecting the Excise; the assessed taxes; and the Stamps. Budget; observations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; tax on property; Discussions on that subject; observations of Mr. William Smith; and of Mr. Pitt; the Bill much altered; objections made against it by the Duke of Norfolk; who proposes an amendment; which is rejected. Finance of Ireland; attempt to perpetuate the temporary taxes; retracted; the Bank of Ireland prohibited from paying in Cash; Irish budget; reasons for not laying a property tax on Ireland

THE measures of finance adopted during this Session were numerous and of considerable importance; some being calculated to meet temporary exigencies; others to improve the established revenue, and facilitate the collection of it.

At an early period of the Session, the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave notice of his intention to bring forward a plan for consolidating the duties in various departments of the revenue, and, 21st April. after considerable time spent in maturing the plan, he stated the nature of the proposition he meant to submit. His object was, to simplify, consolidate, and amend the mode of collecting the revenue arising from Custom House duties, and he wished it to be clearly understood that this was only a part of a general system for consolidating, simplifying and amending the mode of collecting every branch of the public revenue; for removing obstacles which embarrassed its regular and easy collection at present; for laying down such clear and precise regulations, as would be equally useful to those collecting the revenue, and convenient to those by whom it was paid. In 1787, all the revenue acts, from the time of William, were consolidated, and particular taxes appropriated to

the payment of the interests of loans contracted in different years; at this time the whole revenue so consolidated and appropriated received the designation of the consolidated Fund. To this Fund the public creditor looked for his security, and after his claims were provided for, the surplus was applied to other parts of the public service. With the advantage of the example of that wise measure, it only remained for him to form the proposition he was about to submit, on the same principle. Its object was to consolidate all the duties raised under 170 Acts. When consolidated the fractional parts were to be raised to integral sums in some cases, and diminished to integral sums in others. In the book of rates it was intended that considerable alterations should take place. Some duties, which were at present levied *ad valorem*, were, by the new schedule, to be levied at a precise rate; others, which were now rated, were henceforth to be *ad valorem*. It was also intended, that with the view of securing the regular payment of interest, certain articles which were at present duty free, should be submitted to a duty of very inconsiderable pressure. He then entered into some of the details of his plan, referring for more exact particulars to a schedule which would

would be added to the Bill, for the preparation of which he acknowledged his high obligations to Mr. Fruin. As the principle of this measure was evidently wise and beneficial, no serious opposition was made, and as the passing of the Bill was sufficiently slow, it received such corrections in the Committee, as the various subjects, and the interest of individuals seemed to require.

1st June. While this measure was pending, the Minister announced his intention to relieve the commercial world from the heavy disbursement of duties by having recourse to the system of bonding and warehousing, a system which Sir Robert Walpole had been prevented by mere force of faction from carrying into effect, and the utility of which had been acknowledged ever since his days, although it had, as yet, only partially been brought into practice. In answer to some observations of General Gascoyne, the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, that it had been thought expedient to call upon the House to ascertain what the particular duty upon exports and imports should be fixed at; previous to making any regulations with regard to warehousing, and it was in contemplation to bring in a Bill to that effect, whenever the present one should have received the Royal assent. On this subject, he said considerable pains had been taken, in order to diffuse through every part of the country a knowledge of the system, so far as it was now before the House. With respect to the other part, it was intended that no duty should be charged immediately on the importation of arti-

cles, but they were to be warehoused and bonded, both for the security of the merchants themselves, and of the revenue. It was only when the goods were taken out for consumption, that the duty was to become chargeable. But in order to prevent any injury which might otherwise arise from this regulation, to the peculiar branches of trade already established in particular parts, it was intended, that before any considerable quantity of a particular commodity was allowed to be warehoused and bonded in any particular port, proofs must be first afforded, that such port had for some time previously been in the habit of importing and trading in such commodity. It would also be provided that the mere proofs of such ports being furnished with warehouses, although submitted to the Lords of the Treasury, should not be sufficient to permit their lordships to grant commissions for the warehousing of goods, without resorting to Parliament. The application, it was intended, should be first submitted to the Board of Customs and Excise, and afterward to the Board of Trade; and if the conditions required by Parliament did actually exist, the Commissioners should then be empowered, by the authority of Parliament, to bond the goods. This Bill did not pass during the present Session.

In pursuance of the plan announced, Bills were brought in and passed, for consolidating the duties of Excise; the Stamp duties, and the assessed taxes. On the consolidation of the Excise, the Minister observed that it was not intended so much to increase the revenue,

revenue, as to simplify and facilitate its collection, and thereby expedite the business of the trader. There was no branch of the revenue so complicated in its nature, or to which so many regulations were directed, as to that of the Excise duties, or relatively to which so many Acts of Parliament had from time to time passed. Throughout the whole of its details, regulation had so accumulated upon regulation, and Act of Parliament upon Act of Parliament, that there was scarcely an officer, in the collection of this branch of the revenue, competently acquainted with the extent and correct limits of his duty. The business of simplifying a system so complex, had long been a *desideratum* anxiously wished for; but the task was thought so difficult, as to be deemed hopeless. Fortunately, however, two Gentlemen were found in the revenue department, whose talents, perseverance, and indefatigable industry, proved competent to the task; they were Mr. Burton, of the Excise department, and Mr. Jackson. Although no considerable augmentation of revenue was intended, the principal change would be in raising the duty, where it made a fraction, to the next integral sum above it. There were, however, some principal points on which material alterations were intended. And first, with regard to the breweries; it was intended to place the country brewer, as much as possible, on a footing with the town brewer, by making his allowances the same; and to impose duty on what is called table drink. In other branches, it was intended to reduce the duty on cocoa-nuts and coffee, coming

from British territories abroad, and give them a preference (on the same principle as that adopted last year upon sugar) over all such articles coming from other parts of the world; to raise the duty on cyder and perry from 18s. 6d. to 20s.; to impose a duty on mead, manufactured for sale, the same as on British wines; and to grant a duty of 2s. 6d. per cwt. on salt in Scotland, in order to countervail the advantage of salt provisions coming from that country.

On the assessed taxes, Mr. Addington observed, that under the existing system, many errors had obtained, as well with the assessors of those taxes, as with those who paid them, to the great inconvenience of both. Many, without suspicion of intentional fraud, had through error, made false returns which subjected them to penalties; and again, many whose duty it was to assess the taxes had erred in their construction of the laws, in a manner extremely vexatious to those on whom the assessments fell. The leading purpose of the present Bill, therefore, was, to render the meaning and object of the assessed tax laws as clear, distinct, and unambiguous as possible; so as to leave no room for error or misconstruction, either with the assessor or with the assessed. As the proposed regulations had the advantage of being revised by the Judges (whose experience was extensive in the many decisions which had taken place under their jurisdiction upon the tax acts) they would now, properly, become part of the law of the land. Beside the consolidation of the several duties, the Act was intended to include some modifications chiefly calculated to prevent

vent evasion, as by regulating the size of windows, and fixing the proper duty on those who employed certain servants not permanently, but occasionally. A tax was also proposed on race horses, of two guineas per annum, over and above the saddle horse duty; and in the duty on carriages, there was a fair ground of increase, as many gentlemen in fact paid but for one carriage and set of wheels, yet it was known that they had several bodies to the same carriage; as for instance, barouches, sociables, landaus, &c. Now as it was fair, that in a tax avowedly imposed on luxuries, the rich should pay for the additional comforts they enjoyed, he would propose one half the duty on the original carriage to be paid for each additional body occasionally attached to it. The next alteration the Bill proposed, was one guinea annually to be charged upon every rider, or travelling clerk, book-keeper, warehousman, or shopman, employed by persons in trade; a regulation which would tend to create a preference for the employment of females.

Each of these measures occasioned some debates, and received some modifications, but the consolidation of the stamp duties was effected with less difficulty. Its object was stated by the Minister to be a mere consolidation, without any alteration of the amount. A new schedule would be constructed, by which the trouble of the officers would be diminished, at least two-thirds, and the collection of the duties, of course, greatly facilitated. The only new regulation which required notice, was one relative to the employment of improper stamps.

Great inconvenience had arisen to many persons, from using them inadvertently. Where the stamp was inferior in value to that which ought to have been used, it was his intention that the instrument should in all cases, remain illegal; but where the stamp was of equal value, though not applicable to the deed, it was evident that there could be no intention to defraud, and some relief seemed due to the parties. Such a stamp should therefore be made legal on paying a double duty. A contract having an improper stamp, though not inferior in value to the right one, was not to be considered valid, but might be rendered so. When this measure was completed, the House would have the consolation to reflect, that in the course of one Session four great branches of the public revenue had been greatly improved by the adoption of a system of consolidation. It was true that the present measure involved only a detached part of the stamp duties, but it would lay a foundation for the consolidation of the whole.

The general view of the expences of the 11th June. year, with the means of meeting them, or what is generally called the Budget, was laid before the House of Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; who, in his speech reminded Parliament of the unanimous resolution by which they had engaged to support his Majesty in the prosecution of the war, against an enemy who had professed his hope of being able to wear us out by the accumulation of expence in the prosecution of the contest. After a few more observations he proceeded to a

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statement of which the following were the heads.

SUPPLY.

Navy (inclusive of Ordnance for Sea Service - - -	10,021,000
Army - - -	8,721,849
Army Extraordinaries, to be voted on a future day - -	2,000,000
Extraordinaries of the preceding year -	1,032,151
Ordnance - - -	1,280,000
Vote of Credit - -	2,000,000
Corn Bounties - -	524,000
Miscellaneous Services	1,300,000
Total	26,879,000

Joint Charges of Great Britain and Ireland.

SEPARATE CHARGES FOR GREAT BRITAIN.

Deficiency of Malt	118,842
Deficiency of Ways and Means last year	171,431
We had also to pay under the provisions of a treaty between us and the United States of America, entered into in the year 1794 - -	330,000

And it would appear by the accounts on the table, that there was an engagement subsisting between Government and the East India Company, in consequence of expeditions carried on on the Continent, on which there was a considerable balance,

for which he proposed to vote - -	1,000,000
Exchequer Bills already voted - - -	2,781,000
Interest on ditto -	920,000
Remains of Exchequer Bills of 1798, advanced by the Bank	1,500,000

Total separate charge of Great Britain 6,821,679

Total of the Supplies	33,730,679
Two seven-teenths for Ireland -	3,162,235
Additional for Civil List, &c.	170,224

For Ireland, - - 3,332,459

Leaving on account of England for Supply, 30,398,220

WAYS AND MEANS.

The means of providing this sum will, he said, consist of three parts. The taxes voted annually—the growing produce of the Consolidated Fund, and issue of Exchequer Bills; and lastly, an augmentation of the duties of Excise and Customs and a separate tax on Property. The last I wish to be considered solely as a resource applicable to the war. The Ways and Means then will be as follows:—

WAYS AND MEANS.

Land and Malt voted annually - - -	2,750,000
Exchequer Bills—Although authority has been given by Parliament for an issue of four millions, take only - -	3,000,000

Sur-

Surplus of the Consolidated Fund - - 6,500,000

Before Christmas I ventured to calculate upon this sum as the produce of the Consolidated Fund. That calculation was formed upon the estimate and returns, as far as then ascertained, of the taxes laid in 1802, and it is fully justified by the accounts now upon the table. This, however, is not the proper time to enter into a discussion of the correctness of the estimate, because I do not now ask the Committee for a vote upon the subject. I merely submit the statement as part of the means for raising the resources of the year. When it comes to be voted it may be inquired how far the amount is likely to accord with the estimate.

It is proposed to liquidate certain advances made by the Bank by an issue of Exchequer Bills, which, it is hoped, that the Bank, with that spirit of accommodation to the public

service which they displayed last war, will from the same motive, be now inclined to accept. The Debt due to the Bank on this head would therefore be paid by an issue of Exchequer Bills, on aids of 1804, to that extent - - - 1,500,000

Money in Treasury,
residue of Bounties
on Hemp, &c. - 37,782
Lottery - - - 400,000

I now come to the Ways and Means by which I propose to raise the amount of the sum which I have stated to be necessary for the service of the year. The three great objects to which I look as the sources of this revenue are the Excise and Custom Duties, on which I intend to submit to the Committee a large augmentation; and a tax upon property. If it should be the pleasure of the Committee to agree with me as to the propriety, I wish it to be distinctly understood that I consider these duties as applicable to war only, and I intend to propose that they should cease within a certain period, probably six months after the restoration of peace.

CUSTOMS.

IMPORTS.—An increased Duty on *Sugar* imported, of 20 per cent. on the duty now paid; and an increased duty of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the duty now paid,
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on other goods imported; with the exception of Cotton, Wool, Tea, and Wine - - -

1,300,000

EXPORTS.—On all Articles exported to any part of Europe, a duty of 1 per cent. *ad valorem*, and, to any other part of the world, a duty of 3 per cent. *ad valorem* - - -

460,000

On Cotton-Wool exported 1 penny in the lb - - -

250,000

Tonnage.—An additional Duty on Tonnage - - -

150,000

2,160,000

Deduct increase of drawbacks - - -

160,000

Produce of Customs - 2,000,000

EXCISE.

Tea.—An additional 15 per cent. *ad valorem* on the lower sorts, and 45 per cent. *ad valorem* on the higher* - -

1,300,000

Wine.—An additional duty of £10 per Pipe - - -

500,000

Spirits.—50 per cent. on the present duty on all Foreign and British Spirits -

1,500,000

Malt.—Additional Duty of two Shillings a bushel -

2,700,000

6,000,000

PROPERTY TAX.

A Tax of 1 Shilling in the Pound, on the actual rent of all Land in England, to be paid by the Land Owner, and 9d. in the Pound to be paid by the Tenant. In Scotland, the Tenant to pay only 6d. in the Pound. Besides this a tax of 5 per cent. on the net produce of all Trades and Professions; and also of 5 per cent. upon the dividends due on the public funds, except upon such dividends as are due to Foreigners residing out of this country -

4,500,000

With regard, he said, to that species of property arising from Government Securities, I know perfectly well the delicacy which has always been felt upon this subject, but I am sure that it will not be expected, at the present time, that that kind of property should not be called upon to bear its share in the general contribution when every other species is called upon to contribute so heavily. The question now is, not what species of property shall be exempted, but in what proportion each species shall contribute? It certainly is intended that this kind of property shall be made contributory though it is not in

* It has already been charged to 45 per cent. on all sorts of tea.

every instance. I mean, however, now to propose, that all persons possessing property in the Funds shall be required to make returns to Commissioners by whom this Bill is to be carried into execution. These Commissioners will not be all of them resident in London, as under the Income Bill, but they will be appointed in different parts of the country. They are to have the same powers for certain purposes as the Commercial Commissioners. All persons having property in the Funds are to lay their accounts before these Commissioners; and if they do not do it before a certain day, they will be held to have made their election, in which case provision is made that they shall be charged in another way. It will be understood that no person can be charged except according to the first provisions to which I have alluded, unless it is by his own choice. If the persons do not make their returns to the Commissioners at a proper time, then, and in that case only, the provisions are to be executed at the Bank. All agents for Foreigners, and persons not being British subjects, having property in the Funds will be exempted: the Committee will feel that they could not with justice have been included in this impost. When I say foreigners, I mean those not resident in England.—I shall now, for the sake of clearness, give a summary recapitulation of the taxes.

On the Custom Duties	£2,000,000
On the Excise Duties	6,000,000
On the Land and Pro-	
perty	- - - 4,500,000

Making in all 12,500,000

The Committee, however, must be aware, that though Parliament may determine to raise so large a part of the supplies for the service of the year, yet it must be obvious, that a very considerable part of this sum cannot be raised within the present year. I will, therefore, only calculate upon the sum to be produced by these taxes in this year, at 4,500,000*l.* there would then remain, 10,000,000*l.* to be provided for the service of the present year; this sum must be raised by way of

LOAN,

and I have this day entered into an agreement with some respectable Bankers of the City of London, for a Loan for 12,000,000*l.* 10,000,000*l.* of which was for England, on the following terms:—For every 100*l.* 80*l.* 3 per cent. Consols, which at $58\frac{1}{2}$, the price of Saturday, would be 46*l.* 14*s.* 0*d.* —80*l.* reduced at the same price, 46*l.* 14*s.* 0*d.* The bidding was upon the Long Annuities; they were taken at 6*s.* 5*d.* which at 17 years and a half purchase, was 51*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.*—The discount was 21*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* which made the whole amount to 101*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* The bonus to the Contractors is therefore 11*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* and the interest to be paid by the Public, 51*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.* per cent. I have to congratulate the House, I have to congratulate the Country, that, under such circumstances, so beneficial a bargain has been made; and I am convinced it will be found no less advantageous to the persons contracting than to the public. But I am the more disposed to congratulate the House on this bargain, because there are very few instances of any

contract ever having been made on terms equally advantageous with a reference to the price of stocks. There were indeed only two instances of bargains in which the advantage to the public had been greater. Those instances occurred in the years 1799 and 1800. In the first of these years the Government had a clear premium of 6s. 7d. and in 1800 the bonus was 10s. 5d. These were, in fact, the only instances in which the public had derived more advantage from the terms of the Loan than the present. But in what circumstances were those Loans made? The first took place under the operation of that Act, which was the first attempt to raise a considerable proportion of the Supplies within the year. The second took place under the actual operation of the Income Tax. These were years too, in which all the taxes, which can be regarded as the best criterions of the prosperity of a country, were the most productive. What inference is to be drawn from this fact? Is it not evident that those wise measures inspired confidence in those who were willing to become the creditors of the country? These examples are therefore sufficient to encourage us to follow the same system now, which cannot fail to be attended by similar beneficial effects. I have now to state the means by which I propose to provide for the interest of the Loan.—I mean the 10 millions for Great Britain, which create a capital of above 12 millions of stock, and the interest on which amounts to - - - - 480,000 To which add the charges for management,

and one per Cent for
the Sinking Fund - 190,000

And the whole sum to
be provided for will
be - - - - 670,589

This sum I propose to raise by an increase of the duties on certain articles of the Customs, which I have calculated, will amount to 250,000l. The increase in consequence of the consolidation of the Assessed Taxes will amount to 220,000l. But there will still be a considerable sum wanting. The measure by which I propose to make it up is one which has often been recommended. I mean a change in the mode of collecting the Receipt Tax. I mean to propose, that in all cases where money is to be paid, it shall be competent for the person paying to demand a stamp from him who is paid. The price of the stamp used, it is intended, shall bear a very minute relation to the sum paid; but that in no one instance shall it be less than 2d. or more than 5s. The produce of this regulation I estimate at 220,000l. Those three sources of revenue will produce 690,000l. applicable to the payment of the above 670,589l. being the amount of the interest and expences on the Loan. I shall now recapitulate the different heads of Supply and Ways and Means.

SUPPLY.

Navy (exclusive of Ordnance for Sea Service)	- -	10,021,000
Army	- -	8,721,849
Army Extraordina- ries, to be voted	-	2,000,000
Extraordi-		

Extraordinaries of the preceding year remaining unprovided for - - -	1,032,151
Ordnance - - -	1,280,000
Vote of Credit - -	2,000,000
Corn Bounties - -	524,000
Miscellaneous Services	1,300,000
<hr/>	
Total - - -	26,879,000
Joint Charge of Great-Britain and Ireland.	

SEPARATE CHARGES FOR GREAT-BRITAIN.

Deficiency of the Malt Duty - - -	118,840
Deficiency of Ways and Means - -	171,431
American Commissioners - - -	330,000
Expedition, East-India Company -	1,000,000
Exchequer Bills - -	2,781,000
Interest on ditto - -	920,408
Exchequer Bills remaining of 1798 -	1,500,000
<hr/>	
Total separate Charges of Great-Britain -	6,821,679
<hr/>	
Total Supplies	33,730,679
Two seven- teenths for Ireland -	3,162,235
Additional on account of Civil List, &c.	170,224
<hr/>	
For Ireland - - -	3,332,459
<hr/>	
Supplies to be provided for - - -	30,398,220
<hr/>	

WAYS AND MEANS.

Malt Duty, Tax on

Pensions, &c. and remains of Land Tax - - -	2,750,000
Exchequer Bills - -	5,000,000
Surplus Consolidated Fund 1804 - -	6,500,000
Exchequer Bills for Bank Advances -	1,500,000
Bounties remaining in Exchequer - -	37,782
Lottery - - -	400,000
Loan - - -	10,000,000
Produce of the new Taxes in the present year - -	4,500,000
<hr/>	
	30,687,782
Supplies - - -	30,398,220
<hr/>	
Overplus - - -	289,562
<hr/>	

The Committee will perceive that the great object I have in view is to raise a large part of the Supplies within the year. The extent to which I wish to carry this principle is this, that there shall be no increase whatever of the Public Debt during the course of the war. In the first place it will be necessary to ascertain the probable amount of the annual charges of the War, and then to make provisions for carrying on a vigorous and even protracted contest, without making any greater addition to the Public Debt than what will be annually liquidated by the Sinking Fund. The annual Charge of the War, unless demands should be made upon us by the intervention of Foreign Powers who may wish to make a common cause with us, I think will not exceed 26,000,000*l*. I do not mean to deny that this is a great, an enormous sum, but certainly not greater than the object for which we have now to contend.

tend. If then the House think fit to adopt the measure I am now proposing, if I am right in my estimate of the growing produce of the Consolidated Fund, which I have considered at about six millions, and if my calculation of the Annual Taxes be correct, which I have estimated at 12,500,000*l.* but which for this purpose I will only take at 10,000,000*l.* there will only remain a sum of 6,000,000*l.* to be borrowed, which will be more than covered by the Sinking Fund, which now produces considerably more than six millions. The growing produce of the Consolidated Fund is also likely to increase, unless we are again visited by those calamities with which the country has been afflicted. If then my calculations are correct, we shall be enabled to meet a War Expenditure of Twenty-six Millions without any increase to the Public Debt, an object so desirable, that no difference of opinion can be entertained upon the subject. I trust, therefore, this system will be adopted; it is one which has been before tried, and of which the effect is known: it has inspired confidence at home, and created respect abroad.—But the pecuniary effect is not all, it will be a difference in another respect, the difference between a temporary and a permanent tax: it will have another effect also, that of convincing the enemy of this country, that it is hopeless for him to contend with our finances, that it is not in his power to effect us in that respect:—it will have a still farther effect, that of convincing the other Powers of Europe, that they may safely join with us in a common cause of resistance against the com-

mon enemy, for that the resources of this country are such as to give full security for the punctual discharge of any engagement it may enter into, and this is an object for which I have in view some provisions. I will not fatigue the Committee, by stating all the advantages of such a system; they are such as the necessity of the times exacts of us, and similar efforts are to be found in early periods of our history. I desire the Committee to look at the mode adopted for raising the Supplies for the service of the year: they will find on Land a considerable duty imposed, as well as upon Personal Property. They will find, at an early period of our history, taxes were raised within the year on all descriptions of property, descending even to the wages of Servants. To illustrate this I will refer to the times of King William and Queen Anne, when the Funding System was first introduced; let it be recollected, that then not only 4*s.* in the pound on Land was imposed, but also 5*s.* per cent on stock in trade; 5*s.* on all salaries, offices, perquisites or pensions; 4*s.* in the pound on all annuities and pensions, and all persons of any profession were charged 4*s.* in the pound for that which was received or got by any practices, or emolument whatsoever. It is to be recollected that those times, although they were arduous, and the object for which we were then contending was considerable, yet they were minor to the objects which we have now in view, and therefore the exertions which we now make ought to be so much the greater. That was a great and a glorious period in the history of this country, but not so great
as

as the present, the contest being very different, *for the present contest is for the existence of this country as a free state, and the question now is, whether we shall maintain and support that existence, or whether we shall abandon the people of this land as a prey to the French?*

In conclusion, he made an advantageous display of the commercial prosperity of the country, and moved his resolutions according to the usual form.

June and July Several of the measures of finance proposed by the Minister occasioned discussions in Parliament, but none so much as the tax on property. It was resisted, at first, by Mr. William Smith and a few others, as oppressive and vexatious, and however it might be modified, extremely detrimental to the public. It was open to all the objections which had been advanced against Mr. Pitt's income-tax, as to its inequality, to the mode of collection, and to its operation, particularly on the landed interest. The Funds certainly ought to be taxed according to the objects of this bill; but they ought to be taxed in a larger proportion than land, because the latter was subject to many burthens from which the former was intirely exempted. As to the tax on trade, if it was to be levied at all, it should be equally collected, and that appeared impossible, unless by the establishment of an inquisition, which would be much more intolerable than any tax, and this inquisition too to be renewed yearly, in the same way as that under the former Income Bill. To such means of raising the supply, every wise statesman and every

benevolent man, must be adverse; for it would almost unavoidably tend to irritate the passions and to depress the spirits of the people.

If the tax, was to be persisted in, equality of payment was desirable, but how was that to be obtained?—By disclosures which could not be enforced, but by a violation of every principle of freedom, and an outrage upon every feeling of pride. It would press on the trading community very little indeed, for they would make the consumers pay, as they uniformly did, every tax levied upon them; they would remunerate themselves in their increased profits for any burthens imposed on them. If traders could not compensate themselves so in this instance, the tax would be more unequal. The House was therefore placed in this dilemma, that it must either impose a very considerable burthen on the consumers, or a very unequal tax on the traders, upon the higher class of whom this tax would not press much.

Mr. Pitt defended the principle of the Bill, but strongly disapproved many of its provisions. He carried this disapprobation to the length of moving for an instruction to the Committee to insert a new clause with respect to exemptions; he argued the point with considerable heat, and pressed it to a division, wherein the numbers for him were 50, against him 150. The clause of exemptions was however afterward so modified as to obviate his objections. So many alterations were made in the Bill during its progress, that it was found necessary to re-commit it, and at last, much inconvenience was

was apprehended from its great length, and the difficulty and perplexity of some of its clauses.

5th
Aug. In the House of Lords, the Bill occasioned little observation; the Duke of Norfolk objected to the exemptions in favour of foreigners possessing money in our Funds. This must be either on the score of good faith, or of policy. When property of all kinds, belonging to persons in this country was taxed, and particularly when the Funds were taxed, considering the diminution that might result from frauds, the question of good faith ought not to enter into consideration. As to policy, he conceived the only reason for not taxing the property of foreigners in the Funds was, that it was advisable they should have a stake in them; but from the nicest calculation he had been able to make, the whole property possessed by foreigners in our Funds did not amount to more than a tenth of the interest of the national debt, estimating which at twenty millions, their stake would only amount to two millions, which was chiefly possessed by Dutch and French; and a sum so truly insignificant could not be supposed to have an effect in a question of peace or war; at least the money of foreigners in our Funds, in cases of purchases made after the passing of this Bill, might very fairly, and ought to be taxed. He therefore proposed an amendment, conformable to this last suggestion.

The Lord Chancellor although he admitted that a tax of this kind would not, according to the strict sense of the word, be a breach of national faith; yet contended that

if such construction might be put upon it, considering the fair character of this country had always maintained, with regard to its pecuniary transactions with foreign nations, though we might be considerable losers from the want of the tax, yet he should by no means be inclined to accede to the amendment proposed by the noble Duke. A division was however taken and the amendment negatived by 7 to 3.

Early in the Session, an attempt was made to render perpetual the taxes imposed on Ireland, which had heretofore been granted annually, and were only laid on for a single year by the Irish Parliament before the Union, but after several debates, the measure was withdrawn. A Bill was passed restraining the Bank of Ireland from paying in cash, in the same manner as that affecting the Bank of England.

Mr. Corry, the Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland, in bringing forward the scheme of expenditure and supply for that part of the United Kingdom, paid the highest encomiums to the people for their good sense and patriotism, but, he said, as the war was so young, it was obviously impossible that Ireland could adopt, upon this occasion, that species of noble exertion of which Great Britain had set the example. From the distance of that part of the United Kingdom, from the lateness of the Session, and from the recent commencement of the war, he should be obliged to pursue the old track in raising the supplies. He submitted to the Committee, the following statement,

SUPPLY.

The whole of the joint charges for England and Ireland, as had been stated by his right Hon. Friend on a former day was 27,000,000*l*. Of which the proportion of Ireland, in Irish money,

was	-	-	-	-	3,602,000 <i>l</i> .
The separate charges for Ireland were, interest of debt,					
Sinking Fund, &c.	-	-	-	2,040,000 <i>l</i> .	
Compensation, the last that would be paid				300,000	
Navigations	-	-		150,000	
Treasury Bill	-	-		386,000	
				<hr/>	2,876,000

Making in all for Ireland - - - 6,478,000*l*.

There were likewise in the hands of the Bank of Ireland Treasury Bills, similar to Exchequer Bills here, which the Bank of Ireland, he believed, would have no objection to renew.

WAYS AND MEANS.

To make good this sum of 6,478,000*l*. of charges there were—

Balances in the Exchequer, similar to the growing produce of the Consolidated Fund in England	-	350,000 <i>l</i> .
Revenue for the current year	-	3,000,000
Lottery the same as last year	-	200,000
		<hr/>

Which, with the proportion for Ireland of the late loan, amounted to - - - 5,916,000*l*.

Leaving a deficit of upwards of 500,000*l*. To supply this deficit, he proposed to raise a loan in Ireland, to the extent of a sum not exceeding 1,000,000*l*. This would leave a surplus in the Exchequer of Ireland, which, when the circumstances of the present crisis, and the possibility of sudden emergencies were considered, would not appear improvident or unnecessary. It remained for him to point out the new taxes by which he proposed to pay the interest of the loan. Before he proceeded to do so, he begged leave to say a few words on the subject of the trade of Ireland. Last year he had informed the Committee that the balance of trade for two years

had not been so favourable for Ireland, as could have been wished. That balance, he was happy to find, was now more favourable than it had been, though he still confidently looked to great and important improvements. That the balance of trade was becoming more advantageous to Ireland, was proved by the amount of the exports and imports. He took occasion to remark, that this balance was more favourable than it appeared from the official value, and made various statements in proof of this assertion. He next made some remarks upon the revenue of Ireland. Last year it turned out nearly what he had estimated, being about 3,350,000*l*. but for the

the present year he should not take it at more than 3,000,000*l*. The reasons for this were that the duty on tobacco had fallen off, as well as that on foreign spirits. The importation of sugar had likewise been excessive, and it was not probable that the duty would this year be so great. There were likewise some arrears of assessed taxes collected in the former year; so that upon the whole he did not think himself entitled to estimate the revenue for this year at more than 3,000,000*l*.

NEW TAXES.

He now came to the new taxes, in the statement of which he should be very brief, for there was nothing new in the principle, or extravagant in the rates of the taxes he meant to propose.—He proposed, in the first place, an increase upon the head of customs, and in consequence of the principles of the intercourse of England and Ireland, in consequence of the Union, this tax would fall entirely on foreign commodities. He proposed the amount to be 10 per cent.

The produce of this

he took at - 140,000*l*.

The next was a duty of export on certain articles. The exports of Ireland, however, he was sorry to say, was not so extensive as to promise a very large sum, but he took it at -

17,000*l*.

The next was an additional duty on home made spirits,

and he was sure that as far as was compatible with the discouragement of the private stills, the House would feel that to discourage the use of spirituous liquors was to promote the industry and the good morals of the people. 9*d*. per gallon on home spirits, and a countervailing duty of 9*d*. per gallon on foreign spirits, over and above the 10 per cent. would give - 30,000

Here he noticed that from the duty of our imports, tobacco would be exempted, because it was found that in time of peace, it could not bear the present rate.

The last object was malt. Malt, he said, was used in the distillery in proportion of one-half, and therefore the distillery would contribute on this part. He hoped, as far as it affected the brewery, the tax would not be attended with any inconvenience. He proposed to make the tax 1*s*. the barrel of malt, the brewery in Ireland being sub-

less to no other duty of excise. This he calculated at - -	40,000
Total of Taxes	380,000
Interest of the loan in Eng- land - - 143,000	-
In Ireland - 65,000	208,000
Surplus - -	172,000l.

It might be asked why he proposed to levy taxes calculated to produce so much more than the interest of the loan? In answer, he observed, that the situation of the empire called upon us to make ample provision for future exertion. If peace took place, the produce of the present taxes would enable Parliament to reduce the rate on several objects which, during peace, could not be made to bear the rate they were now loaded with. If the war continued, the surplus would go in aid of the vigorous exertions which we should be called upon to make.

These propositions passed without much animadversion, but Mr. William Smith, deprecating a property tax, as a measure very ob-

jectionable, Mr. Corry stated the reasons why he had not proposed any strong measure of finance for Ireland this session. Ireland, might not yet, perhaps, be inclined to bear great burthens to meet the exigence of the moment, although he was sure that would be the wisest plan. Besides, there were no immediate means to enable him to bring forward such a measure. There was no land-tax in Ireland, no poor-rate, no system of municipal finance, if he might so express himself, from which he could draw any aid, or out of which he could form any system; unless it were of the grand juries, or of the parish vestries for parish purposes of very small amount. If the tax upon property should be adopted it would have one recommendation, that the absentee landlords and mortgagees would be forced to bear their share in the burden. He hoped that Parliament would also lay their hands upon those drones, the middle men, who preyed at once upon the proprietor and the occupier, and who were of no benefit to the state in any shape or character.

CHAP. XIII.

East India Budget; speech of Lord Castlereagh on introducing it; opposition to his statements. A second budget introduced at an advanced period of the Session; statement of Lord Castlereagh; observations of Mr. Francis; Mr. Johnstone; and Mr. Prinsep; the report received. Further relief to the planters of St. Vincent's and Granada; pension settled on Sir James Saumarez. Message from his Majesty for a compensation to the Prince of Orange; Speech of Lord Hawkesbury; observations of Mr. Canning; and of Sir Francis Burdett; the relief granted. Report of the Committee for improving the Highlands of Scotland; plan of a new Canal by the way of Fort

Fort William and Inverness; a sum of twenty thousand pounds voted. Measures respecting the clergy. Improvements in the law relating to arrests, and in that against stabbing, cutting, and maiming.

14th March. **T**HE financial condition of the East India Company was laid before Parliament by Lord Castlereagh. He said, the Committee would be aware that many of the observations which he had to submit to their consideration, respected the accounts which had been presented to the House last Session. The accounts for the last year had not been received from India, otherwise it would have been his wish to have brought both the accounts under the consideration of the House at the same time. But as the House must wish to know the present state of the affairs of the East India Company, as they must be naturally anxious to know what measures the finances of the East India Company would enable them to take for the liquidation of their debt, he should now proceed to call their attention to the accounts which were laid upon the table of the House in the last session of Parliament. The affairs of the East India Company naturally divided themselves into two classes, viz. those abroad and those at home. Their affairs abroad were divided into three distinct heads, namely, 1st, the revenues and charges; 2d, the extent of, and provision for, the investments; and, 3d, the state of their debt and their assets. With respect to the revenues, he would state them first upon an average of three years, compared with one year preceding; 2dly, he would make a comparison between the estimated amount and the actual amount of the revenue of the last

year; and, 3dly, the estimated revenue for the succeeding year. He should therefore now proceed to state the revenues, charges, and estimates with respect to

BENGAL.

Revenues — Average
1798-9 to 1800-1 £.6,436,807

More than average
last drawn - - 289,776

Estimated for 1800-1 6,339,203
Actual amount 6,658,334

More than estimate 319,131

Charges — Estimated
for 1800-1 - - 4,422,047
Actual amount - 4,780,611

More than estimate 358,564

Deduct excess of revenue from excess of charge, the net revenue is less than estimated - - - 39,433

And the net revenue
for 1800-1 is - - 1,877,723

ESTIMATES 1801-2.

Revenues - - - 7,051,164
Charges - - - 4,582,201

Net revenue - 2,468,963
Revenue estimated
more than in 1800-1 392,830
Charges ditto, less ditto 198,410

Net revenue estimated

for

for 1801-2, more.

than preceding year 592,240
The Committee would observe from this statement, that the estimated charge for 1800-1, was 4,422,047½ and that the actual amount of the charge was 4,780,611½. making a difference between the actual and the estimated charge 358,564½. As the officers of the Company had always shewn great accuracy in making up the estimates, and had been particularly cautious not to mislead by overrating the revenue, he wished to explain how it happened that there was this excess of the actual over the estimated charge, and to shew that there was no ground for impeaching the accuracy of the officers who had prepared the accounts. In the first place, these estimates referred to a period of war, and every body must be aware of the impossibility of strict accuracy and precision in estimates during the war. But in addition to this, in the year to which he was alluding, the expedition to Egypt took place, which certainly was not in contemplation when the estimates were made; and from this circumstance there would be found a difference between the estimates and the actual charges in all the presidencies. He then proceeded to state the revenues, charges, and estimates with regard to Madras, but, in doing so, he apprized the Committee that the estimates and accounts related only to the old possessions annexed to that presidency; otherwise it would be impossible to make a comparison between its present and its former state; because, from the accession of territory and revenue, not only by the conquest of the Mysore, but by treaties with the Nizam, an

average of the aggregate of the receipts would not constitute a fair mean of comparison with any former period. Having made this preliminary observation, he proceeded to state, that

The average of these	
revenues, from	
1798-9 to 1800-1,	
was - - -	1,035,068½.

Which exceeds the	
average on the years	
1797-8 to 1799-	
1800 - - -	82,734

Estimated for 1800-1	3,277,073
Actual amount	3,540,268

More than estimate	263,195
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Charges — Estimated	
for 1800-1 - -	3,765,913
Actual amount	4,293,310

More than estimate	527,397
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Deducting excess of	
revenue from excess	
of charge, the net	
charge is, more than	
estimated - - -	264,202

And the net charge of	
the year 1800-1 is	753,042

ESTIMATES, 1801-2.

Revenues - -	3,899,040
Charges - -	4,559,311

Net charge -	660,271
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Revenues estimated	
more than actual,	
1800-1 - - -	358,772
Charges ditto more	

than

than ditto - - -	266,000	Actual amount - - -	1,329,176
Net charge for 1801-2, estimated less than the preceding year	92,772	More than estimate -	298,183
The Committee would see from this statement, that there was a greater difference between the estimated and actual charge in Madras than there was in Ben- gal: this difference arose from two circumstances; first, because it was principally from this presidency that the forces were sent upon the expedition to Egypt and secondly because there was a great inter- ruption in the tranquillity of the southern provinces, occasioned by the Poligars, which caused much additional expense. With regard to the revenues and charges of Bombay, he wished to observe, that the transfer of the Malabar province to Madras in July 1800, having greatly reduced the receipts at Bombay in the year 1800-1, an average on the gross collections of three years could not properly be drawn for a comparison. In this case it was also proposed to make an adjustment, and take the aver- age, excluding the revenues of the ceded countries, which was,		Add deficiency of re- venue to the excess of charge, the net charge is more than estimated - - -	312,201
From 1788-9 to 1800-1 - - -	211,892l.	And the net charge of the year 1800-1 is	1,042,719
Which exceeds the av- erage on the years 1797-8 to 1799- 1800 - - -	24,767	ESTIMATES, 1801-2.	
Estimated for 1800-1	300,475	Revenues - - -	271,825
Actual amount - - -	286,457	Charges - - -	1,185,308
Less than estimate	14,18	Net charges - - -	913,483
Charges — Estimated for 1800-1 - - -	1,030,993	Revenues estimated less than 1800-1	14,632
		Charges ditto less than ditto - - -	143,868
		Net charge estimated for 1801-2, less than preceding year -	129,236
		There then only remained Bencoo- len and the other settlements.	
		Revenues of Fort Marlborough, on an average of three years, 1797-8 to 1799-1800, were	6,985
		Charges ditto, ditto,	106,197
		Net charge - - -	99,212
		Supplies from Bengal to Fort Marlbo- rough, Penang, &c. estimated for 1800-1	82,360
		Actual amount - - -	156,325
		More than estimated	73,965
			More

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

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Supplies estimated for 1801-2 - - - - - 85,840

He then proceeded to take a general view of the statement he had made.

The result of the year 1801 collectively was as follows:

Revenues—Bengal	-	-	-	-	6,658,334	
Madras	-	-	-	-	3,540,268	
Bombay	-	-	-	-	286,457	

Total revenues 10,485,059

Charges—Bengal	-	-	-	-	4,780,611	
Madras	-	-	-	-	4,293,310	
Bombay	-	-	-	-	1,329,176	

Total charges 10,403,097

Net revenue of the three presidencies - - - - - 81,962

Deducted from supplies to Bencoolen - - - - - 156,335

The difference is 74,363

Which being added to the interest paid on the debts

At Bengal	-	-	-	-	746,184	
Madras	-	-	-	-	212,488	
Bombay	-	-	-	-	135,289	
						1,093,961

The deficit of revenue from the territories, &c. then is - 1,168,324

Deduct the amount sales of imports - - - - - 493,667

The remainder - - - - - 674,657

is the amount of the deficit, after allowing for the produce of the sales of the imports

Amount advanced for the purchase of investments, payment of commercial charges, and in aid of China investment,

At Bengal	-	-	-	-	897,691	
Madras	-	-	-	-	453,990	
Bombay	-	-	-	-	400,485	

Total advances for investment 1,752,136

Cargoes invoiced from India to Europe in 1800-1 with charges - - - - - 1,399,033

The result of the estimates for 1801-2, collectively, was,

Revenues—Bengal	-	-	-	-	7,051,164	
Madras	-	-	-	-	3,899,040	
Bombay	-	-	-	-	271,825	

Total revenues 11,222,029

Charges—Bengal	-	-	-	-	4,582,201	
Madras	-	-	-	-	4,559,311	
Bombay	-	-	-	-	1,185,308	

Total charges 10,326,820

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Net estimated revenue of the three presidencies	-	-	895,209
Deduct supplies to Bencoolen, &c.	-	-	85,840

		The remainder	809,369
Deducted from interest on debts	-	-	1,342,854

Shews the net deficiency of the revenues from the territories, &c. to be	-	-	533,485
Which deducted from the estimated amount of sales of imports	-	-	564,527

The remainder was 31,042

And this was the amount estimated to be applicable in the year 1801-2 to the purchase of investment, payment of commercial charges, &c.— Having gone through this general account, and having stated the magnitude of the deficit, the Committee would not be surprized that the amount of the investments was not so great as it might otherwise have been expected.—The next subject which he wished to submit to the Committee was the debts of the Company in India, They were as follow :

Amount stated last year	-	-	14,640,402
Amount this year	-	-	17,674,532

Increase - 3,034,130

Debts transferred in the year	-	-	81,888
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Debts bearing Interest.

Amount last year	-	-	12,301,570
Amount this year	-	-	15,135,354

Increase of debts bearing interest 2,833,784

Amount of interest payable by the accounts of last year	-	1,082,042
Amount of interest payable by the accounts of this year	-	1,342,853

Increase of interest payable annually 260,811

Assets in India,

Consisting of cash, goods, stores, &c. last year	-	11,569,553
Ditto, ditto, by present statement	-	12,113,923

Increase of assets - 544,369

Deduct

Increase of assets from increase of debts, the state of the Company's affairs in India will appear worse by - 2,489,761

The next subject to which he called the attention of the Committee was the home accounts of the Company.

Aggregate amount of sales 1801-2	-	9,155,987
Less than last year	-	1,167,465

On

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On the Company's goods alone	-	-	-	971,554
Private goods	-	-	-	77,367
Neutral property	-	-	-	118,544
				<u>1,167,465</u>
Sale on Company's goods, estimated at	-	-	-	7,119,400
Actually amounted to	-	-	-	<u>6,630,487</u>
				Being less than estimated - 488,913
The receipts on the sales of the Company's goods estimated at	-	-	-	7,161,918
Actually amounted to	-	-	-	<u>6,336,192</u>
				Being less than estimated - 825,726
Charges and profit on private trade estimated at	-	-	-	100,000
Actually amounted to	-	-	-	<u>193,563</u>
				Being more than estimated - 93,563

The balance estimated to be remaining in favour on the 1st March, 1802, amounting to 486,731l. would by the actual accounts have been considerably against the Company from the disappointment in the receipt on the sale of goods, and from deferring the disposal of the loyalty loan; but from some additional receipts on profit on private trade, and from Government for stores, &c. with postponement of the payment of the debt to the Bank, amounting to 800,000l. the balance the 1st March, 1802, although the supplies to India and China exceeded the estimate upwards of 200,000 still remained in favour to the amount of 168,759l. being less than estimated 317,972l.—The estimates for 1802-3 were as follow :

Receipt for sale of Company's goods	-	-	-	6,500,600
From the small balance at the commencement of the year, and the extensive supplies required for India and China, also the expectation of liquidating the debt to the Bank, the balance against the Company on the 1st March, 1803, is estimated to amount to	-	-	-	<u>1,434,556</u>

DEBTS AT HOME.

On 1st March, 1801	-	-	-	-	5,393,989
On 1st March, 1802	-	-	-	-	<u>4,822,683</u>
				Decrease	- 571,306

ASSETS AT HOME.

On 1st March, 1801	-	-	-	-	15,404,736
On 1st March, 1802	-	-	-	-	<u>16,802,760</u>
				Increase	- 1,398,024

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Adding

Adding decrease of debts to increase of assets, the improvement of the home concern in this year is - - - 1,969,330

CHINA AND ST. HELENA.

Balance at China last year in favour - - 1,226,079
Balance at China by the present accounts - - 1,019,551

Decrease 206,528

Balance at St. Helena on 30th Sept. 1799,
in favour - - - 58,366

Balance at St. Helena on 30th Sept.
1800, in favour - - - 77,852

Increase 19,486

Net decrease at China and St. Helena 187,042

GENERAL COMPARISON OF DEBTS AND ASSETS.

Increase of debts in India - - - - 3,034,130
Decrease of debts at home - - - - 571,306

Net increase of debts 2,462,824

Increase of assets in India - - - 544,369
Increase of assets at home - - - 1,398,024

1,942,393

Deduct

Net decrease of balance in favour at China and
St. Helena - - - - 187,042

Net increase of assets 1,755,351

Deducted from the increase of debts would shew the state of
the whole concern to be worse than at the conclusion of
the last year in the sum of - - - 707,473

Which sum was subject to alteration on the final adjustment of the claims of the Company on Government, included in the home assets to the amount of 3,573,339l. making an increase in this year, under this head, of 900,899l.— Having gone through a general state of the affairs of the East India Company, both at home and abroad, comprising their revenues, charges, debts, assets, &c. he should now proceed to put the Committee

in possession of the best outline in his power of the prospective view of their situation. The best way that occurred to him of doing this, would be to state, first, the extent of the incumbrances upon the Company, then the extent of their means to meet these incumbrances; then the mode in which it was proposed to apply those means for the amelioration of their affairs, and the result that might fairly be expected from the adoption of these measures;

measures; and lastly, to state what was the expectation of the public from the Company, either in the alternative of peace or war. In order to elucidate this subject, he had moved for these accounts, which would put the House in possession of all the material facts. And first, with regard to the incumbrances: the estimate of the revenue and charges had been prepared by the proper officers abroad, and also the interest of the debt; but there was no certified amount of the capital of the debt, he was therefore obliged to form the best estimate in his power. In order to prevent mistake, and to be sure as possible, he would take the capital of the debt at the highest amount, and state it at 18,500,000*l.* which would completely cover the whole of the debt. Of this sum, as he had before stated, 16,000,000*l.* bore interest, the annual amount of which was 1,438,791*l.* This certainly was a most serious sum, and must necessarily be a most serious deduction from the income of the Company. But, great as it was, still it was a most satisfactory consideration, that if the state of the Company in 1793, with all the necessary increase of expense in the course of the war, was compared with its present state, there would be a corresponding increase in the assets of the Company, at least equal to the incumbrances incurred; so that the Company were in as good a state as they were at the commencement of the war. In considering the debt of the Company, the first thing that naturally occurred to the mind was the very high rate of interest which they paid for their debt; the interest amounted to very little

short of 9 per cent. He stated this, in the hope that the Committee would bear it in mind, while he adverted to what occurred to him upon another part of the subject. If the Company had no surplus revenue at all to apply to the liquidation of their debt, still there was another operation which they might have recourse to, and which would contribute very materially to that object, and that was the conversion of their Indian debt bearing the high interest he had stated, into an European debt. This would put the Company into the possession of a considerable fund for the extinction of their debt, because the difference of interest between an Indian debt, to the amount he had stated, at 9 per cent. and an European debt at 5 per cent. would afford to the Company a saving of about 538,000*l.* a year. He wished therefore that the Committee would always bear in mind that there were applicable to the extinction of the debt not only the existing funds, but the saving to be made by this change in the nature of the debt. The present means which the Company possessed to meet their incumbrances must arise from their revenues abroad, and from their capital at home. The estimated revenues, according to the latest accounts which had been received, would be all together 11,976,180*l.*; the estimated charges were 9,346,369*l.*; there would then remain a surplus of 2,729,811*l.* from this, however, were to be deducted the commercial charges, the supplies to Benecoolen, and the interest of the debt, and there would then remain a net surplus of 1,053,582*l.* This surplus arose partly from an increase in the re-

venue, and partly from some reductions which had been made in the expenses. No reduction, however, had been taken credit for, which had not been actually accomplished, though there were others in contemplation which he hoped would be extremely productive. In adverting to this subject, it was impossible that the attention of the Committee should not be turned to the Noble Person now at the head of the government in India, the Marquis Wellesly; and he would venture to say that, high as his character stood upon other grounds, it would stand still higher when the measures he had adopted for improving the finances of the Company were considered; it would be found that the same energy of mind which carried him through the other difficulties which surrounded him, had particularly characterized his financial arrangements.—Having, however, mentioned the reductions which had been made, he wished that the Committee should not entertain any apprehensions that they were such as would in any degree endanger the safety of our empire in India; and perhaps the best way to satisfy the Committee upon this head would be, to state the amount of our army in India. It amounted to 24,000 Europeans, of whom 17,000 were King's troops. The native force amounted to 89,000 men; and the irregular force, including *Lascars*, to 10,000, making altogether an army of above 124,000 men. With such a force, there was no ground for apprehensions either from attacks from Europe or from contests in India. His Lordship then proceeded to comment upon the commercial state

of the Company, and contended, that nothing could shake them in the commerce of the East, because nobody would embark a large capital against a Company that had so large a surplus revenue, which they must remit to Europe, and which must enable them to drive any competitor out of the market. With regard to the sum which at the last renewal of the Company's charter was to be paid to the public, the non-payment of it had only been occasioned by the war, but undoubtedly in the event of the continuance of peace, the payment would be regularly made. According to the act for the renewal of the charter, the appropriation of their surplus revenue was as follows: the first half million was to answer bills from India, the second half million was to be paid to the public, and the remainder was to go in extinction of the debt. The result of this statement would be, that after paying the public 500,000*l.* a year, there would remain a sum of above one million applicable to the reduction of the debt, independent of the measure to which he had before alluded, of the conversion of the debt. He wished here to observe, that it was not in contemplation to liquidate the whole of the debt: it was proper, for many reasons, that a part of the debt should remain; one of those reasons was, that the natives should have an interest (independent of the advantages they have under our government) in the permanence of the Company. Supposing then the amount of debt to be reduced was 12,000,000*l.* and the sum applicable to the reduction to be 2,000,000*l.* a year, it would obviously be liquidated

six years, and the interest due upon the remainder, taking it even at 6 per cent. would be only 240,000l. a year. He presumed that the interest might, under these circumstances, be reduced to 6 per cent. and in the present state of the Company's affairs, they would not have occasion to raise any money for the first two years. He was aware that the Committee might suppose that he was giving an ex-

aggerated account of the affairs of the Company, but he would state the grounds of his calculation as applying to the alternative either of peace or war. His Lordship then entered into the following statement of the Company, and applicability of those means to the liquidation of their debts. He had before stated the surplus of their foreign revenue; he now came to consider their home surplus.

Four years average to March 1802	-	-	-	-	366,874
Add net surplus abroad	-	-	-	-	1,053,582
					<hr/>
					1,420,456
Say net proceeds	-	-	-	-	1,500,000
The proportional profits on an investment of four millions will be more.					

DISTRIBUTION OF NET PROCEEDS:

Public participation	-	-	-	-	500,000
Reduction of debt	-	-	-	-	1,000,000
Proposed sinking fund to be applied each year	-	-	-	-	2,000,000
Till the capital in India bearing interest is reduced to	-	-	-	-	4,000,000
Amount to be reduced	-	-	-	-	12,000,000

Time required, six years.

Annual sinking fund to be constituted as follows:

From net proceeds as above	-	-	-	-	1,000,000
From savings of interest and loans in Europe	-	-	-	-	1,000,000

Total £,2,000,000

The sinking fund will operate as underneath, supposing the rate of interest to be gradually reduced, till it shall stand at 6 per cent.

Indian debt will be reduced April, 1809 to	-	-	-	-	4,000,000
Interest	-	-	-	-	240,000

The twelve millions paid off will have been supplied as follows:

Surplus from net proceeds for six years	-	-	-	-	6,000,000
Savings of interest in the same period	-	-	-	-	2,713,000
To be furnished from Europe	-	-	-	-	3,287,000

12,000,000

Of the sum to be furnished from Europe, not more than 2,000,000l. need be raised by loan; the repayments from Government for the Egyptian expedition &c. will cover the remainder; and this sum subject to be reduced by any improvement of net proceeds which may happen, either in the revenues or commercial profits. State of affairs at the end of six years:



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Indian surplus, April 1809	-	-	-	-	-	2,250,000
Home surplus	-	-	-	-	-	450,000
						<hr/> 2,700,000
Deduct Public participation	-	-	-	-	-	500,000
						<hr/> 2,200,000
Supposing two millions raised in aid of sinking fund, by adding to capital, deduct interest at 5 per cent.	-	-	-	-	-	100,000
						<hr/> 2,100,000
Net proceeds, subject to ulterior appropriation, viz.---1-6th to proprietors to increase dividends	-	-	-	-	-	350,000
5-6ths to be invested in the funds to counter-secure capital						1,750,000
						<hr/> 2,100,000

The operation of the above appropriation until the year 1813-14, when the charter would expire, unless sooner renewed, would be to increase the Company's dividends annually, by one half, viz. 350,000*l.* and to accumulate at 4 per cent. compound interest, during the five years, a guarantee fund of 9,485,000*l.* In the event of war, the Indian surplus must be necessarily reduced. The reductions of charge since the peace amount per estimate to 783,000*l.* per annum. Allowing for a war establishment equal in extent to that at the close of the late war, there will still remain net proceeds 717,000*l.*—But to make the most ample allowance, take the war charges at 1,000,000*l.* there will still remain net proceeds 500,000*l.* applicable to the reduction of debt.—In this case the participation of the public would necessarily be suspended during war, and would revive upon the reductions resulting from peace.—With such a disposable surplus, provided the transfer of funds from Europe to India shall meet with no interruption in

time of war, the contracting of fresh loans may not only be avoided, but a system of liquidation, upon principles similar to those above stated, be pursued even during war, though necessarily upon a reduced scale.—For executing the above measure, and for the extension of trade, the Company possess the following available resources :

May add to their capital two millions, at 220 per cent.	-	-	4,400,000
More bonds may be issued with consent of Treasury	-	-	1,000,000
			<hr/> 5,400,000
Suppose as above, raised for sinking fund			2,000,000
			<hr/>

Remains for the extension of trade - - - 3,400,000
Having gone through the whole of this statement with the greatest clearness and precision, his Lordship made several observations on the probable means of increasing the prosperity of the Company, and vindicated the prospective statements of his predecessor Lord Melville,

ville, whose predictions, he said, would have been sooner verified had not the war intervened.

This statement was not received without considerable animadversion from Mr. Johnstone and Mr. Francis, and Sir Francis Baring, but they were satisfactorily answered by Lord Castlereagh, Sir Hugh Inglis, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir Theophilus Metcalfe. Several other debates arose on the subject, but they were devoid of interest.

At an advanced period of the Session, Lord Castlereagh, being furnished with fresh materials, opened, at considerable length, the general statement of the East-India Company's affairs in the year beginning in March, 1801, and ending in the same month, 1802; he also presented an estimated statement for the year 1802-3. In the Budget which he had presented at the beginning of the Session, he had given a detailed statement of the affairs of the Company in 1800-1 and only an estimated statement of 1801-2. This was the actual statement of the last, and an estimated statement of the current year. He was happy to inform the Committee, that the actual income for the last year, considerably exceeded the estimate, and that the revenues of every presidency were in a state of improvement. His Lordship then gave a detailed statement of the situation of the East-India Company, both as to its revenues and its charges. The revenues he divided into the foreign and the home: according to the following schedule.

BENGAL.

Revenues. — Average

1799, 1800, to
1801-2 -

6,761,598

More than the average last drawn -

324,791

Estimated for 1801-2

7,051,164

Actual amount -

7,127,988

More than estimate -

76,824

Charges. — Estimated

for 1801-2 -

4,582,201

Actual amount -

4,705,583

More than estimate -

123,382

Deduct excess of revenue from excess of charge, the net revenue is less than estimated -

46,558

And the net revenue for 1801-2, is

2,422,406

ESTIMATES 1802-3.

Revenues -

7,612,384

Charges -

4,535,065

Net revenue

3,077,319

Revenues estimated more than actual in 1801-2 -

484,395

Charges do. less than do. -

170,517

Net revenue estimated for 1802-3, more than preceding year

654,912

MADRAS.

Revenues. — An average of aggregate

receipts

receipts would not be a correct ground of comparison, on account of the additional revenues acquired by conquest and by treaty since the year 1799. On the same principle as adopted last year, viz. by taking the average collections from the Post-office, the old land revenues, the customs, and the farms and licences, the average of those revenues, from 1799, 1800, to 1801-2, was -

1,136,597

Which exceeds the average from 1798-9 to 1800-1 -

101,528

Estimated for 1801-2 3,899,040
Actual amount - 4,729,610

More than estimated - 830,570

Charges. — Estimated for 1801-2 - 4,559,311
Actual amount - 4,963,742

More than estimated - 404,421

Deducting excess of charge from excess of revenue, the net charge is less than estimated - 426,139

And the net charge of the year 1801-2 is 234,132

ESTIMATES 1802-3.

Revenues - 4,670,369

Charges - 4,555,676

Net revenue - 114,693

Revenues estimated less than actual in 1801-2 - 59,241

Charges ditto less than ditto - 408,066

The prospect estimated for 1802-3 better than preceding year by - 348,825

BOMBAY.

Revenues — Excluding the revenues of the ceded provinces transferred to Madras in July 1800, the average revenues from 1799, 1800 to 1801-2 - 251,456

Which exceeds the average drawn on the same principle from 1798-9 to 1800-1 - 39,564

Estimated for 1801-2 271,825
Actual amount - 305,992

More than estimate - 34,167

Charges — Estimated for 1801-2 - 1,185,308
Actual amount - 1,187,288

More than estimate - 1,980

Deducting excess of charge from excess of revenue, the net charge is less than estimated - 32,187

And

And the net charge
of the year 1801-2
is - - 881,296

ESTIMATES 1802-3.

Revenues - 410,280
Charges - 907,406

Net charge - 427,126

Revenues estimated
more than actual in
1801-2 - 104,288
Charges ditto less than
ditto - 279,882

Net charge estimated
for 1802-3, less
than preceding year 384,170

BENCOOLEN AND OTHER
SETTLEMENTS.

Revenues of Fort
Marlborough on
average of three
years, 1798-9 to
1800-1 - 8,806
Charges. Ditto, ditto - 102,030

Net charge - 93,224

Supplies from Bengal to
Fort Marlborough,
Penang, &c, esti-
mated for 1801-2 85,840
Actual amount - 241,220

More than estimated - 155,380

Supplies estimated
for 1802-3 - 116,000

GENERAL VIEW.

Result of the year 1801-2, collectively.

Revenues—Bengal - 7,127,988
Madras - 4,729,610
Bombay - 305,992

Total revenues 12,163,590

Charges—Bengal - 4,705,583
Madras - 4,963,742
Bombay - 1,187,288

Total charges 10,856,613

Net revenue of the three presidencies - 1,306,977

Deduct supplies to Bencoolen, &c. - 241,220

Remaining net revenue - 1,065,757

Deducted from the interest, &c. paid on the debts.

At Bengal - 971,556
Madras - 267,178
Bombay - 210,066

1,449,500

Shews

Shews the deficit from the territorial revenues to be	383,743
Deducted from the amount sales of imports, &c. by	418,717

The remainder 34,974

Is the sum left applicable to the purpose of commerce, amount advanced for the purchase of investment, payment, of commercial charges, and in aid of China investment

At Bengal	-	-	739,651
Madras	-	-	281,329
Bombay	-	-	246,021
Marlborough	-	-	21,092

Total advances for investments	-	-	1,288,093
Cargoes invoiced from India to Europe in 1801-2, with charges by	-	-	2,362,443

GENERAL VIEW

Result of the estimates for the year 1802-3, collectively.

Revenues—Bengal	-	-	7,612,384
Madras	-	-	4,670,369
Bombay	-	-	410,280
			Total revenues 12,693,033
Charges—Bengal	-	-	4,535,065
Madras	-	-	4,555,676
Bombay	-	-	907,406
			Total charges 9,998,147
Net estimated revenue of the three presidencies	-	-	2,694,886
Deduct supplies to Bencoolen, &c. per	-	-	116,000
			Remainder 2,578,886
Deduct further interest on the debts by	-	-	1,481,070

The sum then remaining is 1,097,816

Add estimated amount of sales of imports by	-	409,500
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The total 1,507,316

Is the amount estimated to be applicable in the year 1802-3, to the purposes of commerce.

DEBTS IN INDIA.

Amount stated last year	-	-	17,674,532
			Amount

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Amount this year	-	-	-	-	19,965,739
				Increase	2,291,207
				Debts transferred in the year	143,179

DEBTS BEARING INTEREST.

Amount last year	-	-	-	-	15,135,354
Amount this year	-	-	-	-	16,994,833
				Increase of debts bearing interest	1,859,479
Amount of interest payable by the accounts of last year	-				1,342,853
Amount of interest payable by the accounts of this year					1,481,070
				Increase of interest payable annually	138,217

ASSETS IN INDIA.

Consisting of cash, goods, stores, &c. last year	-				12,113,923
Ditto ditto by present statements	-	-	-	-	13,372,741
				Increase of assets	1,258,818
Deduct increase of assets from increase of debts, the state of the Company's Affairs in India appears worse in this view	-	-	-	-	1,032,389

HOME ACCOUNTS.

Aggregate amount of sales 1802-3	-	-	-	-	9,628,131
More than last year	-	-	-	472,144	
The sales of Company's goods were to a less amount	-	-	582,459		
Also neutral property by	-	-	153,036		
			735,495		
Private goods were more by			1,207,639		
Difference as above	-		472,144		
The sales of the Company's goods were estimated at	-				5,880,600
The actual amount was	-	-	-	-	6,048,028
				Being more than estimated by	167,428
The receipts on the sales of the Company's goods estimated at	-	-	-	-	6,500,600
					Actually

Actually amounted to	- - - - -	6,972,417
Being more than estimated	-	471,810
Charges and profit on private-trade estimated at	-	130,007
Actually amounted to	- - - - -	172,474
Exceeding the estimate in	- - - - -	42,474
<i>General Result.</i> —The balance of cash estimated to be against the Company on the 1st. of March, 1803		
	-	1,434,556
Actually proved to be in their favour	- - - - -	1,009,822
Being better than estimated	-	2,444,378

Which may be attributed to the additional receipts on the sales of goods on private-trade, and on the issue of bonds, combined with the payments below the estimate on account of India and China, and on several other accounts, also the protraction of the liquidation of 700,000*l.* of the debt to the Bank.

ESTIMATE, 1803-4.

Receipt for the sale of Company's goods	-	6,085,500
<i>General Result:</i> —Although the balance of cash on the 1st March, 1803, was large, and although the smaller receipt on the sale of goods is more than made up by an expected payment from Government, the great disbursement required for India and China for purchase of investment and liquidation of debt, and the payment of the loan from the Bank are likely so to operate, that the balance of cash, in favour of the Company, on the 1st March, 1804, is estimated to amount to the sum only of		
	- - - - -	89,393

DEBTS AT HOME.

On the 1st March, 1802	- - - - -	4,822,683
On the 1st March, 1803	- - - - -	4,773,886
Decrease	-	48,797

ASSETS AT HOME.

On the 1st March, 1802	- - - - -	16,802,760
On the 1st March, 1803	- - - - -	17,440,593
Increase	-	637,833
Adding	-	

Adding the decrease of debts to the increase of assets, the improvement of the home concern in the year is - 686,630

CHINA AND ST. HELENA.

Balance at China last year in favour - 1,019,551
Balance at China by the present accounts - 91,434

Decrease at China 928,117

Balance at St. Helena, on the 30th

Sept. 1800, in favour - 77,852

Balance at ditto, on the 30th Sept.

1801 in favour - - 78,848

996

Net decrease at China and St. Helena 927,121

GENERAL COMPARISON OF DEBTS AND ASSETS.

Increase of debts in India - - - 2,291,207
Decrease of debts at home - - - 48,797

Net increase of debts - 2,242,410

Increase of assets in India - 1,258,818

Increase of assets at home - 637,833

1,896,651

Deduct, net decrease of balance in

favour at China and St. Helena 927,121

Net increase of assets 969,530

Deducted from the net increase of debts, shews the state of the whole concern in a worse point of view than at the conclusion of the last year, in the sum of - - 1,272,880

Having gone through all the statements, he observed, that nothing could be more gratifying than the view thus exhibited, of the actual prosperity and future prospects of our East-India settlements, which were now infinitely superior to what they had ever had been before, or to what belongs to any other country on the face of the globe.—Whether we looked to its revenue, its commerce, the value of lands, it popu-

lation, or its peaceful Government, it must present an object of envy to every other nation in the world. The Noble Marquis, at the head of that Government, had an opportunity of carrying into effect the system of judicature adopted by the Marquis Cornwallis, and from the reports of the different governors, given in as a statistical view of the whole country, a plan was now effected which had been much improved by the exertions of

of Sir George Barlow. The judicature of the courts was now equal to those of the other settlements, and the same system was extended to most of the Jaghires and Circars. Means were taken to ascertain the value of the other more remote English possessions, and the same system pervaded them all, who had their courts and judges in the same regularity as those of Bengal. The Polygars were a very warlike and interesting people. They lived under a kind of feudal system, which rendered them at the same time both martial and idle. This was increased by their Treaty to keep 23,000 men for the service of the Company. But this of late had been very advantageously remitted for the sum of 71,000*l.* per annum in money. The most material point was the situation of the Carnatic, which had undergone a considerable change; but as this was not a time to enter into the merits of the Treaty which annexed a part of the Nabob's possession to ours, he would confine himself to that part of the subject, which bore more immediately upon the question, in the financial operations of the measure. By the arrangement made, the net revenue derived by the Company this year, after the payment of the collection and other expenses, was 1,094,000*l.* of which, however, one-fifth was paid to the Nabob; which, with the payments to his creditors, would amount to 628,000*l.* leaving to the Company a clear profit of 228,000*l.* By this the Nabob possessed much more than he could realize by his own imperfect system of revenue; for of the immense sums wrenched from the inhabitants, by conti-

nued and successive extortions descending from the prince to the meanest soldier, only a very small portion came into the public coffers. By the late Treaty, the Nabob, instead of paying a subsidy to the Company for undertaking his defence, and that of his territories, which relieved him from keeping a standing army that was a terror to his subjects and himself, ceded a part of his territory as an indemnification to the Company. This cession consisted of about half his territory, the revenues of which, by the meritorious exertions of Mr. Wellesley, had been improved from 1,500,000, to 2,770,000*l.* The Nabob, at the same time, was the richest sovereign in India, having a clear revenue of upwards of a million sterling solely applicable to his own use, and to the comforts of his family. Speaking of the Mahratta empire, he said it must be always of the greatest importance to us, as its superficial extent was equal to that of the possessions of the Company. It had lately undergone a very great revolution, as Holkar had defeated the army of the Pashwa, who was himself obliged to fly from his capital, and take refuge, under the protection of the Company, near Bombay, where he still remained. The current connexion between him and the Company made it expedient to afford him the protection he sought for, and on that communication being made to Holkar, he appeared satisfied to submit the dispute to the English Government. As this, however, could not be intirely relied upon, he had further to mention, that an army to support the interference of the

the Company was assembled and prepared upon the coast, but would not, in all probability, be driven to any military operations, and at all events would be attended with little expense, and would not affect the general results of the peace establishment. He then concluded with moving resolutions in conformity with his calculations.

Mr. Francis, in a long and able speech, combated both the facts and results advanced and deduced by Lord Castlereagh, adverting also to much which had been said in former debates by the supporters of Government, to publications on the same subjects, and to the debates at the India House; and the official statements of the Company. "The actual state of the debts and incumbrances of the East-India Company," he said, "is a demonstrative refutation, not of the figures, but of the practical result and implied promise of all their calculations for many years. On this subject, however, there is at this moment special evidence before the House: I mean, such an instance of inaccuracy, as, I believe, if any thing can, will guard the House from giving implicit credit to Indian estimates hereafter. I am far from thinking that it could have been intended. The fact is, that, on the 8th of March last, an estimate was laid before the House, by the Court of Directors, in which the supposed debt in India is stated as follows:

The total of debts on
the 30th April
1802, is therefore
estimated at - 17,614,000l.

On the 28th of April,
the real account

was produced, by
which it appears
that the same debt,
at the same period,
amounted to - 19,965,700l.

So that, between the
estimate in March
and real account in
April, the difference
is no less than - 2,351,700l.

"A mistake, or miscalculation, of 2,350,000l. in estimating the increase of debts in a single year is quite enough for the purpose, for which I mention it, and much more than I expected. The addition made to the Indian debt, in the two years ending in April 1802, amounted to 5,325,337l. But are you sure that this all? Is there no arrear left? Are all the demands on all the presidencies ascertained and stated? Be that as it may, this formidable debt is evidently in a course of rapid progression. The augmentation of establishments, and expences of all sorts, keeps pace with the increase of your dominion, out-runs that of your revenue, and at this distance can neither be restrained nor controlled, without an exertion of vigour as great as the difficulty, and a choice of instruments equal to the task. In a political sense, you have more than you can govern. In an economical sense, you have more than you can manage. These and many similar observations were strongly supported by Mr. Johnstone and Mr. Prinsep, the latter of whom undertook to prove that the revenue of the East-India Company was deficient in the sum of three millions

2d. millions. On bringing up
 Aug. the Report of the Resolu-
 tions, Mr. Prinsep re-
 turned to the subject, and arraigned
 the general management of the
 Company's affairs; but the Report
 was agreed to without a division.

Some other measures connected
 with the expenditure of the pub-
 lic money may be slightly noticed.

March An act was passed, al-
 and though not without con-
 April. siderable opposition, in-
 dulging those planters of
 St. Vincent's and Grenada who
 had been favoured with loans
 from Government, with further
 time to pay the residue of the
 money advanced to them, and in
 pursuance of a Message from his
 Majesty; an annuity of 1200l.
 was settled on Sir James Saumarez,
 commencing from the 12th of
 July 1801, the day on which
 he rendered his country such dis-
 tinguished service and acquired to
 himself immortal renown off Alge-
 siras.

25th Beside this tribute of
 July. compensation to the merit
 of a British officer, the
 claims of a foreign Prince, a suf-
 ferer in the general cause of Europe,
 in consequence of the extension of
 French power, were recommended
 to the attention of Parliament.
 Lord Hawkesbury, adverting to
 a Message from his Majesty on
 the subject of a compensation to
 the Prince of Orange, observed
 that the obligations this country
 owed to the family of that illu-
 strious Prince were greater than
 ever were due by any country to
 any great family at the head of a
 national Government. To prove
 this, he would call to the recollec-
 tion of the House, the uniform

conduct of the House of Orange,
 on all occasions, to this country,
 from the period when we owed to an
 illustrious Prince of that House
 the preservation of our Constitu-
 tion and our liberties, to the pre-
 sent moment. This attachment
 had occasioned the Prince to lose
 every thing which belonged to him,
 whether as sovereignty, rank, power,
 or private property. In the nego-
 tiation of the Treaty of Amiens,
 it was stipulated that some com-
 pensation should be made him,
 but this stipulation had not been
 fulfilled, and the only part of the
 agreement which had been per-
 formed, was now again violated
 by the recent aggression of France.
 Under these circumstances, it be-
 came the just right of the Prince
 of Orange to claim, and the duty
 of Ministers to propose, some
 alleviation of his distresses. On
 this ground, his Majesty had sent
 his royal Message to the House.
 It must be recollected, that, in the
 course of the war, very eminent
 services were rendered to this
 country by the Prince of Orange,
 and that a very considerable Dutch
 fleet was surrendered to England
 in his name. In the subsequent
 negotiation with the Batavian Go-
 vernment, for compensation to the
 Prince of Orange, it was proffered
 on their part, if that
 fleet was restored; this was refused
 by the English Government; a fact
 which strengthened the claims of
 the House of Orange to a com-
 pensation. The modes which he
 should propose, were two; either
 to vote a given sum as a complete
 and final indemnity; or else, a
 small sum promptly, and another
 by way of annuity. He should
 himself prefer the latter, as the

more

more eligible mode ; and therefore propose it first, namely, a sum of 60,000*l.* in money, and an annuity of 16,000*l.* By this latter sum, he wished it to be understood, that all the pensions to minor branches of the family, for their services and attachment to this country, were to be covered ; and he concluded with a motion to that effect.

Mr. Canning did not resist the proposal, but reproached Ministers with having been the dupes of a juggle between the governments of Holland and France, by which the former threw on the latter the duty imposed by the treaty of peace, of finding an indemnity for the family of the Stadholder, and France with characteristic bad faith, refused to fulfil the engagement she had contracted. Ministers, he said, should have insisted on the stipulation being fully performed, before they had surrendered the means in their own hands, the Cape of Good Hope, not then given up, and the islands belonging to France.

Sir Francis Burdett resisted the proposition altogether, pronouncing it one of the most extraordinary measures, under the present circumstances of the country, that ever was submitted to Parliament. He thought, that so far from the House of Orange having claims against this country, Parliament and the people of England might have claims against it, having been called in as auxiliaries only, in order to assist the Dutch ; for the Prince of Orange was the original cause of involving this country in the late war. In that point of view, as an advocate for the people of England, he should declare himself hostile to any claim of the na-

ture of that now proposed. Once encourage such claims, and he did not know what would be the end of them. Was it with a view to try the extent of the generosity of the people of England ? For any thing he knew, we might perhaps be called on, by and by, to indemnify the Elector of Hanover. It was impossible to tell whom we might be called on to indemnify. Such conduct displayed a want of common prudence or decency. Ministers had not done away any sinecures, or expunged a name from the list of pensioners, and until he could read the pension list, without displeasure or disgust, he could never imagine that any symptoms of economy were displayed by Government. He concluded with this observation ; that unless he could bring himself to be of opinion, that bran was the best substitute which the people of England could make use of for corn, and a workhouse the fittest place for people to reside in (which he alleged the Minister had once said) he could never think of agreeing to such a donation.

If the House was not indisposed, after the argument of Mr. Canning to question the propriety of the vote, this latter speech had no such influence on them ; the proposition of Lord Hawkesbury was agreed to, and a bill framed and passed accordingly.

Another expenditure of a very moderate sum for a very important purpose proceeded from the Report of the Committee for the survey of the Highlands of Scotland, introduced to the attention of Parliament by Mr Isaac Hawkins Browne. Already, he observed, had the House

voted to his Majesty's disposal a sum of 20,000*l.* for the purpose of opening roads and erecting bridges in the Highlands of Scotland, and thereby facilitating the intercourse, improving the agriculture, aiding the fisheries, and opening the inlets for improvements in the manufactures, commerce, and wealth of that part of the United Kingdom. The measure he had now to propose was not only of the utmost importance to that part of Great Britain, but to the general commerce of the United Empire, including Ireland. The project to which he alluded was the opening of a navigable canal across the Highlands of Scotland, from the Eastern to the Western Sea. The project might at first seem, not only arduous, but impracticable; but it appeared, on a minute survey, that although the tract through which this canal was intended to pass, was extremely mountainous, yet there was a chain of deep valleys to favour the operation, and these containing in the line of fifty nine miles (which was to be the extent of the navigation from sea to sea), thirty-eight miles of lakes of unfathomable depth, and capable of navigating the largest ships in the navy of England. The remaining line to be artificially cut was about twenty-one miles, which it was purposed to make twenty-feet deep, and of a proportionable width, navigable for frigates. This work in its operation, would be attended with much less difficulty, and with infinitely less expence, than the Royal Junction, and many other canals in this country; for the highest point of land, through which this cut was proposed to be

made, was but 100 feet above the level of the sea, at high water mark. This canal would insure, without risk or uncertainty, the passage of the whole Baltic and North Sea trade to the Irish Channel during the summer months, and that probably in seven days, which by the present dangerous navigation, round by the Shetland and Orkney Islands, is not generally effected in less than a fortnight or three weeks, and with the most contrary winds and bad weather, ensure in twelve days that conveyance, which, by the old navigation can rarely be effected, under the same disadvantages, in less than three months, and this with the most imminent risk, and frequently immense loss, not only of valuable ships and cargoes, but of the inestimable lives of British seamen: and the whole expence might perhaps not exceed the amount of the losses by shipwreck on the average of the last five years. For this great project he had been instructed, as chairman of a select Committee, to move that a sum not exceeding 20,000*l.* be granted to his Majesty for the purpose of opening the said navigation by the way of Fort William and Inverness. The motion was agreed to, with the utmost cheerfulness, by the whole House.

During a considerable part of the Session, Parliament was engaged in endeavours to improve the condition of the Clergy. It was at first found necessary to continue the restraint imposed by the former Parliament on those common informers who had brought penal actions on the statute of Henry VIII. against clergymen for non-residence to an enormous amount.

Sir

Sir William Scott afterward brought in a Bill for regulating the residence of the Clergy, and for amending the law respecting their holding farms, which was discussed with great animation and perseverance in both Houses. After it had passed the Commons it was amended by the Lords in some particulars which, as they affected money clauses, obliged the lower House, in maintainance of their privilege, to throw out the Bill; it was, however, immediately re-introduced in its amended state by Sir William Scott, and finally received the royal assent. Some other measures were proposed, but after some progress had been made in them, they were abandoned till another Session.

For two acts of great utility the

public were indebted to the care and judgment of Lord Ellenborough. The one was to prevent frivolous and vexatious arrests, by making those plaintiffs who issued writs for greater sums than were really due to them pay costs, although they might recover a verdict for a smaller sum. The other, among other valuable provisions, amended a gross defect in the statute commonly called the Coventry Act, by subjecting to capital punishment those who were guilty of stabbing, cutting or wounding, even if they had not lain in wait for that purpose, provided the offence were committed under such circumstances that if death had ensued it would have been murder.

CHAP. XIV.

State of Ireland; the people still agitated in some measure by the claims of the Catholics, and by French agents; but public tranquillity preserved by the moderation of Government; secret machinations; arms seized in various parts of the Country. Anger of Napper Tandy at some expressions used in debate by Lord Pelham; his Letter to that nobleman; similar offence given by Mr. Elliott; whom he challenges to single combat, these Letters treated with contempt; effect intended to be produced by them in Ireland. A secret conspiracy formed in Dublin; intimations received by Government; explosion in a house in Patrick Street; the conspiracy carried into effect; a large mob collected, and armed from the depots; their violence; murder of Lord Kilwarden and his Nephew; a force collected to oppose the insurgents; who are dispersed without much difficulty; their depôts, plans and leaders discovered; Proclamation of the intended provisional Government; their Address to the citizens of Dublin; Proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant. Message from the King to Parliament respecting these transactions; Debate in the House of Commons on the motion for an Address; Bill brought in for suppressing rebellion in Ireland; which passes through both Houses in one sitting. Motion by Mr. Hutchinson for an Address to the King on the State of Ireland; which, after a strong debate, is negatived without a division. Close of the Session. Tranquillity of Ireland. Address from the Citizens of Dublin to the King. Account of some principal persons

engaged in the late Conspiracy; Mr. Emmett; Quigley; Dowdall. Information obtained by Government. A special Commission framed for trying the rebels; Trial of Emmett. Account of his proceedings, as then disclosed; his speech; execution; and character. Trials of Redmond, and Russell; Quigley and Stafford taken but not proceeded against; general satisfaction at the conduct of Government.

BEFORE the close of this unusually protracted Session, the attention of Parliament was strongly, and unexpectedly called to the state of Ireland, which was agitated by a sudden explosion of popular fury attended with an event, equally horrible to humanity, and disgraceful to its perpetrators.

It was not to be expected that this unfortunate country would in a moment be reclaimed from all the violences, both of conduct and opinion, which had prevailed during the late rebellion; which had attended the discussions on the Union; and which must have been considerably exasperated by the introduction of the claims of the Catholics to public notice, on the resignation of the late ministry. It was also known to Government, that France, even during the peace, was actively employed in those measures which she judged likely to produce a separation between the two countries, and to throw Ireland into her power. Yet such was the effect of the system of moderation, and the truly conciliatory spirit displayed in all the proceedings of the Lord Lieutenant and those who acted under him, that no serious mischief was apprehended, either from domestic traitors or foreign intriguers. Indeed, it was not clear that these two classes did not in some degree counteract each other, and create a schism in the very centre of the conspiracy; for it was certain that

many who would gladly have contributed to what they considered the emancipation of their country from the domination of England, would with equal vigour have exerted themselves to prevent her subjection to France. This difference of opinion was not, however, sufficient to ensure the public tranquillity, or even to prevent the co-operation of all the disaffected in the first measures of insurrection, since, at an early period, very few have distinctly ascertained their ultimate objects, and those few are generally the most corrupt, wicked and atrocious of the whole confederacy.

Government had some intimations of the existence and views of these parties in the early part of the year, but their efforts, on the one hand, were so feeble, or, on the other, so contemptible, that no great exertion either of vigour or caution would have been justifiable. Thus, in January, Government was apprised of the seizure of a considerable number of pikes in the County of Limerick, and an insurrection took place a few days afterward, in which some mischief was effected, but it was easily suppressed by the exertions of the yeomanry and the military. A similar spirit was displayed in the counties of Waterford and Tipperary, but, although some persons, whose apprehensions magnified the danger beyond its real dimensions, were anxious to have certain districts

tricts in those counties proclaimed in rebellion, they were tranquillized with equal facility, by ordinary means.

As domestic insurrections produced so little effect, an attempt was made by one of the expatriated traitors who had found refuge in France, to excite some interest for himself and his cause, by an attack on two members of the British Parliament, which produced no other effect in any portion of the public but that of adding to the disgust felt against an avowed active rebel, the contempt which is ever excited by presumptuous folly. The individual in question was the much known Napper Tandy. In a debate on the Bill for laying a duty on malt, Earl Spencer made a speech on the state of the country, advising the house not to consent to the passing of the Bill, unless they received from Ministers more ample information than they yet had, on the State of the Nation. In the course of his argument, Earl Spencer observed that in consequence of the fears which Ministers felt of the resentment of the First Consul, one of the foulest traitors that ever had been convicted of high treason, had been suffered to escape with his life. Lord Pelham, in answer, said, that with respect to Napper Tandy, the sparing his life, after conviction of high treason, did not arise from any idea of either irritating or appeasing the First Consul, or from any interference on his part. He had been given up by a northern state, (Hamburgh) upon the local law of that city, and his not being executed arose merely from its being found, upon inquiry into some circumstances

that had passed respecting certain communications made by him, that it would not only have been cruel but unjust to have executed his sentence.

This introduction of his name in a debate offended Mr. Tandy, and he expressed his displeasure, in a Letter published in the French newspapers, and addressed to Lord Pelham, wherein he complained of the treatment he received from the Billingsgate orators in both Houses. "You have declared, or the printer for you" he proceeded, "that I made discoveries to Government. I assert that that declaration is false. This may *appear to your ears* not very civil language; but it is the voice of truth, and I repeat, my Lord, that it is a mean and audacious falsehood. I never had any relation nor correspondence with your Government; or if I had, that Government knew my character too well, to attempt to make me temporize. Had you been content with saying, that there were particular circumstances in my case, you would not have swerved from the truth, for you know all, though you have only suffered a part to appear. With respect to my life, I never thought I owed any gratitude to your Government for it. I owe my life to the great and generous people, to the first of men, to the hero, to the pacificator, who said, that if I fell, I should fall with eternal lustre. It is for the cause of that people that I am ready to shed the last drop of my blood. I can recapitulate, with satisfaction my past life, spent in the service of my country, whilst I look with pity and contempt upon those who, by prostituting themselves, have been

raised to the first offices of the state. I am more proud of the name of French Citizen, than I should be of the rank of a titled slave?" and in a similar style of coarse personal abuse he concluded his Letter.

But his complaints and his resentment were not confined to Earl Spencer and Lord Pelham. In the debate on the Address, Mr. Elliott had asked "Is the first Consul incapable of fomenting discontent and discord in Ireland? Has he shewn no tenderness for Napper Tandy, a foul and convicted traitor?"—Incensed at this language, the indignant Napper wrote to Mr. Elliott, through the medium of the post, requiring him to name any city on the continent to which he might be willing to come with some friends to meet the writer. "You have shewn yourself," he said, in his Letter, "as destitute of good sense, as you are a stranger to politeness and good manners. You cannot but know, you who pretend to so much intelligence and information, that I hold a rank in the army of this great and generous nation, which sets me upon an equality with the proudest peer in Great Britain. You know that a soldier's honour is dearer to him than life. Yet with a knowledge of these facts, you presumed to tarnish my character, you have attempted to fix stains of infamy on my name, which must be washed away in either your blood or mine. A French officer is not to be insulted with impunity. You, the country which gave me birth, the country in whose bosom I have been adopted, cannot but expect that I am not to betray the honour

of the rank to which I have been exalted." This piece of audacious ribaldry being received, if received at all, with deserved contempt, the author published it in the Argus, complaining he had received no answer, and this public appeal being equally disregarded, he proceeded, sometime afterward, to publish another Letter, wherein he applied to Mr. Elliott the most opprobrious epithets, but, as if determined that his stupidity should stand equally conspicuous with his impudence; in this Letter he charged Mr. Elliott with having spoken ill of him on an occasion where he had not spoken at all, transferring to him the offence given by Lord Pelham.

The attacks of such a person on members of either house of the British Legislature are, in themselves, of no importance; what judgment a traitorous outcast might form on the conduct or expressions of high and honourable characters could little affect their interests or their feelings, but the malignant boasts in these Letters were intended to produce their effect among the few in Ireland, who were still sufficiently misled or infatuated to believe that from a connexion with France, freedom, safety and even honour might be derived. To them was addressed the assertion that the writer owed his safety not to the clemency of the British Government, but to the interposition, and the threats of the greatest of mankind, the hero, the pacificator; for them was calculated the boast that a convicted traitor, obtaining rank in the French army, would be allowed by that Government to proclaim himself

self to the world, the equal of British peers, and the contemner of British rank and authority.

To all external appearance, there was not the slightest reason to apprehend that any efforts of any party could be successfully employed in creating a commotion in Ireland. The mildness and moderation of Government afforded no topics of exultation to any party, nor did they create any apprehensions that measures of needless severity would be resorted to. Political and religious distinctions although still maintained, were gradually ceasing to be the daily and hourly subjects of disputation; the causes of separation, and the incentives to hostility. Men were recovering that frame and temper of mind, which enables them to pursue the ordinary business of life, without distracting their attention, and inflaming their passions by perpetually recurring to those irreconcilable differences which formed the ground of endless disputes. Yet, in the midst of these circumstances, which so reasonably portended security, a conspiracy was formed for the purpose of creating a formidable insurrection, to be followed by the total subversion of Government.

For some days previous to that on which the fatal explosion took place, information had been conveyed to Government of dangerous assemblages, and of acts and expressions of individuals tending to justify a suspicion that some effort was intended. Such intimations must necessarily, in the existing state of Ireland, have been very frequent, and, on most occasions, must have been properly considered as the struggles of individuals to obtain notice, consequence and

power, by rendering others odious or suspected. At the present time, when there was not, in any part of the country, or in the metropolis, any appearance to warrant a belief in a dangerous commotion, it was quite natural that no great sensation should be occasioned by vague intelligence, pointing at no persons nor objects, nor indicating a direct intentions or means of executing them: still, as the information seemed to be serious and friendly, it was so far attended to, that in some material positions in Dublin, the guard was doubled.

An event which probably contributed to the adoption of this precaution occurred a week before the insurrection. At a house in Patrick Street, rented by one John Mac Intosh, an explosion of gunpowder took place, and it was observed that Mac Intosh refused admittance to those who tendered their assistance; he locked up the premises, informing a neighbour that the explosion had been occasioned by trying some experiment connected with the trade of silk-dyers. On the following evening, however, a peace officer went to the house, and ascertained the explosion to have been that of gunpowder; a parcel of which he found in an unfinished state, and some salt-petre. He also found, in a chest, about fifty fresh cast musket balls, a volume of Volney's Ruins of Empires; and in the house were about two hundred pike handles, shorter than those generally used; but, in an adjoining house he found a parcel of bayonets with the sockets filled with wood, and as if they had been sawed from off the handles which were in the first house. Mac In-

Intosh

toth absconded, but his subsequent proceedings were afterward discovered.

23rd July. On the day appointed by the conspirators for the execution of their scheme, small parties arriving continually in the city from the adjacent villages, filled all the public houses in the neighbourhood of Thomas Street. This circumstance was not in itself calculated to create any uneasiness in Government, or to alarm the police, since that part of the town is composed of shops from which the neighbouring peasantry draw their supplies, and a numerous resort on a Saturday afternoon was not an unusual circumstance; and the inhabitants of Dublin remained tranquil, and unsuspicious of the plans which were in agitation.

At nine o'clock in the evening, the tremendous intelligence was disclosed, by the firing of rockets, and a discharge of musketry. Immediately, about fifty armed persons issued from a house, which with its extensive premises in Marshall's Alley, Thomas Street, had formerly been used as a malt-house, but after remaining long unoccupied, was hired by the agents of this insurrection, and converted into a *depot*, in which with great patience and secrecy, they had accumulated muskets, pikes, clothing and gunpowder, to a considerable amount. The people without, immediately rushed toward the place, and were supplied with pikes, and directed to station themselves in various directions. The din and alarm spread by the sudden arming and breaking forth of such a mob, magnified the terror of the people, and the

effect was considerably aided by the unusual darkness of the night, so that their real insignificance in number, and apparent destitution of design or regular plan, were not instantly perceived. The parties who sallied out in various directions, compelled many whom they met, to fall into their ranks, and assume arms like themselves, threatening that all who did not join them that night, should be treated as enemies the following day; and some they actually dispatched with fire arms and pikes.

Their most conspicuous and illustrious victim was Lord Viscount Kilwarden, Chief Justice of the King's Bench. This excellent and respected nobleman, being at his country seat, distant five miles from Dublin, received an express from his son, the honourable Colonel Wolfe, apprizing him of some threatening appearances in the City, and immediately prepared to return, accompanied by his daughter, and his nephew, the Reverend Arthur Wolfe. Their Coachman, unconscious of danger, drove into Thomas Street. The mob stopped the carriage, and dragging out the Chief Justice and his Nephew, massacred both with their pikes: the young lady, protected, it is said, by two rebel leaders, on horse-back, escaped, and was almost the first who conveyed to the Castle the dreadful intelligence of insurrection. While Lord Kilwarden was expiring under the blows of his ferocious executioners, a party of military came to his rescue; hearing from them some threats of summary vengeance to be inflicted on the assassins, he employed his last breath in imploring that no man might suffer for the trans-

transactions of that day, except according to due course of law.

The alarm being now widely spread, it was apparent that the insurgents had lost the opportunity for effecting any great or signal enterprize. This failure is said to have arisen partly from a schism among the chiefs, and partly from their want of control over their adherents. It was recommended on one part, that no efforts should be made till one o'clock in the morning; but this plan, although eligible in itself, was subject to insuperable difficulties; the continuance of so many people in the public houses to so late an hour, must have occasioned suspicion, and their conversation when inflamed with liquor, must have led to discovery.

They who recommended the earlier hour, intended that their followers should march immediately against the Castle, but the distribution of arms, and the dispersion of the mob, in various directions, in pursuit of blood and plunder, prevented, for a long time, any combined or effective movement. When it became evident that the military were in motion, efforts were made to prevent their assembling by murdering individual officers and yeomen as they were repairing to their posts, and the house of the Lord Mayor, the Mansion House, was surprized, and plundered of a considerable quantity of arms. The main body of insurgents was then collected in High Street, with the apparent intention of attacking the Castle, but when the military began to act, the inability of a mere mob to withstand serious and regular opposition was soon evident.

Very small parties of soldiers and yeomanry, and even of the police, held bodies of ten times their number in check, and a steady fire of short continuance, though but from a few soldiers, dispersed this mighty mass of rebels, by whose help their leaders had fondly hoped to accomplish the overthrow of the British Government in Ireland. The lower order, in their retreat, carried off the bodies of their killed and wounded associates, while the instigators of this ill-contrived and sanguinary commotion, fled where guilt or fear directed their steps, pursued and soon overtaken by justice.

The activity and sagacity of the police speedily detected the *depôts*, the plans and the resources of the conspirators; and government discovered, with astonishment, how much labour, self-denial, secrecy and industry had been employed for a long space of time in bringing the project to maturity. In one of their chief *depôts* in Dirty Lane, were found 10,000 pikes, a large number of hand granades formed of bottles filled with powder, and to which a fuse was fixed. By means also of adhesive matter, bullets, rusty nails, and other materials of death were adapted to be thrown in at windows, or amongst any loyal body of people, collected for the purpose of self-defence. This *depôt* also contained bread, porter, biscuit and other provisions, adapted for a large body of men, together with a number of machines formed of planks, thickly set with large spikes, to impede the progress of cavalry in the streets. On the banks of the river at a place called the coal Quay, a second *depôt* was found. In the apartment, where

it was discovered, the waincoat had been removed to a considerable distance from the wall, and constructed so as to move like a sliding door. Behind this was found an immense collection of pikes and other weapons. In many parts of the city, chiefly in vacant grounds, and against what are termed dead walls, boxes of pikes were discovered, formed so exactly as to resemble logs of timber; their situation and contents being well known to the disaffected. A quantity of clothing was also taken at Bridge-foot-street, and in Smithfield; among which was a most magnificent suit of green and gold, intended for a rebel Chief.

The papers found at the *depôts* not only pointed out the leaders in the conspiracy, of whom mention will be made hereafter, but also the places in the country which were considered likely, or where preparation was made for a similar effort, and thus enabled Government to frustrate, or to repel with the least difficulty, the premeditated attempts.

The most important of the papers found at the *depôts* of the Rebels, was a proclamation or manifesto of the intended provisional Government to the people of Ireland, of which a draft was discovered in the hand writing of one of their principal leaders, and a great many printed copies. This production, which is long, heavy, and not in a good popular style, is remarkable in several particulars. The writer extols himself and his abettors on having organized their system during the last eight months, at the close of internal defeat, and without the hope of foreign assistance; the plan too, had been con-

ducted with a tranquillity, mistaken for obedience, which neither the failure of a similar attempt in England had retarded, nor the renewal of hostilities had accelerated. All hope of foreign aid was disclaimed, but England was cautioned not to drive the provisional government beyond the bounds of separation to those of national antipathy. The members of this new fangled government declared their resolution to establish a free and independent republic in Ireland: that the pursuit of this object they would relinquish only with their lives: that they would never, unless at the express call of their country, abandon their post, until the acknowledgment of its independence was obtained from England; and that they would enter into no negotiation (but for exchange of prisoners) with the Government of that country while a British army remained in Ireland. In another part of the manifesto were these expressions, used as an inducement to the people to abstain from the massacre of those who might fall into their power. "The nation alone possesses the right of punishing individuals, and whosoever shall put another person to death, except in battle, without a fair trial by his country, is guilty of murder. The intention of the provisional government of Ireland is to claim from the English Government such Irishmen as have been sold or transported by it for their attachment to freedom; and, for this purpose, it will retain as hostages for their safe return, such adherents of that Government as shall fall into its hands. It therefore calls upon the people to respect those hostages, and to recol-

recollect, that in spilling their blood, they would leave their own countrymen in the hands of their enemies." But lest this delusive shew of moderation should cool the ardour of any sanguinary votary of rebellion, another part of the manifesto held out these prospects. "We war not against property; we war against no religious sect; we war not against past opinions or prejudices; we war against English dominion. We will not, however, deny that there are some men, who, not because they have supported the Government of our oppressors, but because they have violated the common laws of morality, which exist alike under all or under no government, have put it beyond our power to give to them the protection of government. We will not hazard the influence we may have with the people, and the power it may give us of preventing the excesses of revolution, by undertaking to place in tranquillity the man who has been guilty of torture, free quarters, rape and murder, by the side of the sufferers or their relations; but in the frankness with which we warn these men of their danger, let those who do not feel that they have passed this boundary of mediation, count on their safety."

There was also an Address to the citizens of Dublin, and a decree intended as a specimen of the government to be exercised by the new rulers of the projected free and independent Republic. All tythes were to be abolished for ever, and church-lands were declared the property of the nation. No transfers of land, bonds, debentures or public securities were

to take place till the national government should be organized. Irish Militia, yeomen, or Volunteer corps found in arms, after fourteen days, were to be tried as rebels by a Court Martial, and punished with death, if it so should please the provisional government. Stores and ships taken from the English were to be equally divided among the captors, except that widows and near relatives of those who should die fighting for liberty, should have a double share. There were many other regulations in this childish farrago, and, among the rest, a provision for electing a House of Commons to be composed of three hundred Members, of whom Cork County and City were to return thirty-four, Down sixteen, Dublin County four, City fourteen, Tyrone fourteen, and Tippérary thirteen. The town of Belfast was to return one Member, the City of Waterford two.

Considering that no individual in Ireland, of distinguished rank or great property, was found to be connected with this conspiracy, it would be matter of wonder, (if the statement that the leaders had no aid from foreign powers could be credited,) that, during so long a period, so much activity and secrecy should have been employed, and so great an expence defrayed as must have attended all these measures. On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that France, the only foreign power which could lend effectual assistance to such a project, should have confided the means of executing it to conspirators so rash, so shallow, and so little endowed with talent or wisdom, as those who were engaged in this. The facts which

were afterward disclosed on the trials of the rebels will best tend to elucidate this point.

24th. On the day, after the insurrection, the Lord July. Lieutenant issued a Proclamation offering a reward of 1000l. sterling, for each of the first three persons who should be apprehended and convicted of stabbing Lord Kilwarden or his nephew, and commanding the use of every exertion to preserve the peace of the City, the protection of loyal subjects, and the disarming of rebels.

25th. Another Proclamation ordered the military to exert their utmost energy in dispersing rebellious insurrections, for which purpose they were empowered to attack all collections of armed rebels wherever found, and to do military execution on all such as they should find in arms. The yeomanry were also ordered on permanent duty, and a reward of 50l. each was proclaimed, for the discovery of the first hundred persons engaged in the insurrection of the 23d.

28th. These events were communicated to Parliament by a Message from his Majesty, on which the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved an immediate Address. Government, he said, had every reason to suppose, that the contamination of principles which had produced in former years the calamities of rebellion in Ireland had been completely done away; that the experience of the blessings which had been already enjoyed in that country, since the period to which he alluded, under the wise measures which were then adopted for the purpose of quelling the spirit of

insurrection which was then testified; and further, the experience which the world had already had of all those views of revolution and French principles of military despotism, would have operated upon those who were base enough to join in rebellion against the Constitution of the country; but these flattering hopes, had been disappointed to a great degree. "The great majority of the people in Ireland," he proceeded, "are equally unanimous in respect to the defence of their country, are equally loyal to their King, and equally anxious to support the present happy Constitution, with those inhabiting this part of the United Kingdom. The crime of high treason must, therefore, be peculiarly aggravated, when, a spirit of disaffection and disloyalty is manifested at the very moment we are employed in planning measures, and adopting the most prudent cautions, for the express purpose of supporting our most excellent Constitution." When the present question was disposed of, the Minister said he would lay before the House information concerning the particular instances of insurrection contained in the Proclamation issued by the Lord Lieutenant. Parliament, he added, had a right to expect the admiration, the thanks and the gratitude of the whole body of the virtuous and loyal inhabitants of the United Kingdom, for their activity and exertion on all such critical occasions, in order to restore tranquillity.

The motion and speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave rise to a debate in which Mr. Windham, Dr. Laurence and Mr. Chapman censured the proceedings of

of Government. It might be reckoned respectful to the Crown, Mr. Windham observed, to make a small interval of time between his Majesty's Message and the Address; because it testified more strongly that degree of attention which Parliament paid to it. If the bare statement of measures, without disclosure of information, were sufficient to warrant the motion for an Address, then it would be thought unbecoming in Parliament even to enter into any minute consideration of a Message, previous to its adopting an answer to be returned to his Majesty. When Parliament should have something more than this general communication of a Rebellion having broken out in Ireland, many different reflections might arise out of the particulars, in regard to what the House ought either to say or do. Was it an easy matter to say, that Ireland had been surprized by an open Rebellion or insurrection having broken out, that Government had been so ignorant of their danger that even the Capital of that part of the United Kingdom had been almost wrested from them by means of that Rebellion? Were not these points on which the House would wish to be informed, before they could think of adopting any final answer to such a communication? Such, however, being all the information Parliament was to procure on the subject, previous to voting an Address, the House was precluded from all opportunity of entering into the consideration of the subject. Nor would Mr. Windham admit that Ireland was likely to return to immediate tranquillity.

He could not conceive it possible, except by the interference of some miracle, that the peasants of that country, whose minds were lately so agitated, and whose hands were employed in forging pikes for the destruction of all the loyal inhabitants within their reach, should, all of a sudden, be converted into the very contrary description of men, and become perfectly loyal and peaceable subjects. Ministers were censured for being in such a state, that the capital of Ireland had nearly been surprized, and the Government overthrown, without their having shewn any knowledge of the plots in agitation, or adopted any measures for preventing them. If the Address was at present agreed to, it should be done only *pro forma*, and then the matter taken into consideration and deliberate discussion.

This proposal was vehemently censured by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Hutchinson; the measures of Government were defended by Lord Hawkesbury with a warmth, which exposed him to some animadversion, and by Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Alexander, Mr. Archdall and some other Members, after which the Address was voted without a division.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer then produced the Proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant, which having been read, he observed, that although it did not contain in detail all the information necessary to warrant the measure he was about to propose, still it stated the existence of a dangerous conspiracy, at a time when it was the avowed design of the enemy to invade the country, and when Parliament was about to separate;

and

and he assured the House that the Proclamation did not contain all the information possessed by Government, which, at the present moment, it would be highly improper to disclose. Although it had been stated by an eminent authority, that attempts to reform by the bayonet should be met with the bayonet, he was always desirous to call in the law, to prevent recourse to violent measures. He should therefore, not without reluctance, propose a Bill, calculated, according to its title, to suppress Rebellion, and protect the persons and property of his Majesty's faithful subjects in Ireland. The means by which this purpose was to be effected were, that wherever persons should be found in actual Rebellion, power should be given to the Lord Lieutenant to direct that Courts Martial should be called for their immediate trial. What the Minister wished was, to give a power to the Lord Lieutenant that should not disturb the ordinary administration of justice, but by which, for the purpose of suppressing Rebellion, those who were taken in arms against the Government should be liable to be tried by a Military Court. If the House should adopt this motion he would follow it up with one for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. The intent of this Bill, he said, was, that persons might be committed by civil process, without any Court Martial.

Respecting the merits of the proposed measures on these explanations, Mr. Addington adverted to the hands in which such extraordinary powers were to be placed. "During the last two years," he

said, "I have the satisfaction, arising from public and personal consideration, of stating, that not a breath has been uttered, or a word spoken, which has called in question the moderation, wisdom, and firmness of the government of Ireland. Under circumstances of the utmost difficulty, the conduct of Lord Hardwicke has been marked with no less moderation than prudence. Immediately after the signing of the Preliminaries of Peace, when the statute for martial law was in force, and when he was encouraged by the timid, and urged by many enlightened men, to have recourse to it, Lord Hardwicke laid it aside, and refused to exercise the powers and authorities the Act gave him. When the Treaty of Amiens was signed, Lord Hardwicke thought the danger the law provided against did not exist, and determined to give to the people the benefit of the established forms of the country. The noble Lord who presided over the law department, concurred in the same conduct, and it was the disposition of the Irish government to adhere to the genuine principles of the Irish constitution. In such hands, therefore, great powers might be placed, without any suspicion of their being abused.

In the conclusion of this speech, the Chancellor of the Exchequer made a comparison between the conduct of Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Windham, in terms which drew from the latter an explanation of his objections to the passing a measure of such importance, without more information than could be derived from the Proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant, or the assertion of Ministers, and he made
some

some pointed observations on the eulogies which passed between Mr. Addington and Mr. Sheridan. This gentleman retorted with his usual keenness, and a debate was maintained for a short time; but in conclusion, the Bills were brought in, and, at the same sitting, went through all their stages, and were carried to the Lords; their duration being limited to six weeks after the commencement of the next Session.

In the Upper House, the Address to his Majesty was voted without opposition, on the motion of Lord Hobart, supported by some observations from the Earl of Limerick, who, in the course of his speech, recommended that all distinctions between the Militias of England and Ireland should be abolished, and each serve indifferently in all parts of the United Kingdom. The Bills sent up from the other House, passed immediately through all their stages without opposition, and, the next day, they received the royal assent.

11th Aug. Dissatisfied that the information which was required from Government had not been afforded, Mr. Hutchinson, pursuant to a notice he had given, moved for an Address on the subject. In introducing this motion, he began by stating how material it was, in the present juncture, to enable his Majesty to avail himself of all the resources which every part of the empire was capable of affording; and how desirable, it therefore was, to put Ireland in such a situation, as to render her natural strength, her wealth, and population available for the common safety of the empire. The unanimity which appeared in this

country was a source of joy to every loyal mind, but the joy of an Irishman was considerably allayed by the reflection that so many of his countrymen were, by the oppression they endured, by the wretched poverty they suffered, damped in their ardour for the public security, if not altogether alienated in their affections for the British Government. To remedy this misfortune a radical reform was necessary. He demanded from the liberality of Parliament, the execution of the promises made to the Catholics at the time the Union was in agitation. The people of England enjoyed the privileges of the Constitution and the advantages and profits of industry, to both which the people of Ireland were almost intire strangers; for the Revolution of 1688, which gave liberty to the former, cramped the industry of the latter, and laid the foundation of the discords which had since desolated that unhappy country. He admitted that, under the beneficent reign of his present Majesty, the greater part of the penalties which disgraced the Statute Books, as applying to the difference of religious sentiments, had been expunged, but something still remained to be done. So long as any part of this vicious system was suffered to exist, he was fully persuaded it would be idle to calculate on the peace of Ireland, or to look for harmony or happiness among the people; so long as this anomaly in the history in Government prevailed, that the minority of the people should be authorised to lord it over the majority, and that this superiority of power should be vested in persons of the lowest class over those of a much higher, mercely

ly on this ground, that this majority had too much honesty to act against their conviction, that they would not basely profess sentiments of religion which they did not feel. The residence of the land owners in Ireland, ought by some means to be enforced, at least some branch of each family. Ministers might depend upon it, that unless a very liberal plan was adopted for the government of Ireland, that country would be mangled by the most fatal divisions, to which the empire itself might ultimately become a prey. That any part of his countrymen could be so deluded as to trust to the professions of such a tyrant, as Bonaparte, or count upon any good to their country through his interference, was to him a source of the most sincere regret, but of this delusion he trusted that the benevolent interposition of the House would cure them; that interposition which humanity and policy should urge them to make, in order to protect from bloodshed a body of men who had the strongest claims to their kindness; who were their fellow-subjects for now above six hundred years; who had fought their battles; who had contributed to establish their strength and consequence, and who were still capable of assisting in the defence of that strength and consequence, if they were only treated with equity, if the natural resources of the country were properly nurtured. The advantages, which it possessed from nature, were generally known, and the character of its inhabitants was esteemed wherever it was known; for, of whatever enormities some of its infatuated people might have been guilty in times of civil com-

motion; enormities which were equalled, if not exceeded, under similar circumstances, in other countries, and very recently in this, when the passions had not so much cause to be inflamed, yet the reputation of Irishmen for humanity, fortitude, high honour, and the most extensive talents, could not be questioned, nor were they excelled in any nation under Heaven, not even in those which boast the greatest wealth and power, and which are the most selfishly conceited. It might be said that Ministers had in contemplation to bring forward a better system for Ireland, but that it was not yet prepared. The case, however, did not admit of delay; and here he took occasion to condemn the procrastination which had so long distinguished Ministers on this subject. The Honourable Member proceeded to describe the happy consequences which would result from the appointment of the Prince of Wales to the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland. If his Majesty would give this farther proof of his parental attachment to his Irish subjects, and his Royal Highness would condescend to accept of it, he had no doubt that his character, which was in still higher estimation than his high rank, would excite a degree of unparalleled enthusiasm throughout all Ireland. The people would justly say, "We have heard of Princes visiting our Island; they have visited us as conquerors and pillagers; but your Royal Highness comes to us with the olive of peace." The disposition of this illustrious personage, and his known attachment to the Irish people, would naturally enough produce such a sentiment; but there

there was little hope that they would have the honour and happiness of his Royal Highness's presence. The same evil fiend who prevented his Royal Highness from being called into employment when the empire is pronounced in danger, would, no doubt, interfere his baneful influence, to preclude Ireland from enjoying this felicity. If any commotion should take place in Ireland, during the recess, which was not improbable, the honourable member recommended Government to meet it with vigour, but exhorted them, at the same time, to send positive orders that no cruelty should be practised, that vigour should be blended with humanity; that such measures as the loyalists resorted to during the rebellion of 1798, and which too many of them were disposed to employ at present, should not be allowed, for he assured Ministers that they would only tend to create thousands of rebels; would drive many to desperation who were at present tranquil. He expected that Government would not tolerate any wanton severity, that the outrages of the rebel and the loyalist would be repressed, and that we should hear no more of house-burning, of pillages, or of tortures. He understood there were some Gentlemen in the House who doubted that such tortures had ever taken place, and that there were some who had the confidence to deny it altogether, but he would refer such persons to the authority of Lord Cornwallis, who humanely and wisely put a stop to that horrid practice, and to Lord Castlereagh, who knew enough of the proceedings in Ireland, and

who had much to answer for in that country.

In favour of this motion were Mr. Elliott, Mr. Windham, Dr. Laurence, Lord Temple, and Colonels Cole and Craufurd. They did not enter into all the topics introduced by Mr. Hutchinson, but blamed the conduct of Ministers as connected with the late insurrection particularly, adding general complaints against all their measures since they came into office. Ministers, it was said, had displayed great ignorance of the rebellion, or they had been criminal. It must be presumed they had information, or a systematic delusion toward the House and the public, must be imputed to them. There was, in the most favourable way of viewing the matter, a culpable remissness on the part of the executive government in Ireland. If their information was ever so defective, they had been remiss, for in a country like Ireland, there would have been no harm in a little precaution; but a week before the rebellion broke out, some men had been wounded, and there was a discovery of some gunpowder; and on the Friday, the day before the conspiracy happened to be detected, Government had received information, stating that the disaffected party had betrayed symptoms of great agitation; that they had left their work in parties; which was a signal of insurrection; and above all, that men were coming from various parts of the country to Dublin: now this ought to have put the Executive Government on their guard. It was not said that preparation was made against this insurrection, but it

was an inadequate preparation: the troops in the Barracks did not come for a considerable time after the assault was commenced; and it was quelled by the volunteer corps called the "Liberty Rangers." The garrison was not prepared, the troops of the line were not informed in time.

The motion was objected to by Lord Hawkesbury, as improper and ill-timed. Connecting the motion with the substance of the mover's speech; considering the state of our affairs abroad, and the great measures now necessarily adopted at home; and considering that the greater number of members were gone to the different places which most immediately required their presence, to give effect to the very measures which they as Legislators had assisted in enacting, and which the wisdom of Parliament had adopted; considering all these matters, he could not help saying, this motion was highly inexpedient to be adopted by the House; indeed he had no difficulty in saying, that any motion not proposed to be followed up by any practical measure, with a view to some beneficial effect, must at all times be liable to great objection in that House, because it was taking up time without avail, and bringing upon the country sometimes very great inconveniences, by agitating the minds of the people upon topics which, if discussed at all, should be discussed fully and directly, and not in a collateral way.

Lord Castlereagh vindicated the measures adopted during the last war for the suppression of rebellion. The Governments of Lord Camden and Lord Cornwallis in Ireland, so far from being rigorous, as some

had imagined, were remarkable for lenity; the military power had never been employed, except in cases where the civil power had been tried in vain: if there could be any defect imputed to them, it arose from too much disposition to lenity; but he was glad it had so happened, because, in Ireland, it was most essential that the current of public opinion should go with Government, and that could not be the case, unless rigorous measures were a good deal delayed; and, speaking in the abstract, rigorous measures had been delayed too long, but considering all circumstances, it was wise. As to outrages, there had been many on both sides, but there never was a rebellion without them. The statements of the distress of Ireland, as well as the disposition to rebellion, had been very much exaggerated; and no power in Europe had made more rapid strides in wealth and general happiness for the last fifteen years, than that part of the British empire. He was persuaded that its prosperity and happiness were still increasing very rapidly, and the treason which had lately been found there, and which had been so much lamented, arose from objects different from those for which the Honourable Gentleman recommended remedies.

Beside these two Lords, several other Members were heard on the side of Government; particularly the Chancellor of the Exchequer (who answered with some severity the reflections of Mr. Windham) the Attorney General, Mr. Serjeant Best, and Mr. Alexander. The Governments of Lord Camden and Lord Cornwallis furnished no precedent to support the present motion.

motion. It was indeed true, that after the rebellion, when all treason was put down, when individuals were brought to justice, Government came to Parliament with all the information they possessed, but not until all the individuals accused of being concerned in the rebellion had been brought to justice; this was after the danger was over, not like the present, where the danger was pending. The Irish Government was also ably vindicated from the charge of not counteracting the measures of the rebels; the amount of the daily guard in Dublin was very great, and if the lamented murder of an elevated person in the open street had not happened, the insurrection would not have been viewed in so serious a light as it was in consequence of that event.

After a reply from the mover, the motion was negatived without a division.

12th. The next day, his Majesty terminated the Session, and in his speech, declared his hope that the proceedings of Parliament in consequence of the late treasonable and atrocious occurrences in Ireland, would have the effect of preventing any further interruption of its internal tranquillity, and of convincing his loyal subjects in that part of the United Kingdom, that they might confidently rely on that protection to which they were so justly entitled.

Contrary to the prognostics expressed in the last debate on Ireland, no new attempts was made to disturb the tranquillity of that country; sentiments of loyalty were generally expressed, and Government, in exercising its rights, and avenging the late out-

rages, was not driven to the necessity of using any powers beyond those which are authorised by the constitution in the most tranquil periods. In fact, when time and industry effected a full disclosure of the persons, means and connexions of those who had planned and prematurely executed the late outrages, it was impossible not to mingle contempt for their understandings with the indignation excited by their conduct. The citizens of Dublin, in their Address to the King, well expressed these sentiments. "We lament," they said, "the infatuation of those incorrigible traitors, whom neither an experience of the valour that subdued, nor of the lenity that spared them, has hitherto taught the folly and atrocity of their projects; who, insensible to the blessings of your Majesty's paternal rule, are ready to exchange the mild restraints of our excellent and unrivalled Constitution, for the oppressive weight of a foreign yoke; and who, to gratify the malignant feelings of an unnatural revenge, would overwhelm their fellow citizens in the ruins of their common country."

The chief, and indeed only conspicuous, person in these events, was Robert Emmett, the younger son of Dr. Robert Emmett, physician to the Household of the Lord Lieutenant, and to the Hospital founded by Dean Swift for lunatics. This young conspirator, the rival in revolutionary reputation of his brother Thomas Addis Emmett, who was prominent in the preceding Rebellion, was intended for the Bar, but, in 1798, expelled at an early age, from the University of Dublin, for having, in conjunction with eighteen others,

laboured to introduce a spirit of rebellion into the walls of the College. From that period, without any express destination, he had pursued his own inclination, and still animated by the principles which occasioned his first disgrace, travelled over various parts of Europe. It has been the lot of many English and Irishmen, who for want of intimate acquaintance with the social systems of other countries were too prone to condemn the faults they discovered or fancied in their own, to travel; returning from their tours, they have most explicitly renounced their former errors, and ever afterward strenuously maintained the pre-eminence of the British, over every other form of Government devised by man, and laboured for its support with an earnestness proportioned to their former hostility. Mr. Emmett was not one of those; and his disposition was probably encouraged by his brother Thomas, who under the Government of the Marquis Cornwallis, had been permitted, in consequence of his confession and disclosures, to transport himself and his property to another country, and who, with the true gratitude of a traitor, devoted that life which the humanity of his Sovereign had spared, to the service of the chief enemy of that Sovereign and his Country.

Inflamed by his own sentiments, and fraught with instructions from his brother and his associates, Robert Emmett returned privately to Ireland, and with the assistance of a few obscure individuals, laboured to produce a Revolution. Those of his companions who are named, were Quigley, William Dowdall, Stafford, Dennis Lam-

bert Redmond, and Thomas Russel. Of these men, little is known beside their crime and their fate. Quigley had been a bricklayer, and was apprehended on suspicion of being engaged in the Rebellion of 1798, but discharged, and suffered to live unmolested. Dowdall had been Secretary to the Whig Club of Ireland, and for his share in the former Rebellions, had been sentenced to imprisonment in Fort George, but on the conclusion of peace, was liberated and allowed to return to his own country. After the transaction of the 23d of July, Dowdall escaped to a foreign country; Emmett, Redmond and Russel were arrested at different places, and under circumstances which will be stated; and Quigley and Stafford were also taken, but not till some time afterward.

Government obtained, without much difficulty, every information necessary to guide their proceedings. Among others, they derived considerable intelligence from a man, who passing by the principal *dépôt*, on the 21st July, and being supposed to have observed some suspicious proceedings, was seized by the conspirators, and would have been put to death, but for the intervention of Emmett, at whose instance he was confined, and compelled to labour in forming pikes, and other services conducive to the effect of the general plan.

When all preparatory requisites had been ar-
 arranged, a special Com-
 mission, consisting of Judges
 Downes, Finucane, Daly, Nor-
 bury, and George, was opened at
 Dublin, for the trial of persons
 charged with high treason. Judge
 Downes

24th
 Aug.

Downes delivered an excellent charge; and to the persons against whom Bills were found, were assigned as Counsel, at their own request, Messrs. Ponsonby, Curran, Mac Nally, and Ball.

31st Aug. The first persons
to who were tried, being
31st Sept. fifteen in number,
were charged with
aiding in the insurrection, and
some with being the murderers of
Lord Kilwarden. In the evidence
against them, no facts of par-
ticular interest appeared; and
their defences generally consisted
in allegations that they were
forced to join the insurgents, or
in attempts to prove an alibi, or
to confute the witnesses who swore
to their identity. One was ac-
quitted; fourteen were found
guilty, of whom one was recom-
mended to mercy, and all who
were executed acknowledged their
guilt.

19th Sept. The greatest degree of
interest was excited by
the trial of Emmett, against
whom an indictment was framed;
1st for compassing and imagining
the death of the King; 2d for
adhering to the King's enemies;
and 3d for levying war against
the King. The Attorney Gene-
ral detailed minutely all the pro-
ceedings of the prisoner, whom he
described as the prime source, origin,
and spirit of the recent insurrec-
tion, so enormously wicked in the
conception, but so truly contempti-
ble and puerile, both in the plan
and execution. For some time pre-
vious to Christmas 1802, the pri-
soner had been out of this country,
and during his absence had made
a continental tour of considerable

extent, embracing France in his
progress.

On his arrival in Ireland,
in December, he took up his
residence at the house of a
Mrs. Palmer, near Harold's Cross,
the identical house wherein he
was apprehended by Major Sirr.
To his hosts and her family, he
assumed the name of Hewitt, and re-
mained there until a short time
previous to his having taken a
lease of the malt stores, near
Marshall-alley, which was the
principal *depôt* of pikes, arms and
ammunition. The lease of this place
was taken about the 24th of
March, and possession ensued; cer-
tain other repositories for pikes,
and implements of destruction, had
been also fixed on and taken in
other parts of the city. He used
much caution in treating for the
possession of these various premises,
but Dowdall, who was with him
on these occasions, was so well
known, that he was obliged to
renounce the fictitious name he had
assumed, and to attest some deeds
in his real name. About the
latter end of June, or beginning
of July, the prisoner changed his
temporary abode, and made ar-
rangements on a very large scale,
at the *depôt* of pikes, in the malt
stores. Here he was frequently
found inspecting the fabrication
of pikes, the casting of bullets,
the making of cartridges, in short
he was indefatigably employed,
with very little intermission, in
offices of this description; but at
intervals, was equally busy in
writing at a desk, which was after-
ward found in the *depôt*. Here
he composed his proclamation for
the unknown, unnamed provisional

Government, and here he mitigated the corrosive action of his own mind, by committing to paper such wild thoughts as his imagination suggested. From his second proclamation, (that of the provisional Government to the inhabitants of Dublin) the Attorney General said, the intimate connexion between the actors in the last Rebellion and this would be conspicuous, it being almost literally a copy of one of the papers planning the attack on the Castle of Dublin, which were examined before a Committee of the Irish House of Commons. It strenuously recommended the active use of brickbats, stones, and various destructive missiles, from the tops of houses and other eminent situations against his Majesty's forces, or all those loyal subjects who might be induced to join them to repel so abominable a treason.

After their defeat on the 23d July, Emmett and Dowdall made their escape to the Wicklow mountains, where a refuge was afforded them by a woman of the name of Doyle. Shortly afterward, they made a sally through the country, accompanied by a band of their defeated confederates, armed with blunderbusses, to the number in all, of thirteen. At this time, Emmett and Dowdall were dressed in their full regimentals, and pretended to be French officers, emissaries of Bonaparte, who, they said, meditated a landing in Ireland. They spoke a jargon of French, mixed with broken English to the peasantry, while endeavouring to make proselytes of them to the French cause. This attempt meeting with no success, the confederates separated, and Emmett again

becoming a wretched fugitive, without aim, object, or avocation, made his way to the house of Mrs. Palmer, at Harold's Cross, where he first took up his abode under the feigned name of Hewitt. When he arrived there, he retained some remnants of the former uniform, such as hessian boots, military waistcoat, breeches, and stock, but the green military coat he put off, and substituted a brown frock. Here he remained near a month, lying in an obscure house, in a wretched apartment, on a settle bed; he spoke of the misfortunes of his expedition somewhat ambiguously to Mrs. Palmer, and of the taking of his *dépôt* of pikes, as if it had been the arsenal of a great general. He was at length traced to this asylum through the vigilance and indefatigable activity of Major Sirr, who procured admittance by getting a peasant to give a single rap at the door, on the opening of which the Major rushed in, and not immediately knowing the prisoner, the first object whom he saw, he interrogated him who he was, to which the prisoner replied, that his name was Cunningham, and that he had come from a friend's house in the country, that morning, but did not mean to stay long. On conversation with Mrs. Palmer, however, she led him into the real state, as she conceived, of the prisoner's acquaintance with her family, and his residence among them. When Major Sirr first apprehended him, he committed him to the care of a constable, from whom he attempted an escape, but was retaken and better secured. On Major Sirr apologizing to him for the

necessity of using harsher methods than he would wish in the act of apprehending and detaining him, the prisoner, with much complaisance, replied, "*all was fair in war.*"

These facts and the activity of the prisoner in the insurrection being fully proved, the jury without hesitation, pronounced him guilty. Being asked whether he had any thing to say, he addressed the Court, in a style of garish verbosity, too often mistaken for eloquence; he undervalued life, complained of fortune, and deprecated prejudice, which after the sentence of the Law should have delivered over his body to the executioner, might consign his character to obloquy. He denied being an emissary of France, or intending to deliver over his country to any foreign power, but least of all to that power. Small indeed, he said, must have been their claims to patriotism and to sense, and palpable their affectation of the love of liberty, if he and his associates could encourage the profanation of their shores by a people, who are slaves themselves, and the unprincipled and abandoned instruments of imposing slavery on others. "Did I live to see a French army approach this country," he exclaimed, "I would meet it on the shore, with a torch in one hand, and a sword in the other: I would receive them with all the destruction of war! I would animate my countrymen to immolate them in their very boats, and before our native soil should be polluted by a foreign foe. If they succeeded in landing, I would burn every blade of grass before them; raze every house, contend to the last for every inch of ground,

and the last spot in which the hope of freedom should desert me, that spot I would make my grave! What I cannot do, I leave a legacy to my country, because I feel conscious that my death were unprofitable, and all hope of liberty extinct, the moment a French army obtained a footing in this land." After some further matter he concluded thus---"My lamp of life is nearly expired; my race is finished; the grave opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom. All I request then, at departing from the world, is the charity of its silence. Let no man write my epitaph, for as no man who knows my motives dares to vindicate them; let not prejudice or ignorance asperse them; let them and me repose in obscurity and peace, and my tomb remain undescribed, till other times and other men can do justice to my character." He was hanged the following day.

The character of this young man is too clearly depicted in the foregoing transactions to require much elucidation. He was evidently one of those enterprising, inconsiderate enthusiasts, who mistake an overheated imagination for a glowing patriotism, and the whirl of undigested notions for sublime impressions; who fancy themselves authorized to risk the peace and happiness of mankind in wild experiments for improving in a system which they have neither sense nor application sufficient to understand, and who, while they cover themselves with the guilt and infamy due to traitors, insolently affect the purity of martyrs, and claim the applause, and even the gratitude, of mankind. The state of this man's feelings and understanding, and particularly his fitness

fitness to be a political reformer, were best disclosed in a paper, written by him, and read by the Attorney General, on his trial. Its leading passage intimated, that the writer possessed “ a sanguine mind, capable of repelling the intrusions of reflection; that if success was not to attend his enterprise, and a precipice opened beneath his feet, while he stood on the brink, that sanguine principle of mind would precipitate his fall at all hazards, rather than permit him to pause or to recoil !” It is, however impossible, to reflect without regret on the situation of his respectable parent, who being the father of three sons, lived to see one an exiled rebel, another a sacrifice to public justice for high treason; unhappy in these, and happy only in his eldest, who having been called to the bar, and rapidly attained considerable eminence in his profession; was cut off in early life by a fever, amid the applause and esteem of the wise and the good, and without a blemish on his character.

5th
Oct. After some prisoners of inferior note had been convicted, Redmond was put on his trial. It appeared that after the insurrection in Dublin, which he had been active in planning and executing, he fled to Newry, where he was apprehended. A paper was found in his possession, evidently intended for publication, in which he exhorted his countrymen to be “ as gentle as lambs, but as vigilant as lions; to avoid all those casualties which had occurred to defeat their cause in 1798, arising from drunkenness, infidelity to each other, and a base dereliction of the principle on

which they ought to be steady and united.” He was found guilty, and afterward confessed that he held an official station under the provisional government.

Thomas Russell was tried at Carrickfergus. It appeared in evidence that during the day of the 23d of July, he was at Loughin Island, endeavouring to excite the people to rebellion, telling them that the French would assist them, that arms and money were prepared for them, and that there would that night be a general insurrection all over Ireland; that he called himself a general in the rebel army, and had a general's uniform, which he shewed to the people at Annadorn; that on their refusing to rise, he threatened them, and told them he would go to some other counties where the rising would be general. Disappointed and discouraged at the cool reception he every where experienced, he returned to Dublin, where he remained concealed in the house of Mr. Mulet, a gun maker in Parliament-street, till the 9th of September, when he was apprehended, and, the following day, committed to prison. When he was taken, a proclamation was found upon him, intended to have been made public. The examination of witnesses lasted a considerable time, and the prisoner was found guilty. On being asked if he had any thing to say why sentence of death should not be passed on him, he addressed the court in a speech of about twenty-minutes, in which he took a view of the principal transactions of his life for the last thirteen years; and on a retrospective view of which, he said, he looked back with triumph and

10th
Oct.

and satisfaction; he endeavoured to vindicate his conduct from the criminality attached to it, by asserting, that in all he had done, he acted from the conviction of his conscience; and anxiously requested that the Court would make his not merely the first, but the only life which should be taken on the present occasion. He was executed at Downpatrick.

Sometime after these punishments had taken place, Quigley and Stafford were apprehended in the County of Galway, but as they made full confession of their guilt, and disclosed all the circumstances connected with it, no proceedings were had against them, nor any of the remaining prisoners.

The tranquillity thus happily restored, continued uninterrupted, and the mild and constitutional proceedings of Government extorted praise even from their opponents. Among others, Mr. Curran, the celebrated Irish advocate, commemorated these proceedings as an honourable tribute from the Earl of Hardwicke, to that Law, to the practice of which his illustrious ancestor owed his rank and fortune. This praise was the more honourable, as Mr. Curran professed himself to be unacquainted and unconnected with the Lord Lieutenant, and without any hopes or expectations dependent on his favour.

CHAP. XV.

View of Affairs in Saint Domingo. Cruel treatment and death of Toussaint in France. Cruelty and impolicy of Le Clerc; great mortality among his troops; false accounts of the state of the Colony published in France; insurrections of the negroes; horrible cruelties exercised on them; the French lose ground; death of Le Clerc; he is succeeded by Rochambeau; who suspends general Boyer; permits the importation of foreign merchandize; insufficient reinforcements arrive from France; preparations for renewed hostilities; Dessalines commander of the negroes; action near Cape François; the French murder their Prisoners; the negroes retaliate; the French defeated; effect of hostilities between Great Britain and France; increasing cruelty of the French; they are blockaded in Cape François; Rochambeau opens a negotiation for surrender with Commodore Loring the commander of a British Squadron; the Cape attacked by Dessalines; to whom Rochambeau surrenders; assistance afforded to the negroes by the British Squadron; duplicity of Rochambeau; the Island intirely given up to the negroes; who proclaim general freedom and independence. State of Guadaloupe; successful enterprizes of Sir Samuel Hood; Capture of Sainte Lucie; Tobago; Berbice; Demarary and Issequibo; St. Pierre and Miquelon.

WHILE Europe was agitated by the projects and efforts of France, and confederate men

were justly alarmed at the probable extension of her already overgrown dominion, she was suffering

in the West Indies, the punishment of her tyranny and treachery, and losing an empire, superior in value, both in a commercial and political view, to much of that territory which she was grasping on this side the Atlantic.

In the last volume, mention was made of the perfidious seizure of Toussaint l'Ouverture, the negro chief of Saint Domingo. He was conveyed to France, separated from all his relatives, and in a wanton and barbarous manner, hurried from one place of solitary confinement to another; no accusation was ever formally made against him, nor were any measures taken toward bringing him to a trial. In fact, he seemed to be lost to public recollection, amid the various interesting objects which presented themselves, when suddenly accounts appeared of his death, in his prison at April, Besançon. Suspicion was 1803. entertained and publicly expressed that his end was accelerated by poison or assassination, but the French government was defended against these charges, by a reference to the state of the place where he was confined, of which it is observed, that the floor was constantly under water, and it was in all respects such as to generate diseases which would terminate life, without recourse to drugs or weapons.

June to Long before the death
Nov. of this unfortunate chief,
1802. the conduct of his betrayer had been such as to throw the whole colony into flames, to hasten the destruction of his own army, and to precipitate his own death. After the removal of Toussaint, Le Clerc confidently

assured the First Consul of the tranquillity of the colony, but his labours were ill calculated to verify his assertions. He assumed the title of General in Chief, in addition to that of Captain-General, with which he came to the Island, and affected to undertake the organization of a new government for the colony, a labour in which many great men had been unsuccessful. In doing this, however, he did not risk his character, as they had done, by speculative attempts in legislation, for he decreed the continuance of every establishment as he found it in the hands of the exiled general, except such as related to the customs, and even in these he admitted the regulations in favour of the English, which occasioned a strong remonstrance from the commercial interest at Paris.

On the 22d of June, this decree was published, "in the name of the General in Chief, Captain General;" Martial law continued in force, with certain modifications; Military commandants had the power over certain districts, with the assistance of the municipality; and each commune provided for the expences of its government, while the whole held a general understanding with each other.

The object at this time requiring the most arduous and strict attention, was the health of the troops, which had suffered to such a degree, that in many instances, where small numbers were left at a post, the healthy survivors were scarcely sufficient to attend the sick and bury the dead, while a more rigorous service was necessarily imposed on the others, particularly

ticularly in the south, and toward the Spanish division. In that quarter, large parties of blacks continued in arms, and ridiculed the idea of submission, while General Le Clerc persevered in his endeavours to infuse terror by the most cruel measures, and to implore the first Consul for reinforcements.

Notwithstanding the disastrous state of the Colony, General Le Clerc seemed unwilling to depreciate his government, by admitting that, at the end of several months, he had not accomplished what he had declared was effected in the first five days. The healthful season, so much desired by him, had long arrived, and the contagion had not decreased, although the number of its victims, every day grew less. He was himself scarcely convalescent; the best officers of his staff had fallen; and those who arrived from France, being unacquainted with the country, and task to which they were condemned, sunk into despondency, and followed their predecessors to the grave. In the beginning of October, he commissioned an aid-de-camp to the Consular Court for instructions and advice, but his dispatches were carefully concealed from the public.

It was, however, soon known that Christophe had rejoined the Black forces with Dessalines, who could never be considered as defeated. They began, by affecting in their different characters of commandant of negroes in the northern district, and superintendant general of negroes, to retreat from those who were hostile, taking care always to leave behind them considerable quantities of ammunition

and stores. A number of new generals, likewise, had arisen in arms, from the interior of the island, who began to make excursions from the mountains. Among these was a powerful chief of the Congo tribe, called Sans-Souci, who, after committing considerable depredations, could never be discovered. Charles Bellair, with his Amazonian wife, also made a powerful diversion for a while, till they were both taken, and died under inconceivable tortures. Clervaux, whose submission of the eastern part of the island had been formerly boasted without grounds, now declared openly his contumacy; and Maurepas, who had surrendered, was detested in a conspiracy, and put to death. Nor were the defections from the French army confined to the blacks, or to inferior officers among the whites; General Dugua, the chief of the staff, disgusted with the horrors attendant on the war, and more particularly, with the savage punishment of Bellair and his wife, whom he had tried, was discovered in making arrangements to quit the French army, and took the resolution of destroying himself.

The government at this period, assumed a complexion more sanguinary and terrible than can be conceived among civilized people, and formed a new era in martial law. In attempting to disarm the black troops which had been incorporated with the French, the most barbarous methods were practised, ship-loads were collected, and the victims suffocated in the holds. In one instance, six hundred being surrounded, and attempting a resistance, were massacred on the spot; and such slaughters daily took

took place in the vicinity of Cape François, that the air became tainted by the putrefaction of the bodies. At the same time, the French troops being driven from the field, and obliged to fortify themselves in the chief towns; contagion spread every where, and the distress became dreadfully general. In their extremity, to aid and fill up the measure of their enormities, the use of blood hounds was resorted to, and the destructive ferocity of those animals was let loose in its utmost excess.

Fort Dauphin, Port au Paix, and several other favourite establishments, were, by the middle of October, completely lost to the French; and it became known to the seamen who visited the Bight of Leogane, that, after a considerable number of Blacks had been hunted down in the neighbourhood of Port Republicain, they were hurried on board of the ships at anchor in the Bay, and crowded into their holds; that under cover of the night this dishonoured navy put to sea, and first either burning brimstone in the hold, or extinguishing sense by suffocation, or neither, the miserable cargoes were discharged into the sea, in such quantities, that, at length, the tide brought their bodies into the bay, and rolled them on the very beach.

Toward the end of October, an event occurred which, however expected, produced an extraordinary effect. The General in Chief, whose health had been long impaired, and who had tried all means for its restoration, suddenly became worse; the air of the city had become mephetic, and Tortuga,

being in the possession of the Blacks, no longer afforded him a retreat. On the night of the 1st of November, after he had communicated his wishes as to the future government of the island, he died, having been only eleven months in the command of the colony. The body was embalmed, and placed on board the Swiftsure man of war; Madame Le Clerc, who had no inclination to remain on an island, where, instead of finding a promised Paradise, she had suffered the most painful privations, went on ship-board in a few days, Admiral Latouche, chief in command of the naval force in Saint Domingo, undertaking to escort her home, accompanied by the Chief of Brigade, Netherwood, first aid-de-camp of the departed general. His sabre and hat were placed, with much formality, upon the bier on board, all the officers attending on the occasion.

He appears to have been anxious, that the directions which he thought necessary for the future government of the island, should be put in force, and they were, as far as convenient with some persons, obeyed.

As soon as the obsequies of the departed General were performed, it became necessary to prepare to repel the Blacks, who had advanced, with vociferous joy, to the very town of Cape François. General Rochambeau, who was appointed Chief in Command, was at Port au Prince, and could not be expected to arrive in sufficient time, though General Watrin had set out to succeed him in the west and south; General Clausel, commanding in the north, therefore, with the

the remains of a dispirited army, proceeded against them, but to little effect.

A young General, of the name of Boyer, who had commanded in the Gens d'Armerie, having been appointed Chief of the Staff in the place of Dugua, was entrusted with the execution of every order, and in consequence, thought it necessary to address to the French Colonial Minister some account of the transactions of the French army in Saint Domingo from the period of the arrest of Toussaint L'Ouverture. In this dispatch, amidst a variety of matter, such as had been the custom to transmit to France, Boyer confessed the dreadful situation in which the colony then stood. Speaking of the first attempts after the departure of Toussaint he says, "The heat became excessive; it was impossible to make any movement; the lowest morne presented obstacles to us proportionate to the inconvenience of the season. The brigands increased in numbers. Our hospitals were crowded with sick, and disease daily made new ravages." He then mentions Insurrections at Marmalade, Dondo, and Moustique, when, not only those posts, but the whole plain of the Cape, was covered by the black forces, from whom, they might temporarily obtain possession of a small place, which they afterward were obliged to relinquish.

He acknowledged that in prosecuting the war against the leaders, which had been begun by Le Clerc, Domage, the friend of Toussaint, who had hitherto successfully repelled every attempt upon the south, fell into the hands of General Desbureaux,

Loaded with the charge of an intimate connexion with his exiled Chief, it was not sufficient to send him "on board the Squadron," as the drowning of the other people of colour was termed; he was reserved for the extremity of torture.

The arrival of the new Commander in Chief at head quarters, effected little change in the situation of affairs, though much was expected, from his superior knowledge of the island, and of the character of the Blacks; but his knowledge could not effect a change in the climate, or render a power daily weakening, equal to that which acquired strength from a continuation of the war. He appeared anxious to direct the contest to points different from those to which it had hitherto been carried; accordingly an action of considerable violence took place on the parched plains of St. Nicholas Mole, in which the French appear to have made a feeble stand. The parties continued to fight during the night, and to precipitate each other into the sea. The end however was, that the advantages obtained by the French were soon relinquished. General Clausel was more successful before Fort Dauphin, which, after withstanding an united attack by sea and land, surrendered to him. Before this capture, Port Republicain and Les Cayes were the only towns, beside the capital, in the possession of the French.

The first public act of Rochambeau, as Captain-General of the Island, was that of calling to account the young Chief of the Staff, who appears to have been a pupil of Le Clerc, and raised

to that dignity, more from the general's fondness, than his own ability.

8th He was suspended from
Dec. his employment, and ordered to be detained in prison until he should make up his accounts.

Shortly afterward, the General in Chief renewed the decree of Le Clerc, so obnoxious in France, permitting foreign importation into the colony, extending it to all descriptions of wares and merchandize, but increasing the duty upon them to twenty per cent; and thus ended the most eventful year ever experienced in Saint Domingo. Before the month of December, not ten months after their arrival, nearly forty thousand French troops are supposed to have been sacrificed, and a considerable number, (though by no means proportionately) of the Blacks. Troops still continued to be sent from the ports of Havre and Cherbourg, but each reinforcement was less effective than the preceding, and the conscripts at length consisted only of raw youths, Poles, Piedmontese, and Flemings. Veteran soldiers considered the army of Saint Domingo as the by word of contempt, and the once popular cause of the subjugation of that splendid colony, became no more heard of, or if mentioned, it was only with sorrow, or to be treated with derision.

The commencement of 1803 was marked by a sudden cessation of arms, more dreadful than active war, as it gave place to secret cruelties, more extensive because less glaring. General Rochambeau was called, by the

fortune of war, to a command for which, notwithstanding the local and physical experience which has been allowed to him, he was by no means competent. In the outset of the expedition he had borne a very subordinate rank, considering his stake as a proprietor, and it was only to the death of his superiors that he owed his present appointment. He evinced no desire to change the system on which the war proceeded, nor did he exhibit sufficient ability to produce an amendment. On the 4th of March, without any other communication of importance, the French Colonial Minister received from the new Captain General an intimation, that on the arrival of four thousand more troops which were expected, offensive operations might be commenced.

The blacks, on the contrary, during the whole of this awful cessation, were daily strengthened from every quarter, and a large army was collected under Dessalines, who was unanimously appointed General in Chief, and who resolved vigorously to push the war to a termination. With this view, he collected a considerable force upon the plain of the Cape, which being observed by Rochambeau, he found it necessary to withdraw his troops from every other point, and both armies became unawares in a state of preparation for a general battle. This was not what either party designed; Dessalines, therefore, restrained his impetuous Blacks, and the French forces were combined to strengthen Cape François. Several skirmishes having taken place in the vicinity of Acul, it
was

was at length determined by Rochambeau to venture an action, for which he had many dispositions in his favour. The troops selected on either side, for the affair, were admirably posted on two neighbouring mornes; the first movement was inauspicious to the French, by the capture of a considerable body marching to strengthen one of the wings, who were surrounded and driven into the Black camp. Rochambeau began the attack with impetuosity, and the Blacks for a short time gave way, but on his endeavouring to push the advantage, they repulsed him with loss, when the day closed. In penetrating the Black line, the French had secured a number of prisoners, and on them they determined to wreak the vengeance of which they were disappointed in the battle. Whether this determination arose from a notion that the part of the French wing which had been cut off was already absolutely sacrificed, or from the mistaken policy of extermination, cannot be determined, but the unhappy victims were, without the smallest consideration for their own men who were prisoners in the Black Camp, immediately put to death. As they were not carefully exterminated, many were left in a mutilated state during the whole night; their moans and shrieks were heard at a distance around the spot, sufficiently loud to excite a sensation of horror throughout the country. The Black Commander, when acquainted with the case, although the maxim of Toussaint, not to retaliate, had been hitherto

followed, could no longer forbear; he instantly caused a number of gibbets to be formed, selected the officers whom he had taken, and supplying the deficiency with privates, had them tied up in every direction by break of day, in sight of the French, who dared not to interfere. The Blacks then sallied down with astonishing vigour and regularity, raised the very camp, threw the whole line into disorder, and drove the French army close to the walls of Cape François.

Such was the state of affairs, when intelligence arrived of the renewal of hostilities between Great Britain and France, an event which rendered the success of the French against the Negroes apparently impossible. At this period, Rochambeau had permanently fixed his head quarters at the Cape, and Dessalines had so completely lined the surrounding country, that the French boundaries were confined to two miles around the Cape. As their power became weaker, their ferocity increased, and they were apparently actuated by a desire to render the white complexion detestable throughout the Antilles; for no means, however extraneous, were left unattempted to annoy the Blacks. Not content with the use of Blood-hounds, which they sent in pursuit of small reconnoitring parties, the men who were taken prisoners were thrown to those animals, to be devoured alive.

Dessalines still continued the blockade, and found opportunity July. to decrease his opponent's means of operation, both offensive and defensive.

defensive. As soon as an English squadron was perceived on the coast, he, in conjunction with Christophe, sent a flag of truce with a proposition to act in concert against the French, and, in case of agreement, to request some assistance in stores. It is probable, that an account of the atrocities of the French accompanied this request, for shortly afterward, a British Squadron blockaded Cape François, and Rochambeau began to sound the Commodore upon terms for a surrender of the French troops. About this time, so unsafe appeared the French interest, that Jerome Bonaparte, the brother of the First Consul, quitted the island, and arrived at Baltimore, in America.

The French affairs continued to grow worse, varying only by the increase of difficulty, attended with the same disgraceful employment of the most cruel actions, till Rochambeau actually relinquished every other merit or aim, than that of keeping possession of the city of the Cape, and fortifying it by all means that art could devise or effect. In a dispatch on the 29th of October, he observes, "There is still some merit in defending a ravaged colony, against a civil war on one side, and a foreign enemy on the other."

Such was the situation to which were reduced the conductors of an expedition, which had highly flattered the French people; had interested the powers of Europe; and fed the vanity of every general whom intetest could procure to be appointed to its service. The victorious Blacks, however, continuing to pour in reinforcements upon the plain of the Cape,

Desfalines resolved to attack the city, and took measures accordingly. A powerful body descended from the Morne du Cap, and having passed the outer lines, and several of the Blockhouses, a sharp conflict ensued, and they then prepared to take the city by storm in thirty-six hours. The Blacks being irresistible, Rochambeau, to avoid the calamities of longer resistance, offered articles of capitulation, which, the Black General, foregoing the desire of revenge, accepted, granting the enemy ten days to evacuate the city, leaving every thing in its existing condition. They were to depart in their own ships, with the honours of war, to retain all their private property, and to leave their sick to the care of the Blacks.

Although Commodore Loring, who commanded the British squadron which was still stationed off Cape François, did not enter into any definitive alliance in consequence of the application of the Blacks, he continued to render their cause an incalculable service, by preventing the arrival of reinforcements or supplies. Having been informed of the mode by which provisions were obtained from the Spanish part of the island, through the Curacol passage, leading to the eastern entrance of the harbour of Cape François, a frigate was placed so as to intercept them, by which thirty small vessels, several laden with bullocks, were captured in a short time. Thus, deprived of supply by sea, and shut from an intercourse with the land, General Rochambeau became reduced to the situation he so forcibly described on a subsequent occasion.

"Pressed,"

“Pressed” said he, “almost to death by absolute famine, and after waiting for a considerable time, wretchedly appeasing the desperate calls of hunger by feeding on our horses, mules, asses, and even dogs, we had no way to escape the poignards of the enraged negroes, but by trusting our fate to the sea.”

The same day on which he had treated with General Dessalines, and after he had exchanged hostages, Rochambeau thought proper to send to the English Commodore General Boyé, and Captain Barné, with proposals to treat for the evacuation of the Cape. They proposed that General Rochambeau and his guards, comprizing about five hundred men should be conveyed to France in two vessels, the *Surveillante* and *Cerf*, without being considered as prisoners of war. To this proposition, which nothing but the liberality they had so recently experienced could give rise, Commodore Loring returned his refusal, and, at the same time, sent Captain Moss, of the *Désirée*, with absolute terms. These were, a general surrender; that the French officers and troops, in health, should go to Jamaica, and the sick to France and America, security being given for the vessels which conveyed them; prohibiting, at the same time, the white inhabitants of the Cape from going to Jamaica. To this communication, General Rochambeau returned an evasive answer, flattering himself that he should find an opportunity to make his escape from the Cape, and he forbore any farther communication with, and still concealed from,

the English, the capitulation into which he had entered with Dessalines, but they were too vigilant for his purpose.

2d
Dec. Captain Loring summoned the General of Brigade, Noailles, who maintained, unmolested, a species of solitary command at the Mole, to surrender. This chief, while equivocating as to the mode of his capitulation, embarked with his garrison in the night on-board six vessels, but five of which fell into the hands of the Commander of the *La Pique*, and the sixth only escaped, with General Noailles on board.

Port-au-Prince having been evacuated at different periods, was under the command of the General of Division, Petion, a Black Officer of experience and ability, who had been regularly educated at the Military school in France; St. Domingo thus became again in the full possession of the native army. The force which had arrived with the first body of troops, and stationed at the Spanish capital under General Kerverfan, had remained without the power of interfering in the war, and contented itself with the parade of communication between the French and Spanish inhabitants, and the people of Cuba.

Immediately on the cessation of hostilities, which promised to be more permanent than any which had preceded, the General in Chief, with the two generals between whom the jurisdiction of the island was become divided, Christophe and Clervaux, began to consider of the Proclamation of independence, and those measures which were necessary for the pub-

lic tranquillity. In a Proclamation, by the three officers, from head quarters, in the name of the Black-people and men of Colour, they announced general Freedom, and invited the return of those proprietors who fled during the conflict, without having become obnoxious by any cruelty of disposition toward their servants, or inclination to the continuance of slavery; at the same time, avowing, that to those of a contrary temper, no protection would be promised; and that, as to soldiery employed in any future expedition, mercy was not to be expected. They declared their disapprobation of, and palliated the cruelties which were the unavoidable consequence of civil dissensions in all countries, and proposed that a new regimen, founded on the basis of justice, should prevail in Saint Domingo.

Hearing no more from General Rochambeau, (although acquainted, by Dessalines, with the capitulation) and perceiving no movement, the English Commodore addressed that General, as the term allowed him had nearly expired, expressing his hopes that no retraction would take place, and requesting pilots, to conduct a part of the squadron into the harbour, to take possession of the shipping. He received an answer from Dessalines, informing him of the surrender of the French, and regretting that he could not send the pilots which were required, but intimating that there would be no occasion for them, as he should compel the French vessels to quit the road, and the English Commodore might do with them what he should think proper.

The colours of the 30th Blacks were soon displayed at the different forts, which induced Commodore Loring to send Captain Bligh to the Black General, to inquire the circumstances which occasioned the change, when, on entering the harbour, he met Captain Barré, who intreated him to go on board the *Surveillante*, and enter into some capitulation with the French, that they might be placed under the protection of the English, the Blacks having threatened to sink the vessel with red-hot shot, in consequence of the terms of the capitulation not being complied with in point of time: this he agreed to, and articles being drawn, in which the English agreed that the French should sail out under French colours, and fire their broadside previous to surrender. Captain Bligh acquainted the Black General with the capture, and requested he would desist from firing, till the wind should be fair for their departure; an indulgence which was not obtained but with much difficulty.

The force taken possession of by Commodore Loring, comprized eight thousand men; the shipping, consisted of three frigates, and seventeen merchant-men, they were conveyed to Jamaica, from whence Admiral Duckworth immediately dispatched General Rochambeau, and the officers particularly in his confidence, to England.

The other colonies of France and Holland also suffered severely by the war, or fell into the hands of England. Throughout the French Islands, the greatest alarm of famine prevailed; in Guadeloupe,

loupe, there had been an insurrection toward the close of the preceding year, in the suppression of which, the French in their usual manner had made an extensive massacre, and thus produced a full submission, but for that Island, as well as Martinique and St. Lucie, necessity compelled them to issue

20th June. Proclamations, allowing the importation of provisions in foreign vessels, and moderating the duties formerly paid on them.

June. At the time these Proclamations were published, the distress of the colonies was increased by the arrival of a naval force from England under Sir Samuel Hood, which captured many vessels intended for their supply. At the same time, the Admiral having made proper arrangements with General Grinfield at Barbadoes, a body of troops was put on board the squadron, which, on the 21st at day break were off the north end of St. Lucie; in the course of the day the greater part of the troops was disembarked in Choque-Bay; about half past five the out-posts of the enemy were driven in, the town of Castries taken, and a summons was sent to the commander. In consequence of the refusal of Brigade General Nogues to accede to any terms, and the expectation of approaching rains rendering it necessary to get possession of the Morne, with as little delay as possible, the 22. fortress was attacked by assault, and carried with the loss

of 20 killed, 110 wounded, and 8 missing. "I cannot omit a circumstance," says General Grinfield in his dispatch, "which reflects so much credit, as well on the British nation, as on the conduct of the soldiers actually employed, that notwithstanding the severe and spirited resistance of the French troops, yet, no sooner were the works carried by assault, and the opposition no longer existed, than every idea of animosity appeared to cease, and not a French soldier was either killed or wounded."

Having thus effected the conquest of St. Lucie, general Grinfield proceeded to 1st July. Tobago, where General Cæsar Berthier held the chief command. This island was subdued without resistance, and the inhabitants, who were for the most part English, expressed lively joy and gratitude at being restored to their natural and proper government.

The colonies of Berbice, Demerary 23d to 25th Sept. and Isequibo were captured with equal facility, and Captain Malbon, of his Majesty's ship Aurora, having taken 30th June. St. Pierre by surprize, obtained possession of Miquelon also, in which he found no inhabitants. His sudden appearance at St. Pierre fortunately prevented the inhabitants from assembling, for if they could have had time to collect themselves, they would have made a strong resistance, having upwards of one hundred stand of arms among them.

CHAP. XVI.

Scurrility of the French press; compulsory insertion of an abusive Manifesto in the Hamburgh paper; official publications in answer to the Declaration of England; a form of Prayer in France against England; arrest of English subjects travelling and resident in France. Alliance between France, Italy and Holland. Spain and Portugal purchase neutrality. State of Turkey and Naples. Invasion and subjugation of Hanover by the French; the King of England refuses to ratify the Treaty entered into by the regency; further proceedings of the French; their rapacity and cruelty. Exertions against the commerce of England. Subscriptions throughout France for carrying on the War. Ships voted, and flat-boats built; a large force collected on the French coast. Offer of Bonaparte to Louis XVIII; nobly rejected. Bonaparte's journey; he reviews the troops on the coast; neglect and inactivity of Moreau. Proceedings in England. Blockade of the Elbe and Weser; of Genoa and Spezia; and of Havre-de-grace. Preparations against invasion; loyal Addresses; patriotic fund; measures for defence of the Metropolis; Volunteers.

THE conduct of the French government in their hostility to Great Britain was correspondent with the spirit which occasioned the rupture. From the day when the King's Message was sent to Parliament; even while negotiations were yet carried on, and hopes seemed to be entertained of a reconciliation of differences, the fury of the French press was let loose on England, and her government, and consistently with that disgusting ferocity which has distinguished France since the Revolution, the most gross personal insults were levelled at the King, not calculated to gain one proselyte to the cause of his adversaries, but to gratify the vulgar in hearing, and the disloyal in translating and republishing them. Such malignant libels in the French papers, where nothing is inserted accidentally, are sufficiently disgraceful to

the nation which licensed them, but the compulsory insertion of the famous Manifesto already alluded to, in the Hamburgh paper, called Correspondenten, exceeds in atrocity any act of a like description which has disgraced a civilized people. The circumstances are thus related. Reinhard, the French Minister at Hamburgh, applied to the Magistrates, soon after the appearance of the King's Message, to cause the insertion of a scurrilous and vulgar Manifesto, full of the most indecent invectives against England. This production was referred to the Syndic and Censor of the press, who permitted it to be inserted, after striking out the most objectionable passages. This, however, instead of satisfying the French Minister, provoked his utmost indignation, which was not to be appeased but by publishing it in its intire state. A courier was sent

sent express from France with instructions; an extraordinary meeting of the senate was convened, where the threats of France prevailed; the government, afraid to refuse a compliance with the imperious demand of Bonaparte, agreed that it should be inserted without alteration or suppression, and in that state it appeared, to the astonishment of all thinking men, throughout the world.

After the British Embassador had departed from Paris, and the King's Declaration had appeared, together with the papers laid before Parliament, Bonaparte also issued a declaration in a message to the senate and legislative body, in which he imputed to England, ever since the treaty of Amiens, a course of projects to rekindle discord between the two nations. He also published a mass of official papers, in which some of the correspondence which took place between the two governments previous to the signature of the preliminary treaty was detailed, and in the official paper appeared two very long series of observations on the King of England's Declaration, meeting it article by article, and affecting to deny every allegation, and refute every argument it contained. One of these papers concludes in these terms. "France, by the success of her arms, had acquired possession of all the countries, from the North Sea to the Adriatic, and from the Danube to the canal of Messina. What has she done for the sake of general peace?—She restores Batavia to herself; she restores Switzerland to her independence and her ancient constitutions; she cedes the Venetian countries to Austria; territorial

indemnities are allotted to the electors of the Germanic body; the Venetian islands regulate their government under the influence of Russia and the Porte; Italy beholds the establishment of the Lucchese, the Italian and Ligurian republics; the French troops evacuate the states of the Pope and the kingdom of Naples; Etruria receives a King; the French army at the gates of Vienna, return to the left bank of the Rhine; and Portugal is evacuated, and restored to her former independence. Alas! if France had entertained projects of ambition, and views of aggrandizement, would she not have preserved Italy entire, under her direct influence? Would she not have extended her dominion over Batavia, Switzerland, and Portugal? Instead of this easy aggrandizement, she presents a wise limitation of her territory and her power; she suffers the loss of the immense territory of Saint Domingo, as well as the treasures and armies destined for the restoration of that colony; she makes every sacrifice to obtain the continuance of peace. England, on the contrary, seizes upon the opulent island of Ceylon, and the entire navigation of the gulph of Bengal; she obtains the important possession of Trinidad; she essays, by a secret treaty with the Mamelukes, to invade Egypt, by supplying them with arms and ammunition; she remains in Alexandria long after the time appointed for its evacuation, and only abandons it because the ravages of the plague began to terrify her; she violates the treaty of Amiens in order to retain Malta, to direct the operations of the barbarous Corsairs,

to carry on the exclusive commerce of the Adriatic, the Levant, the Dardanelles, and the Black sea, and to shut up from all nations the navigation of the Mediterranean; she unites her efforts to prevent France from retaining St. Domingo, and enjoying Louisiana; she excites dissensions in the Swiss Cantons, and furnishes arms and ammunition for their civil extermination; she sends squadrons into the North Seas, and before the Texel and the Meuse, threatening to invade Batavia, she covets the possession of Sicily, demands the island of Lampedosa, and occupies Sardinia. The four quarters of the globe, gulphs, capes, straits, opulent colonies, nothing can satisfy her political and commercial cupidity. The extent of her avarice and ambition is at length discovered. The mask falls, England affords but thirty-six hours for the continuance of peace. She has speculated on a sudden war, for the purpose of seizing, at once, upon the riches deposited on the ocean, which the Spanish, Portuguese, and Batavian colonies were at last sending to their mother countries, as well as upon the ships of the French republic, and the vessels of her scarcely revived commerce. England, at the will of a few hateful and powerful passions, disturbs the tranquillity of the world, violates without shame, the rights of nations, tramples under foot the most solemn treaties, and falsifies the sworn faith of governments. One obstacle only arrests the progress of her ambitious career; it is France victorious, moderate, and prosperous; it is her energetic and enlightened government; it is her illustrious and

magnanimous chief. These are the objects of her delirious envy, her reiterated attacks, her implacable hatred, her diplomatic intrigues, her maritime conspiracies, and her official denunciations. But Europe beholds; France prepares for battle; history relates that Rome overthrew Carthage."

The religious prejudices of the French people were also invoked by their government to animate their hostility against England. Early in the year, Bonaparte had declared that four Bishops should be raised to the dignity of Cardinals; and the Pope, professing his gratitude to the First Consul, for the re-establishment of religion, by means of the Concordat, acquiesced in the nominations sent to him. They were Fesch, Archbishop of Lyons, uncle to the First Consul; J. de Dieu Raymond Boisgelin, Archbishop of Tours; E. H. Cambaceres, Archbishop of Rouen; the fourth he reserved *in petto*. On the commencement of the war, Bonaparte by a circular letter, ^{7th} June, instructed the Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops of France, to offer up prayers for the success of his enterprize, and it was among the wonders of the times, to hear those Bishops and other dignitaries, and many priests, who had received support and comfort from the people of England in the hour of their persecution and affliction, praying Providence to afflict and crush their benefactors.

A measure more unexpected, decidedly repugnant to every principle of good faith, and a perfect novelty in the history of modern hostility, was also resorted to by the French Government. When the news of the King's Message

Message arrived, most of the English whom curiosity had drawn into France prepared for their departure, but they received positive assurances from the Government, that whatever termination the existing discussions might take, their liberty and safety should not be affected. Too easily quieted by these promises, they remained in France, but soon after the departure of Lord Whitworth, they were all seized and marched as prisoners to Valenciennes. Beside those who had been in France through mere curiosity, there were many artizans, who, seduced by specious promises of easy establishment and large emolument, had been led to settle in the French dominions. These persons were also seized, and being without resources, except those derived from their industry and ingenuity they could now no longer use, were doomed to subsist on a miserable pittance allowed by the treacherous government, or urged by poverty and importunity, to enlist in the corps of Irish rebels which was armed in the service of France.

Nor were the exertions of Bonaparte confined to France; in every other country to which his influence extended, a strong attempt was made to raise new partizans against England, and to make those nations, if not parties in the war, at least hostile in their neutrality, or tributary to France for liberty to preserve it. Notwithstanding the liberal offers of the British government to leave the United States in peace, if the French would abstain from sending troops into their territory for the invasion of England, the Dutch were, immediately

on the commencement of hostilities, overwhelmed with French regiments, the commanders of which obliged the government, notwithstanding its supposed independence, to adopt every measure required by France. A treaty of alliance offensive and defensive was concluded between the Gallic, Batavian and Italian republics; the introduction of British goods into Holland was prohibited under severe penalties, and in Hol-^{9th} land, as in France, all British July. subjects were seized and detained as prisoners. In these transactions, it was evident that the Government yielded to force, and they would have been intitled to commiseration could it have been forgotten, that their own treachery, ingratitude and spirit of faction had placed them in their abject situation. Their degradation and sufferings were complete; French troops were sent into their territories without their consent; contributions were demanded for their support, and if not paid, the soldiers were quartered on the people; the equipment of a large fleet, and the custody of several important towns were demanded by France, and Holland, incapable of exercising a will of her own, was daily menaced with a total change in the form of her constitution.

Spain and Portugal purchased permission to remain neutral; another novelty introduced into the civilized world in the present times. Early in the year, Bonaparte had sent General Lasnes, who was supposed to have given some offence at the Thuilleries, as ambassador to Lisbon. This officer had formerly filled the same mission, but had been recalled, and his behaviour was

was said to have been particularly offensive to the court of Portugal. His mission, on this occasion, was therefore considered as a most humiliating insult, especially as it was accompanied with instructions to cause the commerce and interests of France to be respected equally with those of the most favoured nation, and a declaration that the First Consul was intirely satisfied with his conduct in Portugal up to the present time. When war was begun, no further ceremony was considered necessary, and France demanded and obtained from Spain four millions, and from Portugal a million and a half of livres, for liberty to abstain from going to war with Great Britain.

On the declaration of War, the Porte declared its resolution to remain neutral, and this determination was not openly resisted, but all the address of the French government was exerted to create an influence in the councils of that power. An insurrection of the Arnauts and Albanians in Egypt was regarded with some anxiety as favourable to the views of France.

An ambassador sent by the government of Constantinople was received by the First Consul with extraordinary complacency, and he congratulated Bonaparte on the restoration of amity between the two countries, recommending an oblivion of the past as the best means of substituting a solid and eternal peace, for that hostility which between France and Turkey was contrary to nature.

In the dominions of the King of Naples, and in various parts of Italy, the armies under the command of France, made various

movements, in contempt of neutrality, and to the oppression and terror of the surrounding states, but none of those were of sufficient moment to require a separate detail.

When Talleyrand, in his threatening note to Lord Whitworth, mentioned the invasion of Hanover as a probable act of French hostility against the King of England, the power to exercise that threat was fully appreciated, and no hope could reasonably be entertained that a regard to justice, to treaties, or to the Law of Nations as recognized during the modern periods of civilized warfare, would prevent the ruler of France from putting the menace in execution. The peace establishment of the Hanoverian troops, according to a statement published by the resident from that electorate in London, was about sixteen thousand five hundred men. This number was considerably augmented by levies throughout the country, when at the commencement of the year 1793, the greatest part joined the allied army in Brabant; and, in the year 1796, fifteen thousand men being required for the army of observation, which was to cover the line of demarcation agreed upon between the King of Prussia and the French Republic, they remained upon that footing; but when, in the year 1801, not only this army was dissolved, but the Prussian occupation made the speedy reduction of the Hanoverian troops necessary, all the levies which had been raised during the war, were discharged agreeably to the promises which had been made to them; it was impossible, by voluntary recruiting, which is the only

mode

mode allowed by the constitution in times of peace, immediately to complete the establishment, and the difficulty, afterward, increased greatly, when the bishopricks of Hildesheim and Eichsfeld, which had, until then, furnished many recruits, became Prussian provinces. For these reasons, the troops, at the commencement of the present troubles, did not amount, altogether, to fifteen thousand men, a considerable number of which were absent on furlough, in the new Prussian provinces, and, although faithful and well-disposed, were prevented from joining their regiments. Thus not more than thirteen thousand men could be depended upon, and these, after completing the garrison and fortresses of Hameln, and some small detachments, which could not be dispensed with, left a force of but little more than ten thousand men to oppose the enemy.

In the beginning of April, his Majesty apprized the regency of Hanover of the danger to which, in consequence of the menaces of the First Consul, the country would be exposed, in case of a war between England and France; and directed that the soldiers who were absent should be made to return, and that the regiments should be kept in a state of readiness to take the field; referring, besides for the measures which it might be necessary to pursue, to the regency and to Marshal Walmoden, commander in chief of the army, because from the distance, and from the great uncertainty of events, it might have been disadvantageous to bind them by any orders which some unforeseen occurrence would have rendered less proper, or perhaps

less applicable. At Hanover, preparations were made for forming camps, and collecting soldiers, but, it appears, that every difficulty attending this service was considered as almost insurmountable by the government, and, instead of resorting to the prompt and energetic measures which such a crisis required, they sent to England for fresh instructions. The answer they received, 13th May. shewed how justly the probability of an effectual, or even vigorous resistance was considered. They were told that if there were any hope of obtaining the principal end, that of securing the country from invasion, every effort ought to be made; but that if only minor objects could be accomplished, if nothing remained but to save the effects, and to make an honourable retreat for the army, they should proportion the means to those ends, and should not exact sacrifices from the country, which, without the possibility of being useful to it, would only expose it to greater misery.

This reply had not arrived at Hanover, when it was known that Lord Whitworth was on the point of leaving Paris, and that a considerable body of French troops was assembling near Nimeguen, with the avowed design of invading the Electorate.

Aware of these circumstances, his Majesty issued 16th May, a Proclamation, declaring, that, whatever the event of the difference now existing between Great Britain and the French government might be, he should, in his capacity as Elector and member of the German Empire, observe the strictest neutrality, and might therefore

therefore justly and confidently expect, that, whatever termination the present negotiation might have, his German states would not be affected by any consequences which might ensue. Considering, however, the obvious movements of the troops in Holland, the possibility must occur, that in case the before mentioned differences should not be amicably settled, his German states and subjects might be exposed to serious danger. His Majesty applied, therefore, to all the loyal subjects of his German states, to make, in case of such danger, all those efforts and sacrifices to which the duties they owed to him as Sovereign, their attachment to their native country, their families, connexions, and every thing dear to them, already bound them. To be prepared for every event that might happen, it would be necessary to know immediately, the exact number of persons, who, in case of necessity, could take up arms for the defence of their country. To effect this, magistrates were commanded to make every proper exertion, and the people were exhorted not to shew themselves so lost, as to transgress the solemn obligations they would have to fulfil, or to withdraw, by a cowardly and treacherous flight, from giving assistance to the defence of the country. Should, however, such be found, who, in time of danger would desert their country and refuse their aid, such wretches should, the case being lawfully proved, without hope of pardon, be deprived of all they might possess in his Majesty's German dominions, and be cut off from all inheritance therein. The Duke of Cambridge was mention-

ed in the Proclamation, as willing to share every danger, and personally; to assist in every thing, that might promote the safety and security of the people.

Even if the paternal wishes of his Majesty for his German people could have been fulfilled, the celerity of the French would have prevented the assembling of any considerable force after the issuing of this Proclamation. Early in May, the French troops under the command of General Mortier, had assembled on the lower Rhine, to the number of 40,000. Immediately after the return^{17th} of Lord Whitworth, they^{to} passed the Wáal at Nimeguen,^{20th} taking with them a great quantity of ammunition and provisions, and continued their march to Arnheim, Doesburg, and the department of Overysiel, and established their head quarters at Coevorden.

At this place, general Mor-^{25th} tier issued a Proclamation to the Hanoverians, declaring, in the terms of delusion used ever since the French Revolution, that his troops came into their territory, not to spread consternation in the fields, but to withdraw the portion of the continent which they inhabited from a government inimical to the repose of Europe, and which made it its glory to tread under feet all the principles of the rights of men and of civilized nations. "The First Consul," it proceeded, "faithful to the sentiments of moderation and humanity, which distinguish him as eminently as his political and warlike virtues, the First Consul has, in vain, exhausted all the means of conciliation to prevent a rupture. The King of England, perjured as to his most sacred

sacred engagements, has falsified his signature by refusing to evacuate Malta, as he had solemnly bound himself to do by the treaty of Amiens; he has given the signal for hostilities, and remains alone responsible before God and men for the calamities which the scourge of war may bring upon the states under his dominions." The people were cautioned against the effect of Proclamations dictated by the blindest fury, and designed to engage them in a dispute to which they ought to be strangers, and of which they alone would remain the victims. They were promised safety and protection, if, consulting their true interests, they would separate their cause from that of a Sovereign, who, in breaking all the ties of good faith, had thereby freed them from the attachment which they might have held themselves to owe him.

26th. The day after the date of this atrocious and perfidious Proclamation, the French entered the county of Bentheim, and made prisoners the garrison of the town of Bentheim, which consisted of

28th. an officer and thirty six men. The Hanoverian garrison immediately evacuated Osnaburg and went to Diepenau, and the inhabitants sent a deputation to the French general, requesting his good treatment for the town.

The government of Hanover, with the consent of the Duke of Cambridge, had applied to the King of Prussia, and solicited his assistance, and had even requested, in case of extremity, that he would send a body of his own troops into the electorate, to protect it from a French invasion. The King of Prussia did not think

himself warranted in doing this, but promised to make new representations at Paris, to prevent the invasion of Hanover. Meanwhile an order was issued for enlisting all persons capable of bearing arms, and then, to take from the whole mass, a sufficient number of recruits to re-inforce the troops of the line, which, it was hoped, would amount to thirty thousand men. Finding, however, that no exertion could be effectual in defence of the country, and that no assistance was to be expected, the regency issued an order to all magistrates and public officers, 31st. on the approach of the French, to regulate their whole conduct on the principle of the strictest neutrality, which it belonged to the territory to maintain as intirely independent of the crown of Great Britain and Ireland, and a completely separate possession, according to the constitution of the empire, and the guarantee of the treaty of Luneville. They were readily to furnish whatever might be required of them, and on no account to desert their offices and posts, but remain in them, and faithfully fulfil their duty.

At this time, the French army, by a rapid march, had taken a position before Wechte; they passed the Hunte, and proceeded to Techlingen, while a smaller body of troops, under General Hammerstein, retreated to Ber- 1st and 2d June. stein. The enemy proceeded in the same direction, and having been informed that the bridge of Nieuburg was repaired, and the principal force for protection of the country stationed there, they reached, with speed, that part of the Weser. At that

that point, the Duke of Cambridge had the command. Marshal Count Walmoden, who had, until then, directed every thing with ^{1st} unwearied assiduity, finding June. himself, as well because his presence was judged indispensable at Hanover, as on account of his health, not in a condition to join the troops himself, gave the command to his Royal Highness, who, influenced only by his zeal, undertook it, notwithstanding the apparent impossibility of success. He immediately repaired to the place, where the bridge over the Weser obliged them to take the first position; here he arrived the same night, and found six battalions of infantry, six squadrons of cavalry, and some artillery, amounting in the whole to scarcely three thousand men. The rest of the troops were, either still on their march, or at some distance, to cover the other passages on the Weser, and to ensure a retreat upon the Elbe, which might have been cut off, particularly by a corps of the enemy stationed at Wildeshausen, and which, it was supposed, intended to proceed to Bremen, and the recruits which arrived, one after another, having never borne arms, and being neither clothed nor disciplined, were fit for nothing but to be placed in the rear of the army, that they might not impede its operations in a decisive moment.

The regency of Hanover had, in the mean time, dispatched deputies, civil and military, to Mortier, intreating him to suspend his march, as they were empowered to make advantageous proposi-

tions. He answered, that he would listen to none, unless he had the certainty of immediately occupying the country of Hanover, and particularly the strong places belonging to it; adding, that if the least resistance were made, or the Weser were once passed, he should not consider himself bound by those offers. In fact, the advanced part of the French army appeared in the afternoon of the 12th. at about the distance of one mile from Nieuberg, and refusing to halt, attacked the Hanoverian advanced posts, but were repulsed. The French lost, according to their own account, thirty men, and then halted. The Hanoverians had one killed, and five wounded, which were carried off. At the moment when the report of this affair reached Nieuberg, his Royal Highness received a dispatch from the regency of Hanover, in which they begged of him to return immediately. He instantly set out, and about half-way, met the deputies, who were returning to the French head quarters, to conclude a Convention, undoubtedly upon terms rather more moderate than those which had been offered, but by which the troops were bound not to serve against France or her allies during the present war, unless they were exchanged. Imperious necessity dictated this resolution; but the Duke could neither take part generally, in such a Convention, nor submit to this engagement, and he had previously declared it. He therefore gave in his resignation, and ^{3d} June. departed, the day on which the Convention was signed at the French head quarters, subject to ratifi-

ratification by the governments of France and England. By this treaty, the army were to be prisoners of war: the French obtained possession of the whole country, particularly the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser, and Mortier gave orders for seizing all the vessels on those rivers.

The terms of the treaty concluded at Suhlingen presented to the French Government a new field for the exercise of diplomatic

10th June. *finesse.* Talleyrand sent by an express to the English Government, a letter, stating that the First Consul having had in view nothing but the procuring of pledges for the evacuation of Malta, and the complete execution of the Treaty of Amiens, did not wish to make the subjects of his Britannic Majesty experience all the rigours of war; but he could not ratify the treaty without an engagement from his Majesty that the army captured in Hanover should be, in the first instance, exchanged for all the sailors or soldiers his Majesty's ships might have made, or be in situation of making prisoners. Should the King refuse to ratify this treaty, Hanover would be treated as a country which, left to itself, abandoned by its Sovereign, would be considered as conquered without capitulation, and given up to the discretion of the power occupying it.

Foreseeing that his Majesty could not accede to these propositions, the French Government, in order to produce a political effect in Hanover, directed Mortier to acquaint the general of the forces of that country with the

offer that had been made.

The English Government returned promptly the only answer which could be given to the insidious proposal. His Majesty said, that as he had always considered the character of Elector of Hanover, distinct from that of King of Great Britain, he could not acquiesce in any act which might establish the idea that he was justly susceptible of being attacked in one capacity for the conduct he might have thought it his duty to adopt in the other. It was not the first time that this principle had been advanced. It had been recognized by several powers of Europe, and more particularly by the French Government, which in 1795, in consequence of the accession of his Majesty to the treaty of Basle, acknowledged his neutrality in his capacity of Elector of Hanover, at the moment they were at war with him in his quality of King of Great Britain. This principle had been moreover confirmed by his Majesty's conduct with respect to the treaty of Luneville, and by the arrangements which had lately taken place relative to the German indemnities, which were to have for their object the providing for the independence of the Empire, and which had been solemnly guaranteed by the principal powers of Europe, but in which his Majesty, as King of Great Britain, took no part. Under these circumstances, his Majesty was determined, in his character of Elector of Hanover, to appeal to the Empire and to the powers of Europe who had guaranteed the

15th
June.

Ger-

Germanic Constitution, and consequently his rights and possessions in quality of Prince of that Empire. Until his Majesty should be informed of their sentiments, he declared, that in his character of Elector of Hanover, he would scrupulously abstain from every act which might be considered as contravening the stipulations contained in the Convention concluded on the third of June, between the deputies appointed by the Regency of Hanover and the French Government.

1st July. On receipt of this letter, the Convention of Suhlingen was declared by the French to be null and void, and Mortier was directed to notify the event to Count Walmoden. In executing this commission, the French General called to the remembrance of his opponent, that in 1757, a similar Convention was concluded at Closter Seven, between M. de Richelieu and the Duke of Cumberland, and that the King of England, not having chosen to adhere to it, he gave orders to his army to recommence hostilities. It was evident, he said, that England sacrificed unworthily the Hanoverian troops; whose bravery was known to all Europe; but it was not less notorious, that every plan of defence on their part would be illusory, and would only draw down new miseries upon the country. Propositions were therefore made that the army should lay down their arms in order to be sent prisoners of war into France. This astonishing insult roused the indignation of the Hanoverians, and Baron de Bock had an interview with Mortier, in which he said; that, rather than close with such

abject terms, the army had resolved to perish with arms in their hands, and solicited some modification. Mortier, after much scurrility against the King of England, refused compliance, and speedily prepared to attack the army, which was posted between Steknitz and Bille.

Having collected a number of barques on the Elbe, 4th and he had proceeded to the middle of the river, when 5th. a capitulation was agreed to, which, according to the French account, Marshal Walmoden signed with an afflicted heart. The conditions, indeed were such as tyranny alone could demand, and despair accept. The army were to lay down their arms, which, with all the artillery, were to be delivered to the French; as were all the horses of the Hanoverian troops of cavalry, and the artillery horses. The Hanoverian army was dissolved; the troops to pass the Elbe, and retire, every one to his own home, engaging, on their honour, not to bear arms against France and her allies, without being exchanged for French soldiers of the same rank, who had been made prisoners by England in the course the war. The officers to retire, on their honour, to the places which they might chuse for their residence, but not to leave the continent; to retain their swords, horses, effects and baggage. The soldiers, after their return home, to wear no uniform.

The French immediately proceeded to the city of Hanover, where they possessed themselves of large quantities of arms, artillery and military equipments in general, and what they valued most

most, a great number of very fine horses, fit for cavalry. Fresh troops from France and Holland daily poured in, and occupied every part of the Electorate. They came ragged and unprovided, and were not only fed, but cloathed and equipped at the expence of the people.

3th June. The French Commanders, with that counterfeit humanity which renders their oppression more bitter, and tyranny more galling, issued a Proclamation, directing their soldiery to abstain even from any words which might hurt the feelings of the disarmed Hanoverians; but the people soon found that any resistance, even that of an untrained multitude, furnished only with such arms as haste and rage could supply, could not have led to such calamities as followed submission. The Electorate soon became a scene of pillage and butchery, yielding only to the state of Switzerland in the Spring of 1798. The French soldiers had the most unbounded indulgence of their ruling passions of rapacity, cruelty, and lust. In the city of Hanover, and even in the public streets, women of the highest rank were violated by the lowest of that brutal soldiery, in the presence of their husbands and fathers, and subjected, at the same time, to such additional and undecribable outrages as the brutal fury of the violators, enflamed by drunkenness, could contrive. What happened in the great towns, and befel persons of rank, was of course better known than the calamities of the body of the people; but every village exhibited the same scenes in mi-

niature. The peasants, with more spirit, patriotism and loyalty, than prudence, in several parts of the country, were driven into insurrection; many villages were burnt to the ground, and two districts delivered over to all the horrors of military execution.

For the purpose of commanding the navigation of the rivers Elbe and Weser, new works were constructed, and the old extended and strengthened, and for this purpose, the daily labour of a thousand peasants was required; every species of plunder and exaction was carried to its greatest excess, until, at last, the exhausted country could supply no more; a portion of the French troops were withdrawn, and an intention was expressed of retaining the country by means of 8000 Prussians; but before any such measures were taken, the French exacted from Hamburgh and the Hanse towns a large sum, as a forced loan, the repayment of which was to be secured by mortgage of the property of the King of England in Hanover.

The anxiety of Bonaparte to exclude the trade and manufactures of Great Britain not only from the ports of France, but, as far as possible, from the whole continent, produced many decrees from the different governments in connexion with, or influenced by him, but the most remarkable, was one issued by the First Consul himself at Antwerp. By this man-

20th
July.

date he declared, that no vessel that had cleared out from, or touched at, an English port should enter into any of the harbours of the republic; and for

more effectual suppression of all communication, he ordered that no flag of truce should be received, except at the bay of Audierne, near Brest, and laid an embargo on all fishing boats above the burthen of seven tons, and those which were allowed, were to be navigated only by men past the age of conscription, or by boys under the age of fifteen.

Every exertion was also made to assume the appearance of a general ardour in the war, and a general devotion of property to the prosecution of it. Public bodies joined in Addresses to the First Consul, and many voted the building of ships and boats for the service of the state.

4th June. The merchants of Paris, and the Conservative senate each voted a man of war of 110 guns; the exchange brokers a frigate of 44; the Mayor of Paris and the prefect of the Police opened subscriptions for building flat bottomed boats, and the same measure was attempted in various parts of the Country. Antwerp voted a frigate of 44 guns; Rouen a 74; many departments made contributions in money for the same purpose, several regiments remitted portions of their pay as subscriptions, and the Italian Republic by a Proclamation 26th Aug. proffered two frigates and twelve gun boats. These efforts were stimulated in a circular Letter issued by Chaptal, Minister of the Interior, in which he stated, "that French bravery must remain inactive on the brink of the ocean, if numerous vessels did not furnish it the means of attacking its enemy. It was therefore to the building of vessels

that all efforts ought to be directed; commerce, agriculture, industry, would suffer the less for the execution being the more prompt. A flat boat, of the first class, he said, will cost 30,000 francs; that of the second, from 18 to 20,000; and that of the third, from 4 to 6000 francs. Two feet of water are sufficient to float a boat unarmed; thus there are few places that may not execute an undertaking of this kind. These boats will bear the name of the cities or departments that shall build them. The government will accept with satisfaction from a ship of the line to the smallest transport boat. If, by a movement, as rapid as general, each department, each large city, will cover their stocks with boats, then the French army will go and dictate laws to the British Government, and establish the repose of Europe, the liberty and prosperity of commerce, on the only basis that can insure their duration."

As the ships of war already possessed by France, or likely to be erected by these subscriptions, or by any other means within the power of government could not hope to contend successfully against the navy of England, a project was formed, or seemed to be formed, for invading England with an army to be carried across the Channel in flat boats. For the apparent purpose of this invasion, a vast army was assembled at Boulogne, with a formidable train of artillery; it received the name of the Army of England; Bonaparte declared himself its commander in chief. Of the position and force of this army a formidable display was made by the French government.

The

The grand head quarters were to be, for a time, at Compeigne, where a considerable park of artillery was to be assembled. All the Military administrations were to be previously organized there. These forces, which were destined to form an immense cordon from the mouth of the Elbe to Rochelle and Rochefort, were divided into four corps, each making a separate army. The first to extend from the mouth of the Elbe to Flushing, and comprize all the troops dispersed through the Electorate of Hanover and the Batavian republic. The second, formed by the troops in Belgium, to extend from Flushing to Dunkirk. The third, from Dunkirk to Cherbourg, uniting the corps cantoned in the departments of the north. The fourth reaching from Cherbourg to Brest and Rochefort, and comprising the troops in the Western departments.

Admiral Bruix was appointed to command this pigmy navy. In conformity with the views of his government, he issued Proclamations, professing the most sanguine hopes of the success of an expedition against this country. "The First Consul," he said, "sends me to you to conduct your exertions in the career of glory, which his genius has prepared for you. Your zeal and your bravery are pledges to me that we shall fulfil his expectations. Already you hear the cry of vengeance. Our towns and districts bring in their gifts in multitudes. All Frenchmen are

ready to march to punish a government which is an enemy of the peace of the world, and especially an enemy of the glory and welfare of our country. You are first called to this great enterprize. Be certain you will fulfil your noble destination." During the whole year this flotilla continued to augment; the boats with which it was recruited were coasted along, close to the shore, in order to be out of the reach of the English cruizers; troops and flying artillery protected their passage, and when, with all these aids, they escaped the vessels by which they were pursued and attacked, the dispatches to government and the proclamations of the commanders spoke in terms as proud and lofty as if great victories had been achieved. Such was the force and such the means prepared for the avowed purpose of conquering the British dominions*. The troops were allured by promises of indiscriminate plunder, and their ferocity was whetted by a public declaration that the European Peru (so England was called) should be their property; that the lands should be divided among the invaders; that the population must be thinned by a large destruction of the men; but the women were to be reserved for the solace of those generous soldiers of France, who should think them worthy of their embraces.

Amid these efforts and preparations, a considerable anxiety was perceptible in the mind and con-

* The flat boats are thus described: They are slight, about 50 feet long, and five deep; they can contain about 60 men, and are provided with four oars and one mast, with a sail: they are by no means built for resistance, but merely calculated for a short passage. Each of these vessels has three guns mounted.

duct of Bonaparte, and a change in the government of France was anticipated. A circumstance which strongly led to such conjectures was disclosed early in the year, by Monsieur, the brother of Louis XVIII. On the 26th of February, a person of distinction in the Consular court, waited on Louis at Warsaw, and verbally proposed to him to renounce the throne of France, and to induce the other members of his family to join in a similar act; on compliance, he was promised, in the name of Bonaparte, indemnities, and a splendid establishment. The king, in a written answer, positively rejected the proposal, but, although the Letter was not expressed in terms of indignation, and the character of Bonaparte was even treated with consideration, the messenger earnestly requested him to soften the language, lest it should so far irritate Bonaparte, as to prompt him to exert his influence to aggravate the misfortunes of the King, but this proposal was equally resisted; the refusal was transmitted in the terms in which it was originally conveyed; the princes of the House of Bourbon who were in England published a narrative of the transaction, together with a declaration of their adherence to the decision of their sovereign; and a similar declaration was published by the Duc d'Enghien, who was in the dominions of the Margrave of Baden*.

The motive for making this proposition could not be misunderstood; it was evidently to prepare for the assumption of regal or imperial dignity by Bonaparte; the

magnanimity of Louis XVIII transcends all praise; while the intimations of displeasure which were made in consequence of the refusal, led to dismal apprehensions for the fate of the unfortunate family, and even seemed to cast a dreadful light on the requisition made in the foregoing year to the British government to send the princes of the house of Bourbon to reside with the head of their family.

When the narrative of this transaction appeared, Bonaparte wisely avoided increasing the discussion to which it would give rise, by omitting all notice of it, and employed himself, after the commencement of the war, on a journey through various parts of France, and particularly to those where his armaments were collected. A short time before his departure, his life was endangered by a fall from a phaeton, but no serious mischief ensued. With a se-^{25th}crecy peculiar to himself; June, the First Consul quitted Paris in the night, without making publicly known the time of his departure, or his intended route. He travelled with great rapidity along the coast, and to the Netherlands, attended by a prodigious suite, and at every place where he stopped, the most abject adulation was poured forth upon him and his lady. On his arrival at Boulogne, it was thought necessary to shew him with what perfect safety vessels could ride in the road before that place, which was protected by six batteries, mounting thirty pieces of heavy artillery. For this purpose a grand spectacle was ex-

* See the Correspondence. Appendix to the Chronicle, p. 116*.

hibited, and four or five armed vessels were hauled out to bid defiance to the English cruizers. At that moment Captain Owen, in the *Immortalité* frigate made his appearance, attacked the armed vessels, and drove them all ashore under the very guns that were to prove their protection, where they were left dry by the tide, and so greatly damaged that they were afterwards drawn into their inner harbour to be repaired.

At this time, perhaps, had there been a strong rival to Bonaparte in France, his power might have been shaken, or at least his authority curbed. The war, notwithstanding the clamours and efforts of government, was not popular; the law for supplying the ranks of the army by a conscription, from which none was exempt, was felt as an intolerable grievance, and no prospect of advantage presented itself to compensate for the losses and evils inevitably endured. Other subjects of complaint were not wanting; but Moreau, who alone could have divided popular opinion with Bonaparte, gave himself up to ease, and seemed indifferent about the affairs of state. Some officers who had served under him affected to consider him as the head of a party, and a few individuals affected to court his influence, but Bonaparte, although jealous of his reputation, did not fear his exertions, and Moreau, although dissatisfied and disgusted with many of the proceedings of government, offered no public opposition, and although unemployed in the war, did not appear to feel either ambition or resentment.

In Great Britain, the efforts made were calculated intirely to

repel the efforts avowedly intended by France; the plan of government appearing to be that of taking up the hostile challenge, exactly as it was given by Bonaparte. Their measures tended to convince the world, that England, single-handed, could maintain her independence, notwithstanding all the endeavours of France, and could turn to the loss and confusion of the aggressor every attack directed against herself or her interests. In aid of the measures sanctioned by the legislature, every exertion was made to re-establish the navy on the footing it had been when peace was made, and that proud assurance of Britain's safety was soon in a condition to defy the united hostility of the whole world.

When the French occupation of Hanover and the adjacent country rendered the navigation of the Elbe and Weser impracticable to British vessels, the English government, without loss of time, declared both those rivers in a state of blockade. The notice to foreign nations was short and explicit, and it concluded with a declaration, that, whenever the French troops would evacuate the positions which they occupied on parts of the Elbe and Weser, and remove at such a distance from them as to leave the course perfectly free and secure to the vessels of his subjects, as well as other nations, his Majesty would immediately direct his ships of war which might be stationed at the mouths of the rivers for the purpose of blockading them, to be withdrawn. Against this blockade, the French government inveighed with great bitter-

bitterness, representing it as a new infringement of the rights of neutrals and the sovereignty of all powers; but neutral nations did not appear to consider it in any other than its real light, a measure of justice and of necessity. The American Minister at Ham-
burgh advised the traders of his country strictly to observe, not only the laws as they had been acknowledged by the respective nations, but also those laws as they had been laid down by the principal maritime powers, and not to take any more goods on board; to procure the best certificates, that what they had already loaded had been shipped and loaded before the blockade was known, and to hasten their departure as much as possible.

To the above orders was
13th added, one for the blockade
Aug. of Genoa and Spezia, and another applying the same measure to Havre-de-grace, and the other
23d ports of the Seine. Before
Dec. the end of the year, it was also considered necessary to give notice to the neutral powers, that vessels under their flags could not be allowed to enter any port between the Humber and the Downs, except Yarmouth and the Downs.

These latter measures were adopted in consequence of the threats of invasion, for the accomplishment of which such great preparations were made. The people of England, aroused alike by the sense of indignity, and by the desire of insuring their own safety, made zealous preparation to meet the exigencies of the time, and, by a general display of public spirit, to keep alive those exertions which

are in great danger of becoming languid, when regarded as mere acts of duty. Loyal and affectionate Addresses were presented to his Majesty from all parts of the country, and at the public meetings which were called for the purpose of voting and preparing them, the most patriotic sentiments were generally expressed. Middlesex offered some exception; there Sir Francis Burdett, in animadverting on a proposed Address, uttered opinions so repugnant to the general feeling of the freeholders and of the county at large, that public indignation, loudly expressed, compelled him to quit the room; and when the Address was carried, it was voted, that his colleague in Parliament, Mr. Byng, should present it to his Majesty, without the concurrence of Sir Francis Burdett.

It were endless and uninteresting to record the small exploits daily performed by British vessels in attacking the batteries raised on the French coast, or in driving ashore the boats, which, protected by those batteries, and by flying artillery, were conveying troops and stores to the great depots; yet to such exploits alone were the maritime operations of the war limited, through the impotency of the enemy. In expectation of more active services, the merchants of London provided, by means of a public subscription, the most honourable and effectual means of solacing the sufferings of our brave defenders, and cheering the woes of their surviving relatives which were ever devised in any country. Under the name of a "patriotic fund," and under the management of an honourable and active Com-
mittee,

mittee, a large and increasing sum of money was collected, from which it was proposed, in the way of reward or relief, as the circumstances of the case might require, to shew the public gratitude for the services of those who shed their blood in defence of the whole community.

In contemplation of the threatened invasion, the care of government was directed, not only to the coast, but, in a particular manner, to the metropolis. On the 17th July. defence of this important branch of the empire, a very satisfactory Letter was addressed by Lord Cathcart to the Marquis of Titchfield, the Lord Lieutenant of the County of Middlesex. It indicated in the clearest manner the points necessary to be secured for the protection of the Metropolis, the surveys requisite, and the best and least onerous mode of effecting them, and contained the following truly encouraging statement, "His Royal Highness, the commander in chief has, in the course of last war, directed his thoughts to the consideration of this subject; a most accurate military survey has been made under the inspection of an officer of the greatest eminence and professional skill and experience. The situation of every necessary work, battery and line, has been ascertained, the necessary guns and troops to guard and defend these works have been calculated, as well as the number of hands necessary to complete them within a given period. The whole arrangement has undergone consideration and revision for years, and is ripe for execution. It must afford the greatest satisfaction to every well wisher to his country

to know, that in the opinion of all professional men who have been consulted, the means which nature has afforded to the cities of London and Westminster of providing for their security, are beyond what have been found in the case of almost any city in the Universe; that with due attention to the advantages to be made by such positions as encircle them, and with the armed force which may be collected for their defence, and that amply supplied with provisions, this capital may bid defiance to any invading force, at least until ample time is given for the arrival of such a power from the country as, when combined with the force within the lines, must be much more than sufficient to exterminate any army that could be transported to England."

The belief that an invasion was seriously meditated was general. However men might differ on other points, few were bold enough to maintain that all the preparations, all the boasts, and all the promises of the enemy were made for the mere purpose of delusion. The spirit to which this general belief gave birth impelled immense numbers, regardless of expence and inconvenience, and mindful only to the call of the occasion, to equip and enrol themselves as volunteers. Before the close of the Session, the East India Company had obtained an act of Parliament, enabling them to pay the expences of equipping the persons in their employ, who were sufficient to form three regiments. Such was the forwardness of these patriotic legions, that Mr. Sheridan obtained from the House of Commons a vote of thanks to them, and although

though this vote was strenuously resisted, and the establishment and proceedings of the volunteers were vehemently censured, both in debate and in print, the general feeling was highly favourable to those who made such great and disinterested sacrifices to the general good. During the whole summer, the Metropolis and the country were enlivened by the display of these troops, particularly when colours were presented to them, which was always done by persons of rank and distinction, and their numbers increased so rapidly, that Government was, at length, obliged to issue a Proclamation, limiting the distribution of arms and

the extension of exemptions to numbers not exceeding six times the amount of the Militia. The enthusiasm in their favour was carried to its greatest height, in the Metropolis, by two splendid reviews in Hyde Park, at which his Majesty displayed the glorious sight of a monarch, unattended by any military escort, riding fearless among thousands of his people, who were voluntarily armed in his support, who received his approbation as their highest glory, and sought no recompense beyond the consciousness of doing their duty in maintaining his just rule, from which alone they could expect happiness and security.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

2d. **A**T half past one o'clock in the morning, a shocking fire broke out in a house in Frederick Street, Portsea, inhabited by Mr. Mayne and Mr. Newberry, ship-wrights. The family, it seems, went to bed at ten o'clock, and must inevitably have perished, had it not been for the incessant mewling and noise of a cat, which disturbed their rest, and timely warned them of their danger. All the furniture was destroyed; and a girl about four years of age was burnt to death. Her uncle had made his way down stairs, as far as the street door; when, on being asked after the child by its father, he immediately returned, and had actually placed the child on a table whilst he turned himself to open the garret window to escape; but, when he again looked round, the child had fallen from the table, and through the flaming floor. He then effected his escape by leaping from the window into the street.

9th. A boat belonging to the Neptune, with eight persons in it, five belonging to the boat, and three passengers, was upset, in a gust of wind, near the hospital, and all drowned, except three

of the boatmen. Four dead bodies were immediately picked up; two of them the young gentlemen aforementioned, who had held by the boat until exhausted, and driving on the shore, were beat off, and perished.

Margate, Jan. 10. This evening, about six, the Active, of Greenock, Capt. Hornby, a fine new West-India ship, of 350 tons burthen, laden with 300 hogsheds of sugar, &c. bound to Greenock, darted from her anchor in the roads, and came ashore within half a mile of the pier-head, where she soon sunk. After the sea had made a complete breach on her weather-side, she drove in shore, with her fore and mizen-masts standing, upon the Nayland Rock, at three o'clock in the morning; to which fortunate circumstance, may be attributed the safety of part of the passengers and crew, who, had she remained where she first struck, would, in all probability, have perished. They consisted of 19 persons; and, those lashing themselves in the shrouds, 10 out of the 19 were saved. Five perished in the main-top by the falling of the mast; one lad was washed overboard, and three were taken from the rigging, who perished by the spray of the sea, and from the inclemency of

the weather. Among the survivors are the captain, mate, and pilot.—A Dutch hoy, laden with 1200 bags of wheat, bound from Amsterdam to Lisbon, parted from her anchors, and came ashore under the cliffs, off Birchinton; the crew and cargo saved, and the vessel likely to be got off.—A Hastings or Rye hoy, in ballast, also shared the same fate, and lies very near the Dutchman. Her crew saved themselves by taking to their boat.

10th. During the heavy gale of wind from the eastward, the *Huffar*, of 38 guns, commanded by Captain Wilkinson, lying at Blackfakes, caught fire, by accident, in the gunner's store-room, close to the magazine; and, from the explosion of some combustible matter, the ship's company rushed on the quarter-deck, and thence into a boat, which was hanging in the tackles astern; and, from too great a number getting into her for the purpose of saving themselves, the davit, by which she was hoisted up, gave way, and threw the whole of them overboard; by which unfortunate accident two master's mates, one midshipman, fourteen men, and one woman, were drowned. By the exertions of the captain, officers, and remaining part of the ship's company, the fire was soon got under, without any damage to the ship.

This evening, about seven, when the wind blew excessively hard, some premises at the back of Mr. Keen's house, facing Paddington church, occupied by Mr. Blofield, an attorney, as a country cottage, were nearly demolished. The premises consisted of a small room and a kitchen, built of wood, having a chimney carried

to a great height, to prevent smoke. During the violence of the gale, the chimney was thrown on the roof of the upper room, in which Mrs. Blofield and five of her children were sitting; and the weight of the brickwork brought the whole of the tiles, timber, and rubbish, into the room, and enveloped them in the ruins. One of the children found means to extricate herself, and with great presence of mind thrust her hand through the window, calling loudly for assistance to some men who were working in a shop across the yard. They immediately attended, but it was not without difficulty they could get to the room where the mischief had happened; for, the servant being out upon an errand, and the doors all fastened, they were obliged to force their way through the kitchen window: they succeeded, however, in relieving the unfortunate sufferers from their perilous situation. One of the children was under the rubbish nearly half an hour; but, when extricated, and a little recovered from her fright, did not appear to have received any material injury.

A dreadful accident happened to a family in Red- 11th. Lion street. A pot of inflammable liquid being on the fire, it boiled over, the flames communicated to the clothes of a child; its mother going to its relief, caught fire; the husband, endeavouring to save them, was himself soon in a blaze, which reached to the bed curtains. Five of the family were conveyed to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where one died; and the others could not hope to recover.

Margate, Jan. 12. A few minutes before four o'clock this morning, during the very severe gale, the

the Hindostan East-Indiaman, Captain Edward Balston, parted with all her anchors, drove on shore off the Reculvers, and shortly after went to pieces. One gentleman, of the name of Clarke, a cadet for Madras, and a passenger on board this ship, with sixteen of the crew, unfortunately perished. Every possible exertion was made to save the ship, but the fury of the gale baffled every effort. The cargo was estimated at 100,000*l*. She had a vast quantity of private silver bullion on board, on freight; but the East-India Company had not a single dollar on board. Soon after the ship got on shore, she filled with water. Boats put off to her assistance, and fortunately succeeded in saving about 120 of the people. On the ship striking the shore, the baker and boatswain flew to the shrouds for safety; but this hasty expedient unfortunately proved their destruction; they both perished in sight of the survivors, who could afford them no relief. When the ship struck, and no hopes of getting her off were left, she then being twelve miles from shore, two rafts were made, and several of the crew, passengers, &c. committed themselves to them, in hopes of floating on shore. These rafts, by the violence of the waves, were dashed against each other, and most of the persons on them were drowned or killed.

17th. George Foster, who was convicted on Friday last of having murdered his wife and child, by throwing them into the canal at Paddington, was executed pursuant to his sentence. Till yesterday morning, he continued to assert that his wife had by accident fallen into the canal; and, the water being

deep, he was fearful of attempting to lend any assistance, lest he might be drawn in also. A short time, however, before his execution, he confessed to Doctor Ford, that he actually did push her into the water, and then came away, and left her to perish. He acknowledged the justice of his sentence. When he appeared on the scaffold, he was so much overcome with the sense of his unhappy situation, that he fainted, and was obliged to be supported while the cord was applied to his neck. About ten minutes past eight he was launched into eternity.

This evening a horrid murder was committed in 21st. Greenwich Hospital, by J. Innis, a pensioner, upon J. Price, another pensioner. The perpetrator had been guilty of a breach of duty in the college; for which, on the charge of a fellow pensioner, he was deprived of two months pocket money, and reprimanded. Exasperated at this circumstance, he went into the apartment of the deceased, and with a poker beat out his brains at a single blow. The murderer then examined the next room, where an old pensioner lay, intending he should share a similar fate if he appeared awake, lest he might have heard what had passed. The man had heard the blow; but pretending to be asleep, the murderer left him, and retired to his own cabin: the man got up, alarmed the guard, and secured him. The evidence on his trial was decisive; and on Saturday, March 26th, he was executed on Pennenden Heath. The prisoner was brutal in his manner, and but little affected at his sentence.

Letters from Genoa, of December.

ber 15, mention the sudden demolition of more than two-thirds of the village of Villa-guardia, near Oneglia, by a convulsion of the earth, which took place in the following manner:—The village was composed of about eighty dwelling houses, and 400 inhabitants. It stood on the slope of a hill, in high cultivation, and abounding in springs. On the evening of the 22d of November, two apertures were convulsively made in the ground near the village church. It rained all that night. At day-break, on the 23d, an enormous mass burst down from the summit of the hill, brought before it all the surface earth, and fell upon the houses. The roof of the church was first demolished, then fifty-seven of the houses met the same overthrow. In the night of the 23d, the ruins were removed to the distance of 200 paces from their former situations. On the morning of the 24th, the remaining houses were seen standing within a precipitous accumulation of earth, which extending entirely round them, presented a perpendicular front, and rose fifty fathoms. Vineyards, gardens, olive trees, were all carried in one mass into the next river. The channel of the river was filled up, and the stream above converted into a lake. An opposite rock, on the territory of Bestagno, at last arrested the motion of the mass.

A dreadful storm occurred at Gibraltar, on the morning of the 20th ult. There were at one time five vessels on shore at the Old Mole; one Turkish ship sunk in the Bay; one stranded at Algeiras; and several vessels of different nations were seen firing signals of distress.

The Cynthia was driven out of the bay, and the Phoenix Portuguese frigate is supposed to have been lost upon the Pearl Rock. The royal battery took fire by lightning, and continued burning for twenty-four hours, and all attempts to extinguish it were useless. Its situation was nearly 1400 feet above the level of the sea.

A mutiny lately broke out on board the Gibraltar, of 84 guns, which ship sailed from Gibraltar for Malta, in company with the Superb, Dragon, and Triumph. Soon after sailing, the crew mutinied, and took possession of the ship, and then she was run up under the sterns of the other ships, the crews cheering; but this signal not having the desired effect, the crews of the other ships retaining their loyalty and discipline, the mutineers became panic struck, and were then easily subdued by the officers, who behaved very gallantly. The ring-leaders were immediately secured, and three of them executed.

DIED, 28th Dec.—A man of the name of Samuel Matthews, who had for the last twenty years of his life resided in a cave, or hermitage, on the borders of Sydenham common, Surrey, conducting himself after the manner of a hermit, and who, from his reclusive life, was called “The Man of the Woods,” was this day found murdered near his hermitage. The deceased had several contusions in his head, his jaw-bone broken in two places and other marks of violence about his person; was weltering in his blood, and bore every indication of having been robbed as well as murdered, no money or any thing of value being found upon his person. This unfortunate man, about thirty

years since, went to reside at Dulwich, working as a gardener for the gentlemen in that hamlet. He then had a wife, of whom he was extremely fond, and a deserving only daughter, who is since married to a tradesman of respectability in the city of London. Twenty-eight years since, his wife died. His former habitation became dreary and unpleasant without her society; and he then formed the desperate resolution of quitting, as much as it was possible a working man could do, the social converse of the world; for that purpose he solicited, and obtained, the permission of the master and wardens of Dulwich college, who are lords of the manor and waste, to dig a cave, and erect over it a hut, on that part of the manor abutting in the rear on the college-wood, and in front on Sydenham common. He made to it mud walls, and covered it with fern, furze, and brakes, such as the common afforded. In this situation he continued to live for near twenty-three years, working at his trade of a jobbing-gardener. About five years since, having been at Dulwich, where he had changed some gold, he was followed by some ruffian gipseys into his cave, who beat him so severely that they broke his arm; and, leaving him for dead, took all the money he had, which was not more than 12s. While his arm was under cure, he took a dislike to his old residence, in which temper he continued for about twelve months; when, weary of common and social intercourse, and panting to return to his former mode of life, he again obtained permission to construct a new hut and cave, the former being dilapidated by the gipseys: there he re-

mained till the day of his death, except when he followed his avocations, or went into the villages adjacent for a supply of food: on the latter occasion he would sometimes take a pot of porter; for he never called for less, or drank more at one time. In summer time, and in fine weather, several persons from town used to make parties to see the Wild Man of the Woods, as he was called. When they came, they were surprised to find this Wild Man courteous for one of his station, mild, gentle, and unassuming, always offering his visitors a little of his small-beer, as, he would observe, they must be a-dry, coming so far to see the old man: for this courtesy he was generally pretty well recompensed by his visitors, which led to the belief that he must be in possession of money, which he had hoarded up. When found at the mouth of the cave, an oaken branch, about six or seven feet long, was under his head; which, it is supposed, the villains had put into the cave for the purpose of hooking the old man out, as the hooked part, which completely matched with the stick, was found broken off. The branch of the tree, with which it has every appearance the deed was perpetrated, was cut immediately in the neighbourhood of the spot, as the twigs which were cut off it were found scattered about the ground, and preserved to be shown to the coroner's inquest, who sat upon the body, at the French Horn, Dulwich; at which house the deceased had been on the preceding evening, and had changed half a guinea, with which he had bought some provisions, and was known to have six or seven shillings change when he left Dulwich; none of which

which were to be found, his pockets having been turned out, as was a secret pocket, which was only discovered after his death, and was not known to any of the persons who were acquainted with him, but had not escaped the prying eye of his murderers. This unfortunate man was near seventy years of age, and was as much remarked for civility as simplicity; was punctual in all his little dealings in the neighbouring villages, and might, perhaps, by the gipseys who infest the vicinity of Norwood, Dulwich, &c. be supposed worth money.— On the morning of the 31st, Charles Jemmet, esq. coroner of the county of Surrey, held the inquisition, and the Jury returned a verdict of wilful murder against persons unknown. Early in January some wandering gipseys were apprehended, and one of them was committed on suspicion of having perpetrated this crime.

31st. The benevolent Count Berthold and two servants, travelling from Vienna to Munich, were attacked and murdered in a wood near Hohenlinden by fourteen robbers, who carried off the bodies.

DIED.—At Manchester, aged 105, Wm. Gall, who enjoyed excellent health till within a short time of his death; and, as a proof of his great flow of spirits, danced on his last birth-day with twenty different persons.

4th. At Hull, where he had resided eighty years, aged 102 years and five months, Mr. James Thompson, father of the late Mr. James T. ship-chandler there.

5th. At Toulouse, aged 106, Margaret Clergue, formerly a nun of the convent of St. Claire,

in that city. She had been a perfect beauty in her youth. Her hair continued to her death of the finest jet black, and scarcely a wrinkle deformed her countenance; but she had been confined to her bed many years, and, for the last two, was totally deaf. Her father, Peter C. was footman to Louis XIV. who used to take a great deal of notice of her when she was a child, and oftentimes dandled her on his knees. When she was twelve years old, her father, who was a native of Castres, took her with him to Toulouse, and placed her as a pensioner in the convent, in which she afterwards, at the age of twenty, took the veil.

At Iridesley bank, aged 102, Alice Marland; and, soon afterwards, at Winbury, in Cheshire, aged 105, Anne Edgley.

A woman named Gwillim, died at Leigh, in Worcestershire, aged 110, and who, at the day of her death, saw and heard as well as at any period of her life.

FEBRUARY.

This night, a little before twelve o'clock, an alarming fire broke out at the printing-office of Mr. Samuel Hamilton, Falconcourt, Fleet-street, which, in the short space of two hours, entirely consumed the whole of his valuable and extensive premises. The principal booksellers of London, together with several private gentlemen, are more or less sufferers by this dreadful conflagration. The loss being thus fortunately divided among a number little short of thirty, each is enabled to bear it without any other inconvenience than

than the interruption of business necessarily arising from so unforeseen an accident. The manuscripts of the most important works are saved. Dr. Rennell, the master of the Temple, in great alarm for his house, which was in imminent danger, the roof being at one time on fire, removed all his library, and lost many valuable books. Mr. Barnes's house, Mr. Burkitt's laboratory, and the billiard-rooms, were also severally on fire; and, but for the active exertions of the firemen, must have shared the same fate. The weight, however, that was in the upper part of Mr. H.'s premises, assisted considerably to prevent this conflagration from spreading, as in a little more than an hour from the commencement of the fire, the top fell in with a dreadful crash; by which means the flames were, in a great measure, confined to the ruins. Happily no lives were lost. Mr. Hamilton's loss, from the nature of the property (printed books,) is particularly severe; and we are sorry to add, he was not fully insured. It is supposed to have arisen from the carelessness of a boy, who, in consequence, was taken before a magistrate, and underwent an examination; but nothing transpired so as to fix the negligence upon him: the cause is therefore still left in uncertainty.—One circumstance deserves to be recorded. Part of the works of the late Rev. Gilbert Wakefield remained in Mr. H.'s warehouses, and had been insured at the Sun fire-office for 1000*l.* but which insurance had lately expired. With a liberality for which our country is so distinguished, the directors have, upon a statement being laid before them by a very

active friend of his widow, presented her with 750*l.*; a circumstance so much to the honour of the company, that it will doubtless be amply repaid by the continued patronage of the public.—The fire burst forth again in the morning of the 18th; but, in the course of an hour, was happily extinguished.

A letter from Cracovia, dated January 29, says, that the winter has been extremely severe, and caused much calamity. The wolves daily arrived at the gates of the town in search of prey. A soldier, going on a message, was devoured by these animals; and the circumstance was only discovered by the remnants of his clothes and his musket. Many dogs have become mad, and persons have been bitten, against whose complaints all medical assistance has proved ineffectual. Notwithstanding the rigour of the season, an epidemic disorder has raged, which was at first supposed to be the plague.

A letter from Copenhagen, dated the 12th February, mentions that there was then, in the hospital of that city, a woman who had slept eleven weeks without interruption. Some attempts have been made to awake her from this trance, by violently shaking her: while the motion lasts, it seems to revive her; but, as soon as it is discontinued, she immediately relapses into a profound and death-like sleep. During this period she has not received any food; notwithstanding which, there is not the least alteration in her appearance. She is only 23 years of age, but remarkably corpulent.

A lad, of Castor, in Lincolnshire, who had been witness to the execution of Pidgeon,

at Peterborough, was explaining to his younger brother the manner in which the culprit made his exit; and, to make his representation the more striking, he fastened a rope over a beam in the barn, got a ladder, and placed a noose round his neck; when his foot slipped, and before the family could be alarmed he was dead.

21st. This night the Newhaven riding officers, and the crew of the Seaford boat, fell in with a gang of smugglers, about 150 in number, near the barracks at Bletchington, from whom, after a sharp conflict with bludgeons, cutlasses, and pistols, they seized 88 casks of contraband spirits and two horses, with which they were retreating; but, being pursued by the smugglers, the conflict was renewed, and obstinately maintained for about a quarter of an hour, during which time the officers kept firing their pistols at the smugglers, several of whom were wounded, as were many of their horses, in a shocking manner; some having their eyes cut out, others their ears cut off, and shot in different parts of the body. The smugglers at length gave way, and left the officers in possession of 39 casks more of spirits, and four small parcels of tea, which were lodged in the custom-house. None of the smugglers were killed.

27th. The wind was so violent, as to blow away part of the royal standard from the round tower at Windsor.

DIED, 23^d.—At the seat of Edward Caddell, Esq. of Rathfryland, aged 100, Charles Forrest, Esq. attorney at law.

Aged about 58, Mr. Daniel Cuxton, of John-street, Tottenham-court road, shoe-maker, supposed

to be the strongest man in England. He was about five feet six inches high; rather corpulent, yet could put both his elbows together, take a glass between them, and drink in that position; could contract or swell himself over the chest, at a minute's notice, so as to be the least person, when measured, in company, or so extend himself as to measure more than four of the biggest persons together, across the chest. When sitting on the ground he could get up, without the aid of his hands, with three full-grown men across his shoulders and on his back, and dance a hornpipe with them with ease; and could perform many other feats equally incredible unless seen. Many hundreds are alive who have seen these things, which he generally did of his own accord, and without profit.

MARCH.

This afternoon, about three o'clock, part of the 3rd. bank of the Paddington canal gave way, a little on this side the first bridge; the water rushed through the tunnel close to the spot, and the meadows on the other side were immediately inundated; the lock at the bridge prevented the water flowing from the upper part of the canal. The gap is about eight feet wide; a log of timber is placed across, and planks driven to secure the lower part of the bank. The water in the basin, and to the first bridge, sunk between two and three feet.

This morning a most extraordinary duel took place 11th. in Hyde Park, between Lieut. W. of

of the navy, and Capt. J. of the army. The antagonists arrived at the appointed place within a few minutes of each other. Some dispute arose respecting the distance, which the friends of Lieut. W. insisted should not exceed six paces, while the seconds of Capt. J. urged strongly the rashness of so decisive a distance, and insisted on its being extended. At length the proposal of Lieut. W.'s friends was agreed to, and the parties fired *per* signal, when Lieut. W. received the shot of his adversary on the guard of his pistol, which tore away the third and fourth fingers of his right hand. The seconds then interfered to no purpose; the son of Neptune, apparently callous to pain, wrapped his handkerchief round his hand, and swore he had another which never failed him. Capt. J. called his friend aside, and told him it was in vain to urge a reconciliation. They again took their ground. On Lieut. W. receiving the pistol in his left hand, he looked steadfastly at Capt. J. for some time, then cast his eyes to heaven, and said in a low voice, "Forgive me." The parties fired as before, and both fell. Capt. J. received the shot through his head, and instantly expired; Lieut. W. received the ball in his left breast, and immediately inquired of his friend if Capt. J.'s wound was mortal? Being answered in the affirmative, he thanked heaven he had lived thus long; requested a mourning ring on his finger might be given to his sister, and that she might be assured it was the happiest moment he ever knew. He had scarcely finished the words when a quantity of blood burst from his wound, and he expired almost without a strug-

gle. The unfortunate young man was on the eve of being married to a lady in Hampshire, to whom for some time he had paid his addresses.

The following instance of remorse of conscience occurred a few days since at Crocomb, near Wells: a young man in the service of a farmer had been prevailed on, by his father, to rob his master of hay, and was detected by his mistress in the act of putting it on his father's shoulders. He received some reproaches from the matron, but was promised forgiveness on the hay being returned. The unhappy youth, however, in a state of despondency, hung himself the same evening in an outhouse. The Coroner's Jury returned a verdict *felo de se*; but that part of the sentence which directs the body to be buried in the highway, was dispensed with.

This day being the anniversary of the memorable battle of Alexandria, the Turkish piece of ordnance, taken in that battle, was placed in St. James's Park, amidst a great concourse of people. It is sixteen feet in length, but was originally twenty feet. The carriage for this cannon, on each side, in different compartments, was inlaid with copper; the centre one represented Britannia seated on a rock, with a lion at her feet, pointing to the British camp; the figure of a Crocodile, four feet long, was executed in a masterly style of workmanship. The Royal Crown, with the initials G. R. the Sword and Sceptre at the lower part, added to the embellishments; and also a star, with the motto of the Knights of the Garter. The head of the cannon rests on the figure of a Sphinx.

Sphinx. The Band of the Guards, as soon as it was placed, played "God save the King;" and the soldiers and populace gave three huzzas. Among the company who were present were the Duke of York, the Earl of Chatham accompanied by the Countess, Lord Gwydir, and a number of nobility.

26th. A few days ago, at Torfoot, about seven miles south west of Strathaven, in the Shire of Lanark, a boy, cleaning out a drain at the foot of a rising ground, struck upon a glass bottle which contained about 400 silver Roman coins of Trajan, Antoninus, Crispina, wife of Commodus, and various other Emperors and Empresses, &c. They are, in general, in good preservation, and weigh about 40 grains each. The bottle was an oblong square, and sealed with a greenish pigment. About fifty of the coins were so much verdigreased and adhering together, that they were broken with a hammer by a rude and unskilful hand, in order to separate them. It will be recollected, that an important discovery of coins and medals was made in a manner equally accidental, in October, 1799, near Medbourn, in Leicestershire. Upon that occasion, as a boy was nutting in Holt Wood, his foot slipped into a ditch, and struck upon a glass urn containing 230 pieces of silver Roman coins, in the highest state of preservation. Among this number were one of Gratian, one of Julian, one of Theodosius, and one of Arcadius, Roman Emperors.

A melancholy instance of despondency, blended with strength and rashness of resolution, occurred this day at Donnington, in Lin-

colnshire; where the wife of Mr. Richard Bowles, jun. farmer, at an unseasonable hour in the morning, precipitated herself and infant child, about six months old, into a dike not many yards from her home, and both were drowned. In the evening preceding the commission of this rash act, she desired her husband to retire to rest at the usual hour, and told him she would come to bed after she had written a letter to her sister. Early in the morning, the husband on waking was alarmed to find his wife absent, and the child taken from the cradle. On going down stairs he found a letter written by the unfortunate woman, which stated that she was weary of existence, and could support the burthen no longer. This induced Mr. B. to alarm some of his neighbours, and a search was immediately instituted, when a bonnet lying on the bank of a ditch led to the horrid discovery of the mother and infant suffocated in a loathsome puddle.

DIED.—6. Aged 102, Mr. W. Morris, of North Shields, shipwright.

7. At Ennets, in the parish of Kincardine-O'Niel, in Scotland, in her 105th year, Janet Gaul. Her husband, who died lately, reached his 104th year.

At Portsea, Hants, aged 107, Mr. Richard Davies, many years warden of the dock-yard at Portsmouth.

APRIL.

6th. This morning, as Lieut. Col. Montgomery and Capt. Macnamara were riding in Hyde Park,

Park, each followed by a Newfoundland dog, the dogs fought; in consequence of which the gentlemen quarrelled, and used such irritating language to each other, that an exchange of address followed, with an appointment to meet at seven o'clock the same evening, near Primrose-hill; the consequence of which proved fatal. Capt. M.'s ball entered the right side of Col. M.'s chest, and taking a direction to the left, most probably went through the heart; he instantly fell, without uttering a word, but rolled over two or three times, as if in great agony, and groaned. Colonel M.'s ball went through Capt. M., entering on the right side, just above the hip, and passing through the left side, carrying part of the coat and waistcoat in with it, taking a part of his leather breeches and the hip button away with it on the other side. Col. M. was carried by some of the persons standing by into Chalk Farm, where he was laid on a bed, attended by Mr. Heavyside. As they were carrying him he attempted to speak and spit, but the blood choked him. His mouth foamed much, and in about five minutes after he was brought into the house, he expired, with a gentle sigh.

Capt. M. is a naval officer, who has much distinguished himself in two or three actions, as Commander in the *Cerberus* frigate. He lately returned from the West Indies, and his ship was, about two months ago, paid off at Chatham. He is about thirty-six years of age; a strong, bold, active man. He has fought two or three duels before, and was remarkable at

Cork for keeping the turbulent in awe.

Col. M. was Lieutenant-Colonel of the 9th regiment of foot, son of Sir Robert Montgomery, of Ireland, and half brother to Mrs. George Byng, and to the Marchioness of Townshend. He was a remarkably handsome, genteel man, and he had also fought bravely in the service of his country. In the Dutch expedition, the Russians being put to flight, his regiment was thrown into confusion, and retreated in consequence of the Russians falling back upon them: at this time a drummer was killed, and Col. M. took up the drum, beating it to rally his men, he himself standing alone; he did rally them, and at their head rendered essential service. On several occasions in Egypt and Malta, he distinguished himself for his courage and spirit. He was remarkable some years ago for dressing like the late Duke of Hamilton, from which circumstance he was called "*The Duke of Hamilton's double*."—He was very intimate with the Prince of Wales and Duke of York. The former shed tears on being apprised of the melancholy end of his friend. Crowds of people were all Thursday and Friday viewing the spot where the Colonel fell, which was covered with blood. The coroner's inquest, on view of the body, brought in a verdict of Manslaughter. The remains were buried on Saturday, in a vault in St. James's church. The funeral was attended by Gen. Loftus, Mr. Byng, and Mr. Beresford, representing the three families to whom he was nearest related.

At

At *Gardenstown* there was a very hard gale from W. S. W. which increased towards afternoon to a complete hurricane, abating only by short intervals, throughout the night. Next morning, a variety of wreck, scattered along the shore, announced the destruction of some vessel at no great distance. Some of the inhabitants, eager to make a farther discovery, went to survey the West rocks, where from the top of a stupendous promontory, in a curved shore, called Walecove, they discovered a large mass of wreck, which convinced them that this had been the scene of the unfortunate event they had anticipated. Actuated by a spirit of enterprizing humanity, some young men adventured to crawl down the tremendous precipice, and, notwithstanding the fluctuating and furious flaps of wind peculiar to the time and place, actually descended the depth of 900 feet perpendicular. On reaching the bottom of the rock, their attention and feelings were suddenly interested in a very striking object indeed—the only survivor of an unfortunate crew (11 in number) insulated on a rock near the wreck, in whom the tide of life was fast ebbing! nor was it till low water that these laudable adventurers were able to rescue him from this dread asylum. This however at last they happily effected; and succeeded, weak and bruised as he was, in bringing him safe up the hill—an achievement which any stranger would certainly pronounce impossible. The wreck proves to be the *Reliance* of Newcastle, William Allen, master, 198 tons register; sailed from Shields on the 17th, coal-loaded for Jamaica.

The bodies of six of the crew have been found, and interred. The survivor, Colin Burn, a native of Montrose, only engaged with Capt. Allen on the 16th, of course was very little acquainted with the shipmates; but thinks three of them were from Aberdeen. People are daily employed securing what little remains of the wreck may drift ashore; and the poor surviving tar is now so far recovered as to be able to walk about occasionally.

The Bill of Indictment for Murder, preferred at 22d. Clerkenwell, against Capt. J. Macnamara, Capt. R. Barry, Sir W. Keir, and Mr. Heaviside, having been thrown out by the Grand Jury, the first-named gentleman was tried this day, for Manslaughter. Being very weak from his wound, he was placed in a chair at the bar, and pleaded not guilty to the charge. Mr. Knapp, for the prosecution, entered into the circumstances which led to the unfortunate rencontre, stated its progress and effects, and concluded with observing, that the prosecutor had no wish as to the event of the trial, but to perform his duty to his deceased relative and the public.—W. Sloane, and C. Smith, Esqrs. deposed as to the origin of the dispute, exactly as it has been related, viz. that the Colonel's dog being worsted in the fight, he threatened to knock the Captain's dog down, unless he called him off; to which the Captain replied, he must knock him down afterwards;—the subsequent conversation produced the challenge; but it did not appear clearly from which party it originated.

The evidence for the prosecution being closed,

Mr. Justice Heath said—"Capt. M. if you have any thing to say in defence, this is your time."

Capt. M. — "My Lord, I hope the Court will permit me to keep my seat while I say a few words, as my wound is extremely painful."

Mr. Justice Heath. — "Certainly—you may keep your seat."

Capt. M. then read a written composition that he held in his hand, which, in substance, was nearly as follows:—

"Gentlemen of the Jury,

"I appear before you, with the consolation that my character has already been delivered, by the verdict of a Grand Jury, from the shocking imputation of Murder; and that although the evidence against me was laid before them, without any explanation or evidence of the sensations which brought me into my present unhappy situation, they made their own impression; and no charge of criminal homicide was found against me. I was delivered at once from the whole effect of the indictment. I, therefore, now stand before you upon the inquisition only, taken before the Coroner, upon the view of the body, under circumstances extremely affecting to the minds of those who were to deliberate on the transaction, and without the opportunity, which the benignity of the law affords me, at this moment, of repelling that inference of even *sudden* resentment against the deceased, which is the foundation of this inquest of Man-slaughter.

"The origin of the difference, as you see it in the evidence, was

insignificant. The heat of two persons, each defending an animal under his protection, was natural, and could not have led to any serious consequences. It was not the deceased's defending his own dog, or his threatening to destroy mine, that led to the fatal catastrophe; it was the defiance alone which most unhappily accompanied what was said: words receive their interpretation from the avowed intention of the speaker. The offence forced upon me by the declaration, that he invited me to be offended, and challenged me to vindicate the offence, by calling upon him for satisfaction. "If you are offended with what has passed, you know where to find me." These words, unfortunately repeated and reiterated, have, over and over again, been considered, by Criminal Courts of Justice, as sufficient to support an indictment for a challenge. These judgments of Courts are founded upon the universal understandings and feelings of mankind; and common candour must admit, that an Officer, however desirous to avoid a quarrel, cannot refuse to understand what even the grave Judges of the Law must interpret as a provocation and a defiance. I declare, therefore, most solemnly, that I went into the field from no resentment against the deceased: nothing, indeed, but insanity, could have led me to expose my own life to such imminent peril, under the impulse of passion, from so inadequate a cause as the evidence before you exhibits, when separated from the defiance which was the fatal source of mischief; and I could well have overlooked that too, if the world, in its present state, could have overlooked it

it also. I went into the field, therefore, with no determination or desire to take the life of my opponent, or to expose my own. I went there, in hopes of receiving some soothing satisfaction for what would otherwise have exposed me in the general feelings and opinions of the world. The deceased was a man of popular manners, as I have heard, and with a very general acquaintance. I, on the other hand, was in a manner a stranger to this great town, having been devoted from my infancy to the duties of my profession in distant seas. If, under these circumstances, the words which the deceased intended to be offensive, and which he repeatedly invited to be refuted, had been passed by and submitted to, they would have passed from mouth to mouth, have been even exaggerated at every repetition, and my honour must have been lost.

“Gentlemen, I am a Captain in the British Navy. My character you can only hear from others; but to maintain my character in that station, I must be respected. When called upon to lead others into honourable danger, I must not be supposed to be a man who had sought safety by submitting to what custom has taught others to consider as a disgrace. I am not presuming to urge any thing against the laws of God, or of this land. I know that, in the eye of Religion and Reason, obedience to the Law, though against the general feelings of the world, is the first duty, and ought to be the rule of action: but, in putting a construction upon my motives, so as to ascertain the quality of my actions, you will

make allowances for my situation. It is impossible to define in terms the proper feelings of a Gentleman; but their existence have supported this happy country many ages, and she might perish if they were lost.

“Gentlemen, I will detain you no longer: I will bring before you many honourable persons, who will speak what they know of me in my profession, and in private life; which will the better enable you to judge whether what I have offered in my defence may safely be received by you as truth. Gentlemen, I submit myself entirely to your judgment. I hope to obtain my liberty through your verdict; and to employ it with honour in the defence of the liberties of my country.”

He then called in his defence, Lords Hood, Nelson, Hotham, and Minto; Sirs H. Parker and T. Trowbridge; Gen. Churchill; Captains Martin, Towry, Liddyard, Waller, Graham, Moore, and Fellows, with many other persons of the highest respectability, who all bore the highest testimony to his noble and temperate conduct.—The Judge, in a short speech, impressed the jury with the necessity of not attending to the high character of the prisoner, as the Law was a stranger to those nice rules of honour which guided the conduct of Gentlemen. They were bound to act by the evidence in support of the charge, which was not denied by the prisoner himself.—The Jury, however, in a quarter of an hour, returned a verdict of *Not Guilty!*

Mr. Astlett, Assistant Cashier at the Bank, has been committed to Newgate for trial, being charged with re-issuing securities deposited in

in his office, and raising large sums thereon. His defalcations are said to amount to 300,000*l.* at least, which the Bank will have to make good.

DIED.—6th. In Piccadilly, in his 74th year, the Right Hon. Sir William Hamilton, K. B. &c. &c. He died at the house his lady bought for him, on an interruption of his own finances, with some jewels, a present to her by a foreign Princess, who, in a letter to our own Sovereign, praises Lady Hamilton, in full gratitude of heart, as, “her best friend and preserver! to whom she was indebted certainly for life, and probably for the crown!” Sir William was a man of most extraordinary endowments, and his memory will be dear to the literary world by the indefatigable exertions which he made through life to add to our stock of knowledge, and of models in the fine arts. His whole life, indeed, was devoted to studies connected with the arts, and he made every interest contribute to the passion of his soul. He was the foster-brother of his present Majesty, which laid the foundation of that gracious attachment and friendship, with which he was honoured by the King through the whole of his public service. By that immediate protection he procured the favourite appointment of Minister at the Court of Naples; which he enjoyed, with the uninterrupted approbation of the two Courts, for thirty-six years, and which he would not exchange for more lucrative situations. The zealous and successful efforts which he made, during all this time, in bringing to light the buried treasures of

antiquity, and in promoting a just and correct taste in the arts, by making known, in his works, the specimens of the pure and chaste style of the classic æra that he had discovered, need not be here enumerated. He was equally active and successful in the duties of his appointment; and maintained the harmony of the two Courts at a period when it required all his influence and address to counteract the designs of those who had an interest in the breach of the amity that so happily subsisted. The English nobility and gentry who travelled into Italy speak with the warmest acknowledgements of the splendid hospitality with which he represented his Sovereign. About twelve years ago he married the present lady Hamilton; and never was an union productive of more perfect felicity. The anxious solicitude, the unwearied attentions, the domestic duties, joined to the uncommon talents and accomplishments of Lady Hamilton, were sources of the purest happiness to both, as well as of delight to the circle in which they lived. Sir William derived from his lady, in his last illness, all the consolations of which life was susceptible; and he at length, without a struggle or sigh, breathed his last in her arms. He had a pension of 1200*l.* a year on the Irish establishment, conferred on him for his long diplomatic services, which ceases with his existence. He has made his nephew, the Hon. Charles Greville (deputy lord chamberlain), his sole heir. His estates near Swansea, which he got by a former wife, amount to 5000*l.* per annum; these he has left charged with 700*l.* per annum,

as an annuity to the present Lady Hamilton during her life. His remains were interred at Milford Haven, in Pembrokeshire. His "Observations on Mount Vesuvius, Mount Ætna, and other Volcanos, in a Series of Letters to the Royal Society," were republished, with notes, in 1772, 8vo. (XLII. 334.)

MAY.

3d. The Manchester Paper of the 3d inst. contained the following account of a most shocking murder:—On Tuesday an inquisition was held at Hollinwood, on the bodies of one Hesketh, Alice Ogden, and an infant. It appeared that Hesketh and Ogden had lived together nearly three years, and that early on Monday morning, a man going to work in the garden of the deceased, saw a quantity of blood running under the door. He alarmed the neighbours, who found Hesketh with the infant across his thighs, both quite dead, and miserably bruised, lying upon the floor. Hesketh had the key of the door in his pocket, and the end of the tongs in his hand. Ogden was also in a dying state, and so much bruised as to be incapable of giving any account of this horrid business. These circumstances induced the Jury to believe that one or both of them killed the child and each other.

5th. A most extraordinary forgery was practised in the city. At an early hour in the morning, a man delivered a letter at the Mansion-house, which he said he had brought from Lord Hawkes-

bury, and requested it to be delivered immediately: it was accordingly given to his Lordship, and soon afterwards the following literal copy appeared in front of the Mansion-house:

"Lord Hawkesbury presents compliments to the Lord Mayor, and has the honour to acquaint his Lordship, that the negotiation between this country and the French Republic is brought to an amicable conclusion.

Downing-street, Thursday
Morning, eight o'clock,
May 5, 1803.

Printed notices were then posted round the Custom-house, declaring the embargo to be taken off ships loaded with *Saltpetre*, &c. and in consequence of this delusion, the Funds experienced an immediate rise from $63\frac{3}{4}$ to $71\frac{1}{4}$. A real Treasury Messenger, however, was soon dispatched to announce the falsity of the news; on which the genuine communication was read in the public street by the City Marshall. The confusion which now prevailed was beyond all description. The Stock Exchange was immediately shut, and the committee came to the resolution, *that all bargains made in the morning should be declared null and void*. Some difficulty, however, arose respecting the actual purchases of Stock for money, Mr. Templeton holding up a transfer receipt for Reduced Stock, which he had just made for the Commissioners for liquidating the National debt. An appeal was in consequence made to the Directors of the Bank, who gave it as their opinion, "that the money-purchasers of Reduced Stock for Government, made that day, should stand at yesterday's closing

closing price, viz. 64; but reserved the delivery of any opinion on the points of money purchases until eleven o'clock on Friday."

The subscribers then entered into a resolution, that all sales of the two days should be delivered to a committee of the House, to facilitate the discovery of the person who forged the notification. The consequence of the above artifice was a rapid fall of the Funds from 71 to 63. Mr. Goldsmid was the person who detected the forgery.

The Bank Directors have since altered their opinion respecting actual money bargains made in consequence of the forgery, and informed the Stock Exchange Committee, that the Government commissioners had authorised them to pay the full price for the reduced stock, which their broker had thus purchased on their account, namely, 69½ per cent.

11th. This day about three o'clock, an obstruction took place in the narrow part of the Strand, near Exeter Change, in consequence of the breaking down of an hackney coach. Two men and a woman, crossing the street, unfortunately ran between two coal waggons, then in contact with each other; when the two men and the woman were so jammed in, notwithstanding their screams and shrieks, before any assistance could be given, that they were killed on the spot.

12th. Early in the morning a fire broke out in an upper apartment of the left wing of Huntley Castle, the seat of the Duke of Gordon, which originated from the snuff of a candle left burning on the floor. This wing having been separated from the building by a stone wall, the door which

communicated with it was quickly built up with turf, which secured the remainder from destruction. After burning for several hours, the conflagration was extinguished. Most of the property was saved by the villagers.

The Installation of the Knights of the Bath took 19th. place. This ceremony usually occurs once in nine years; but owing to the war, and other circumstances, it has been delayed considerably beyond that period, the last having been in 1788. It is one of the most splendid shows in this country, and is only inferior to a coronation.

Between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, a 23d. fire was discovered in that beautiful edifice Boston church, which threatened its total destruction, but by the timely and judicious application of the engines, the fire was completely extinguished in the space of three hours. The accident happened by the carelessness of a workman, who had lighted a fire upon the lead in the gutter of the roof, which so rapidly extended itself along the spars and beams, that the whole interior space between the ceiling and the roof was filled with such a volume of smoke, as for a long time to deny all entrance; but, by the spirited exertions of the firemen, the water was at length conveyed to the very heart of the fire, and that elegant building was thereby saved. Meantime an engine was very successfully employed within the church to extinguish the flames, as they appeared to spread along the ceiling. Considerable damage has been done by this accident (it is supposed not to a less amount

than 1000l.), but nothing equal to what might have been expected; indeed, about five o'clock, it was the general opinion that nothing could save the roof, as the lead began to melt and run. Fortunately the discovery was in the day time, and there was very little wind, or the church must have been a total ruin. Never were greater exertions used by all ranks and descriptions of persons than on this occasion; and it is but justice to say that the officers and soldiers quartered at Boston, and every stranger there felt a natural impulse to assist in saving this pride and ornament of the town.

26th. In the Common Pleas, an action was brought by Mr. Turner, to recover 1000l. of Mr. Eyles, the keeper of the Fleet Prison, for allowing the escape of Johnson, the smuggler, whom Mr. T. had confined for a debt to the above amount. After a long hearing, in the course of which it appeared no blame or negligence could be imputed to Mr. Eyles, the plaintiff was nonsuited.

28th. This night's Gazette contains a proclamation for increasing the militia. The men are to be enrolled on or before July 16.

JUNE.

7d. A verdict of 700l. damages was given against Mr. Dickie, stationer, in the Strand, for defamatory reflections on the character of Governor Aris, of Coldbath-fields.

The Knights' Fete at Ranelagh was one of the most splendid en-

tertainments ever given in this country:—there were present 2500 of the first characters in the kingdom. The supper consisted of the choicest delicacies of the season; amongst other rarities, there were cherries at a guinea a pound, and 900 quarts of peas at 14s. per quart. A dramatic piece was got up for the purpose, by Messrs. Fawcett and Byrne. None but Court dresses and regimentals were admitted; and those of the ladies were new and splendid in the extreme. The expence was 7000l.

A thunder-storm which occurred this afternoon, did considerable damage.—Several houses were greatly injured, and many persons struck down while walking in the streets. A public-house at the corner of Abingdon-street, received great damage by a thunder-bolt, and every piece of iron in the structure was reduced to the smallest particles. The house of Sir F. Whitworth, in Bruton-street, was injured in a similar way: the wire of the door-bell was completely destroyed, all the leaden pipes were melted, the wainscot burnt, and a great coat which hung in the kitchen was entirely consumed. The damage was considerable in other parts of the town, and in the fields much injury was done among the cattle.

This evening, at five o'clock, a most singular phenomenon took place in Panton-street, Haymarket. The inhabitants were alarmed by a violent and tremendous hail and shower-storm, which extended only to Oxendon-street, Whitcomb-street, Coventry-street, and the Haymarket, a space not more than about 200 acres; the torrent from the

the heavens was so great, that it could only be compared to a wonderful cascade from the brow of the most tremendous precipice. It lasted seven minutes, so that the cellars of all the inhabitants in Panton-street and Oxendon-street were filled with water. Astonishing to relate, in the midst of this hurricane an electric cloud descended in the middle of the street, and fell in the centre of the coach-way, and sunk in a great depth, without leaving a vestige or any particle of matter, but formed a complete pit. The smell of brimstone, for some seconds, was so strong, that the inhabitants expected every minute to be suffocated. Mr. Madden, who keeps a public-house near the spot, had water and beer butts thrown flat from the stillions, and no other damage whatever done.

17th. The eastern arm of Plymouth mouth harbour is quite full of prizes. The total number brought into that port, to the 13th, amounted to 105.

Johnson, the smuggler, has been arrested at Flushing, by order of the French Commandant. He was accused of being a spy; his papers were all seized, and he was sent to prison.

A compound of platina and mercury was lately introduced to the world under the title of Palladium, or *New Silver*. The greatest heat of a blacksmith's fire will hardly melt it; but if touched while hot with a small bit of sulphur, it runs as easily as zinc. Its specific gravity by hammering only 11. 3. being considerably less than the specific gravity of the lightest of the two metals of which it is composed.

In the Court of King's Bench, Philips and Shipman, two sailors, who had conspired with others falsely to accuse their captain of the murder of his apprentice at Demerara (for which he was tried and acquitted) were brought up for judgment. One of them having added perjury to his conspiracy, the sentence of the court upon them was, "That Richard Shipman should be imprisoned in the House of Correction, Coldbath-fields, for two years, during which time he shall stand in and upon the pillory for one hour. That Benjamin Philips do suffer the same sentence for the conspiracy; and for the perjury be imprisoned one month in Newgate, and then be transported beyond the seas for the term of seven years.

DIED.—At Balnacraig, in the parish of Aboyne, aged 103, Harry Troup, a shoemaker. He had experienced no bodily complaint, and retained his senses to the last; was sober and industrious, and never above 30 miles from his own house, in which he had lived upwards of 70 years.

In Kevin-street, Dublin, aged 112, Mrs. Lindsay, formerly in a respectable situation, but, having outlived an annuity, she was latterly indebted to a subscription of the Nobility for those comforts which she had been accustomed to, and which, at her great age, were become more necessary.

JULY.

At the Old Bailey came on the trial of Robert Astlett, who, being put to the bar, 8th.

was indicted for that he being a servant of, and employed by the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, was entrusted with a certain paper-writing, called an exchequer bill, of the value of 1000*l.* and another of the same value, and a third of the same value. On the 26th of February last, he being such servant, &c. did feloniously secrete and embezzle the said exchequer bills, and did run away with them, so belonging to the said governor and company. There were no less than ten different counts to the same effect.

Mr. Garrow was counsel for the prosecutor, and Mr. Erskine for prisoner. The former stated, that the bank of England, being in the customary habit of purchasing exchequer bills on account of government, these bills are either brought to the bank by one particular house, (Goldsmid and Co.) or by the bank broker, who purchases the bills in the market. On the delivery of these to the cashier, Mr. Astlett, he gives an order for payment, and the exchequer bills remain with him till a sufficient quantity are collected together, and made up in bundles, to deliver into the custody of the directors in the parlour: these bundles are then counted, and a voucher given to the cashier on their delivery: they are placed in a strong closet, shut under three keys, and two of the keys are kept by the directors. Conformably to this practice, on the 26th day of February last, there were transferred from the custody of Mr. Astlett, the cashier, to the parlour, one bundle of

Exchequer bills, to the value
of - - - *£*. 100,000

Another, value 200,000

A third - 400,000—700,000

An entry was made in the parlour book, and its correctness was vouched by the signatures of two directors, Messrs. Smith and Puget. The entry thus vouched, was, nevertheless, afterwards found to be for bills to the amount of 200,000*l.* more than the actual value of the bundles. On this discovery it came out, that Mr. Astlett had been re-issuing some of these bills to raise money; and Mr. Bish, the Stockbroker, who had been applied to with some of them, by Astlett, suspecting all was not right, gave intimation of his suspicions to the bank, when Mr. Astlett's criminality became evident.

After Mr. Garrow had gone through his case, Mr. Erskine, in behalf of the prisoner, insisted that Mr. Jennings, who had signed these purloined Exchequer bills in the first instance, had not had the proper authority renewed to him for so doing, as required by act of parliament; and so evident was this, that government had, since the commitment of Mr. Astlett, passed an act to remedy the omission.

The Chief Baron Macdonald observed, that the charge was, for embezzling a valid bill of exchange. However great the crime in society, and the magnitude of the sum embezzled; though every one must regret the cause of it, and the effect upon society, yet it was the bounden duty of the court to determine according to the regular, ordinary, and constant course of the administration of justice. It was certainly clear the present indictment was not to be maintained, as the charge therein alledged could not be proved. The late act of parliament

ment had recognized the invalidity of the bills which the prisoner embezzled.

The other Judges concurred in opinion, and the Lord Chief Baron directed the jury to acquit the prisoner. He was accordingly found *Not guilty*.

Mr. Garrow applied to the court to detain him in custody; it being the intention of the bank directors to issue a civil process against him for 100,000*l.* and upwards, the monies paid for the bills, which he had converted to his own use.

The prisoner was dressed in a lightish brown coat, his hair full powdered. He appeared quite collected, but held his head down; never once looking up, except when the application was made to keep him in custody, when he expressed symptoms of great surprize, and looked very stedfastly at the court.

The total defalcation of Astlett, by exchequer bills purloined from the bank, amounted to 322,000*l.*; of which 191,000*l.* that had been pawned, was redeemed for 70,000*l.* So prosperous are the affairs of the bank, that there will be no reduction in the dividends on the bank stock.

9th. At 3'o clock this afternoon, an alarming fire broke out in the lantern over the choir of Westminster Abbey; which threatened destruction to the whole of the venerable fabric; but which was happily extinguished with much less damage than might have been expected.

14th. A half yearly general court of the proprietors of bank stock was this day held at the bank, for the purpose of declaring a dividend. In the course of doing this, it became necessary for the

chairman of the court of directors to state the loss which the company had sustained by Mr. Astlett. The actual loss he stated at about 320,000*l.* about 78,000*l.* had been employed in sources from which the directors think they will be able to recover, and they are determined to prosecute to that effect. On the part of the directors it was stated, that the loss by Mr. Astlett would make no alteration in the dividends. That loss amounted to nearly the entire dividends of the half year; but the affairs of the company were in so prosperous a state, that they would be able to divide as usual. The chairman then proceeded to explain, that the court of directors were not to blame for the mal-practices of Mr. Astlett, who had succeeded in making away with the effects of the bank, by interlining sums, and by calling out false sums when the property was regulated. On this subject a very detailed and satisfactory explanation was given, in which the mode of doing the business was fully described. The directors too relied on Mr. Astlett's character and long fidelity. Under all circumstances, it would have required a supernatural power to have at first detected him.

A remarkable circumstance happened in Wych- 16th. street, opposite the gate of the New Inn. About 10 this morning, a woman, decently dressed, came up to a man passing that way, and attempting to lay hold of him fell back and immediately expired. On being searched, there was nothing which could lead to a knowledge of her name, or who she was; for though some pawnbroker's duplicates were found in her

her pocket, the articles appeared to have been pledged under some other names, as the pawnbroker declared he was unacquainted with the person of the woman. She was conveyed to the workhouse, where the coroner's jury sat on Sunday last, and found a verdict, "Died by the visitation of God." The most extraordinary part of the anecdote is, that the man who was so accosted by the deceased, and who appears to have been a porter in the Brownlow-street lying-in hospital, as soon as he came home, said he had received a shock from which he should never recover, and died in the course of the day.

All the Paris journals have given publicity to the following absurd article:—"Some serious disturbances have broken out at London, occasioned by the assembling of crowds of the populace on Blackfriars bridge, in Whitechapel, and at the entrance of Catherine-street, in the Strand. They made large bonfires, for the purpose of burning Mr. Addington in effigy, of whom they had procured a striking likeness. From his mouth was suspended a label, with the following words in capital letters: "Give, give, give." The singularity and hardihood of this proceeding, drew together a prodigious crowd. The magistrates in vain endeavoured to disperse the multitude, and ran the risk of personal injury; but the arrival of some light horse relieved them from their embarrassment. The captain of the detachment endeavoured to seize the effigy, by darting through the mob, and into the fire; but scarcely had he touched it, when the cords being consumed, it fell into the blaze, while the efforts of

the officer to recover it, made him also fall into the midst of the fire, whence he was taken, after being burnt to death, amid the acclamations of the people. As Catherine-street is in the vicinity of the journalists devoted to the war faction, the populace, taking advantage of their strength, attacked the different news-paper offices, broke the windows, and would have seized the proprietors and editors, if the armed force had not interfered and dispersed them!!!

A heavy storm of rain and hail, accompanied with ²¹ft. loud peals of thunder and lightning, passed over the town of Leicester and neighbourhood, and did considerable damage. Many windows were broken by the hail, (which appeared like large pieces of ice, of all shapes and great size;) the foliage was cut from the trees in many places, and the corn much beat down. A ball of fire struck the chimney of Mr. Kinton, of Rothley, and rent it asunder; part went into the kitchen, and the other part into a room over it: a pan over the fire was forced into the middle of the kitchen, and Mr. Kinton, who was near, had his shoe stripped off one of his feet, without sustaining much injury; the wash-board was torn up, and driven to the other end of the house; a Swithland slate chimney piece in the upper room was dashed to pieces, and part forced through the head of the bed: the straw which had been put into the chimney was driven near to the bed, and had taken fire, but was fortunately discovered in time to prevent further mischief: very providentially the windows and doors were

were open, or the strong smell of sulphur left in every part of the house might have proved fatal to the family. Mr. John Murdock, farmer at Liddington, Rutland, hoeing turnips in the field, was killed by the lightning. A capital cow, in a close adjoining the village of Morcot, the property of John Clarke, Esq; was also killed by the lightning; and a barn at Littleworth-drove, belonging to Mr. Godly, set on fire and entirely consumed. The cow was found dead under a large ash tree, which was shivered in a remarkable way, nearly from top to bottom, and almost the whole of the bark forced off.

25th. The forest of Cubrofs was this day accidentally set on fire, by which an extensive range of trees have been burnt down, and many others damaged. The fire commenced about eight in the morning, pretty far west, and was occasioned by the burning of some whims at a place called Keir. The wind being south-west, it took its direction to the north-east; and at one time burned with such fierceness, as to give reason to apprehend, the whole forest would have been consumed: it, however, abated in the afternoon, and terminated in the evening.

26th. The iron railway from Wandsworth to Croydon was opened to the public for the conveyance of goods. The committee went up in waggons drawn by one horse; and, to shew how motion is facilitated by this ingenious and yet simple contrivance, a gentleman, with two companions, drove up the railway, in a machine of his own invention, without horses, at the rate of 15 miles per hour.

A meeting of the freeholders of Middlesex was 29th, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, to commemorate the anniversary of the return of its present members for the county. The meeting consisted of at least 300 freeholders, Mr. Townshend in the chair. After some popular toasts were given, Mr. Byng addressed the meeting in a very excellent speech. Sir Francis Burdett likewise addressed the meeting, in a speech which has been thought very ill-timed, at the present crisis; for among other things he said,—“ I have no hesitation in declaring, that in the present situation of the country, viewing the conduct of ministers in the light I do, I think it impossible for any honest man to come forward in their defence, or be justified in lending an assisting arm in defence of their country. If your government want sailors to perform a particular act, though on most occasions tardy justice they do them, yet they hold out something to amuse them, either the prospect of a more equal distribution of prize-money, or some other object. But when the men who furnish the means of remunerating the sailors are called upon to sacrifice their all in defence of the government, no prospect is afforded of any future relief after the contest shall be terminated. I have one short means of defence to propose, namely, to untread those steps which have been taken, undo the acts which have undone England; restore to them the laws of the land; give them their rights and liberties; let ministers do that, and there will be no occasion to force Englishmen into the ranks to fight against a foreign people.”

AUGUST.

2nd. A meeting of the freeholders was convened at the Mermaid, Hackney, to consider of an address to his Majesty on the state of affairs. Sheriff Welsh took the chair, and Alderman Skinner addressed the audience in an appropriate speech, illustrative of the object of the meeting: in the course of which he observed, that whatever little differences might prevail about internal matters, he trusted all would join in one sentiment against the common enemy. Mr. Travers proposed as an amendment in the address, that instead of "our destructive enemy," the words should be "our daring enemy, whose insatiable ambition nothing short of our destruction could gratify." A shout of applause followed, and the amendment was unanimously adopted. Sir Francis Burdett entered, and was received with murmurs and other signs of disapprobation. Alderman Curtis requested an explanation of the Baronet relative to his conduct at a late meeting; where he, Sir Francis, was charged to have introduced sentiments highly out of season; the purport of which were, that if we meant effectually to resist the foe, it should be done by restoring to the people their rights, &c. Sir F. Burdett then rose, and declared that the statement of his speech which had appeared in a certain print was an infamous libel; denied that he had ever said the people ought not to defend the country, or that he had excited the fleet to mutiny; but admitted he had said that the best mode of providing for the defence of the country was, to give the people

their just rights at home. The last ministry had so accustomed the people, by repeated infringements on their rights, to a yoke at home, as had broken the spirit of Englishmen, and prepared them for the reception of a foreign yoke. (Loud hisses.) Sir W. Curtis observed, that the worthy Baronet had by no means justified himself. It was not true that sailors were influenced to perform their duty in consequence of boons. He himself was not aware that any boon had ever been offered, except what they, as sailors, were entitled to, such as their pay and clothing, and other things of the same nature. He was certainly very sorry for the conduct of the Hon. Baronet; and must now move, "that the Sheriffs, in presenting the address, be accompanied by Mr. Byng only; which was carried *nem. con.*

Novar. Yesterday the lady of Sir Hugh Munro, 4th. of Fowlis, went to her usual place, in the Bay of Cromarty, to bathe, taking three of her servant maids along with her; and, as was always her practice, a servant was placed at a considerable distance to prevent any person from passing that way while she was bathing. Mr. Findlater, a merchant, coming near where the servant was placed, was alarmed by loud cries and shrieks, and insisted on going forward to see what was the cause, but the servant prevented him, saying he had orders to stop any person going that way, and that the cries were only occasioned by his lady and the maids ducking. Mr. F. however, not being satisfied with this, persisted in his determination, and instantly getting into a boat, made for the place, which he

he had no sooner reached, than he saw the four bodies floating on the water. He soon got them into the boat, and made for the shore. One of the servants revived when in the boat. Medical assistance was immediately procured for the lady and the other two servants; but, though every effort was made to recover them, all proved ineffectual. It is supposed that some of them had gone beyond their depth, and the others in attempting to save them shared their fate. But no positive information has yet been obtained from the survivor.

15th. This day the notorious Hatfield was tried on a charge of forgery, and convicted, at the Carlisle assizes. On being called on for his defence, the prisoner addressed himself to the jury. He said, he felt some degree of satisfaction in being able to have his sufferings terminated, as they of course must be, by their verdict. For the space of nine months he had been dragged from prison to prison, and torn from place to place, subject to all the misrepresentations of calumny. "Whatever will be my fate," said he, "I am content; it is the award of justice, impartially administered; but I will solemnly declare, that in all my transactions, I never intended to defraud or injure the persons whose names have appeared in the prosecutions. This I will maintain to the last of my life." The jury, notwithstanding the plausible defence of the prisoner, found him guilty on two indictments.—At eight on Tuesday morning, the prisoner was brought up to receive judgment; when Baron Thompson, after beseeching him to employ the remaining part of his time for eter-

nity, and hoping that he would find mercy at the hour of death, and day of judgment, pronounced sentence of *death* in the usual form. —The prisoner heard it with firmness, bowed respectfully, and was taken away from the dock, and thence to the gaol. From the evidence which transpired on the trial it appears that Hatfield is of a respectable family. He is a man of much address, and formerly himself kept his carriage in Devonshire: his motives for the extraordinary career he has lately run are rather veiled in mystery, and will most likely remain so, as no hopes of pardon were held out to him on his condemnation; and he has since, we find, been ordered for execution on Saturday the 3d of September.

A fire broke out at Chumleigh, a market town in Devonshire, twenty-two miles from Exeter, on the road to Barnstaple, Biddeford, and Torrington. It began at Mr. Ford's, soap-boiler, and extended to the whole neighbourhood, the premises being mostly thatched. It raged for about seven hours, and destroyed 100 houses; near three-fourths of the town. No lives were lost; but little property was saved. The damage is estimated at upwards of 25,000l.; and a subscription is opened for the relief of the sufferers.

DIED.—At Bourdeaux, the notorious Napper Tandy.

At Aberdeen, in his 68th year, James Beattie, LL.D. F.R.S. Edinburgh, one of the professors of moral philosophy and logic in the Marischal college, and member of several philosophical societies. This very distinguished writer was born in the county of Kincardine; studied at Aberdeen, and became a school-

schoolmaster, first at Alloa, in Fife, and afterwards in his native province. Thence he went to Aberdeen, to assist as usher in the grammar-school of that place, and, while in that situation, wrote his celebrated "Minstrel," and married the daughter of the schoolmaster. He had before published, 1761, an octavo volume of original poems and translations, reprinted in duodecimo; and, in 1766, "The Judgment of Paris, a poem," in 4to. The first book of "The Minstrel" was published in 1770, and the second in 1774. The elegance and feeling which characterize this poem, derived from Dr. Percy's Essay on the English Minstrels, prefixed to the first volume of his "Reliques of Ancient Poetry," and written in imitation of Spenser, have been generally acknowledged, and it is to be regretted that it was never finished. In his odes and elegies he took Gray for his model. His beautiful song called "The Hermit," and other poems, have also obtained him distinguished applause. Mr. Hume having severely criticized his poems, he determined to seek his revenge in the character of a Christian philosopher, who had penetrated the sophistry, and was deeply alarmed at the consequences of his reasonings. His "Essay on the Immutability of Truth, in Opposition to Sophistry and Scepticism, 1777," 4to, conciliated to him the friendship of Dr. Gregory, of Edinburgh, of Lord Lyttleton, Bp. Hurd, and particularly of Bp. Porteus. He was also honoured with the esteem of the late Lord Mansfield, of whom he has been heard to declare, that he never conversed with any person who had conceived

such clear and just ideas of his philosophy." He was promoted to a professorship in Marischal college through the favour of the noble family of Errol. Not being in holy orders, he was recommended to his Majesty for a pension, which he obtained and held for many years.

The approbation of the great characters above-mentioned, is a sufficient testimony in favour of the Essay on Truth. His manner of treating the sceptics of the day, especially Mr. Hume, gave great offence to many readers; and his work was answered by Dr. Priestley: but, from the clergy in general, it received the most decisive approbation; and they justly estimated the merit of a writer who, on this occasion, appeared an anxious promoter of the best interests of mankind, a judicious philosopher, and a pertinent and captivating reasoner. The quarto volume of "Essays" was published in that form at the desire of many of the doctor's friends, and contains a republication of the "Essay on Truth," with the addition of the other ingenious "Essays on Poetry and Music, as they affect the Mind, on Laughter, and ludicrous Composition, and on the Utility of Classical Learning," which were not originally designed for the press, but which some of those friends had seen and desired to possess; and the suffrage of the world at large has borne testimony to their taste. The "Dissertations, moral and critical, 1783," one volume 8vo, were part of a course of lectures read to a young gentleman whom it was the author's business to initiate in moral science. The subjects are, Memory and Imagination, Dreaming, the Theory of Language,

guage, Fable and Romance, the Attachments of Kindred, and Illustrations on Sublimity. They abound with criticisms, both on books and men, are enlivened by many pleasing images and scenes, as well as anecdotes, and are written in a style unaffected, simple, and perspicuous. Virtue is recommended, not in the dry and uninteresting manner of didactic system, but as she appears in human form, in all the glowing colours of every amiable and heroic affection and passion. Such views of nature are exhibited as amuse and elevate the fancy, and such plain and practical truths as serve to direct the conduct of life. The "Evidences of the Christian Religion, briefly and plainly stated, 1786," 2 vols. small 8vo, were drawn up at the particular request of the present Bishop of London. "Elements of Moral Science," 2 vols. 8vo. I. 1790, II. 1793, consist of the essence or substance of a series of lectures delivered in the duty of his professorship, comprising metaphysics, rhetoric, politics, and natural religion, as well as moral philosophy, strictly so called, and display good sense, extensive knowledge, and able reasoning. Dr. Beattie experienced a severe calamity in the death of his son, a youth of brilliant talents and promising genius, March 14, 1796. The doctor printed some Memoirs of his Life, to distribute among his numerous acquaintance, and not for general circulation.

SEPTEMBER.

2d. About half past two this morning, a dreadful fire

broke out at Astley's Amphitheatre, in consequence of the negligence of some of the persons whose duty it was to see the lights carefully extinguished. The accident originated in the repositories of the machinery and combustibles for the fire-works; and the immense quantity of inflammable materials caused the flames to rage with such incredible fury, that every effort to preserve the building was useless. Consternation pervaded all the inhabitants of the adjoining houses, called Amphitheatre-row, the back parts of which almost touch the theatre; the wretched inhabitants were seen running to and fro, nearly naked, throwing their goods out of the windows, and encreasing the horror of the scene by screams and shrieks. The same scene of misery and distress occurred in Phoenix-street, which runs parallel with Amphitheatre-row. In the latter, the destruction proved fatal, nearly twenty houses having been consumed in that street alone; and the inhabitants being all poor, and chiefly industrious mechanics, their distress may be more easily conceived than described. The most melancholy part of the accident is the loss of Mrs. Woodham. The total number of houses destroyed is nearly forty. A number of wretches plundered the unfortunate sufferers, previous to the arrival of the military.—The Royal Amphitheatre and stabling, with the scenery, wardrobe, properties, music, &c. cost Messrs. Astley 30,000l. and were insured only for 17000l. in the Phoenix office. All the horses are saved.

This day the notorious Hatfield prepared with great 3d. fortitude for his execution. After praying

praying for some time in the prison with two clergymen, he was conveyed in a post-chaise to the place of execution. When he came in sight of the tree, he said, "O! a happy sight; I see it with pleasure." Then he desired the executioner to be as expert as possible, and that he would wave an handkerchief when he was ready. The hangman then having fixed the rope, he put up his hand, and turned it himself. He also tied his cap, and took his handkerchief from his neck, and tied it about his head. At four o'clock he was turned off; and, after hanging the usual time, was conveyed to St. Mary's church-yard for interment.

15th. A man who some time ago leaped from London, Blackfriars, and Westminster bridges, into the Thames, in three quarters of an hour, undertook for a wager to perform the same exploit again. Having leaped from London Bridge into the water, he sunk and rose no more, and thus became a victim to his ill-applied courage. When the body was found, it appeared, that having gone down with his arms in a horizontal, instead of a perpendicular, position, they were both dislocated by the force of the water.

17th. *Dublin.* Yesterday evening, between six and seven, Major Sirr, attended by Hanlon, the keeper of the Tower in the Castle, surprised an offender, against whom there was an information as an insurgent, in a carpenter's shop in John-street, in the liberty where this fellow was at work. The major, on entering the place where two others were also employed, threatened that, if any should offer resistance, he would fire; this did

not deter, for the ruffian whom they wanted, finding himself nearly secured, sought for a pistol he had; on doing which, Major Sirr snapp-ed his at him, which missed fire. Hanlon immediately went to seize the fellow; but before he could, the latter fired, as did Hanlon at the same time, but he was unfortunately killed, and the desperado only shot in the left hand, where a ball lodged. The offender, with the two other persons, were seized, and lodged in the castle guard-house last night; the delinquent is a young man between 20 and 30 years of age.

Mr. Moody and Mr. Parks, two midshipmen of 21st. the Leyden, lately quarrelled slightly at Sheerness. They were, by their captain's interposition, mutually reconciled; but, within less than half an hour after, Mr. Moody taking up a pistol in the cock-pit, which he supposed not to have been loaded, sportively levelled it at Mr. Parks. Mr. Parks sunk on the floor in the agonies of death, and soon after expired.

The king's horses from 24th. Hanover, were landed at Perry's dock. They consist of nine black stallions, eleven black mares, two cream-coloured stallions, and eight mares; ten white stallions, and five mares; five mouse-coloured stallions, and one mare; and two brown mares; in all, fifty-three. There were likewise brought with them several stallions and mares belonging to the Duke of Cambridge.—With them came thirty grooms, belonging to his Majesty, from Hanover; also, his Majesty's plate, from the same place. They were sent to Cumberland Lodge, in Windsor Great Park.

A few

30th. A few days since a very serious and shocking accident happened in a timber-yard near the Adelphi. Two men were piling timber; and, as one of them was walking along a plank, his foot slipped: he was precipitated down to the ground, and instantly expired. The man who was pulling the timber up at top was also precipitated to the ground, and died the next day.

By the upsetting of a boat at Ramsgate-pier, last week, the following persons were lost: Mr. Charles Iggulden, son of John Iggulden, Esq.; Mr. Durban, chief clerk to Mr. Iggulden; Mr. Canney, a pilot; and Miss Sharpe, daughter of Mr. James Sharpe, bookseller; all of Deal. Mrs. Durban, wife of the above Mr. Durban, and one of the party, with her face downward, and apparently lifeless, was picked up, and, by timely medical assistance, recovered.

DIED.—Joseph Ritson, Esq. a conveyancer, of Gray's Inn, deputy high-bailiff of the duchy of Lancaster, and a man of information, but more to be commended for his acuteness than for his good breeding or candour. His first publication was an anonymous quarto pamphlet, of "Observations on the Three Volumes of Warton's History of English Poetry;" one of the most illiberal productions we ever recollect to have seen. He wrote, also anonymously, three sets of remarks on the Editors of Shakspeare: 1. on Mr. Steevens's edition, 1778, intituled, "Remarks, critical and illustrative, on the Text and Notes of the last Edition of Shakspeare," 8vo; 2. "The Quip modest," &c. on Mr. Reed's

republication of that edition, particularly illiberal; 3. "Curfory Criticisms," &c. on Mr. Malone's edition. He published a select collection of English Songs, in three vols. 8vo. Ancient Songs, from the time of Henry III. to the Revolution, 8vo. A volume of Pieces of Ancient Popular Poetry, 8vo. "The English Anthology," a selection of poetry, in three small octavo volumes. "Robin Hood; a Collection of all the ancient Poems, Songs, and Ballads, now extant relative to that celebrated Outlaw. To which are added, Historical Anecdotes of his Life," 2 vols. 8vo, 1795. A Collection of Scotch Songs, with the genuine Music, 2 vols. 12mo. "Biographia Poetica: a Catalogue of English Poets of the Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Centuries; with a short Account of their Works, 1801," 12mo. He put his name to "Ancient English Metrical Romances; selected and published by Joseph Ritson," 3 vols. 12mo, 1802. These two last publications are disfigured by an affectation of singularity in orthography, and are, perhaps, the least interesting of his publications.

OCTOBER.

Charles Jones, Esq. an 4th. officer in the army, and Lieutenant Best, of the 48th regiment, being in a room together at Ibbetson's Hotel, Vere-street, and preparing to set out for the country, the former took up a pistol, to shew Mr. Best how he would serve a highwayman, if they met one on their intended journey; when, unfortunately,

fortunately, the pistol went off, and killed Mr. Best. Coroner's verdict, *Accidental Death*.

The following is an account of the distances from the principal enemy's ports, to those of England and Ireland; from Brest to Galway, 180 leagues; to the Shannon, 150; to Bantry Bay, 115; to Cork and Kinsale, 100; to Plymouth, 60; to Torbay, 70; Cherbourg to Portsmouth, 26; Havre to Newhaven, 29; Abbeville to Pevensey, 27; Boulogne to Rye, 14; Calais to Dover, 7; Dunkirk to Deal and Margate, $14\frac{1}{2}$; Flushing to the Nore, 35; Helvoetsluys to Harwich, 30; Texel to Yarmouth, 36.

13th. Murdered, about eight this evening, near Throffle-ness-bridge, on the Stratford road, about a mile and a half from Manchester, Mr. James Aldred, a respectable farmer of Urmston. He had been in Manchester on that day, to receive a large sum of money (800l.) which, fortunately for his family, he lodged in the hands of two respectable attornies: and it is feared that his life was forfeited to his incautiously and imprudently mentioning the circumstance of his having such a sum to receive, in the presence of the unknown monster who committed the horrid act. The deceased, who was upwards of 72 years of age, was shot through the heart, and a part of the wadding of the charge lodged in his breast;—and, what is very extraordinary, a part of a pewter spoon was found in the body, the contents of the pistol. He was a man of a truly good and benevolent disposition; he had not more than about 13 or 14 shillings in

his pocket, of which he was plundered.

Extract of a Letter from Venice, dated October 14.—“ I send you an account of a very singular and extraordinary aerial voyage. Count Francis Zambeccari, of Bologna, Dr. Grassetti, of Rome, and M. Pasqual, of Ancona, had prepared a very large air-balloon, which on Friday, the 7th of October, they filled in the city of Bologna. The filling proceeded very slowly; it was not full till about midnight, and the above-mentioned gentlemen proposed to defer their ascent till the next day; but the impatience and clamour of the people of Bologna obliged them to ascend about three quarters after midnight. They, however, resolved to come down again as soon as possible. The balloon being set at liberty, rose with prodigious velocity, and soon attained such a height, that Count Zambeccari and Doctor Grassetti, benumbed with cold, which at the first produced an inclination to vomit, sank into a kind of insensibility and a deep sleep.

“ M. Pasqual, who alone was awake, and in possession of his senses, could not ascertain the height to which they had ascended by the barometer, because the wax-light they had carried with them in a lantern was gone out. About half after two in the morning, the balloon began to descend, and M. Pasqual distinctly heard the dashing of the waves of the Adriatic Sea on the coast of Romagna. He then awakened his companions, and endeavoured to procure a light by means of phosphoric matches, but did not succeed: he at length obtained

tained one by using tinder in the common manner. Soon after the balloon, with the car that was fastened to it, fell into the Adriatic Sea, and with so much force, that the water dashed over them above the height of a man. The Aeronauts, drenched with sea-water, benumbed with cold, and in fear of immediate destruction, threw out a bag of sand, all their instruments, and every thing they had with them; after which, the balloon rose a second time with extreme rapidity. They passed through three ranges of clouds one above the other; their clothes were covered with a hoar frost; and, on account of the rarity of the air in which they were when they had ascended above the clouds, they could scarcely hear each other speak. The moon shone on the clouds below them, and appeared of a blood-red colour. Some time after three, the balloon again descended, though very slowly, and a brisk south-west wind drove it over the Adriatic Sea towards the coast of Istria. The car frequently touched the water, and for five hours the adventurers were in momentary danger of death. At length, on Saturday morning, about eight o'clock, they were taken up, and rescued from the perilous situation in which they were, by the *manzara* (a kind of large bark) of Antony Bazol, about ten Italian miles from the harbour of Veruda, in Istria. The balloon being given to the wind, flew over the mountain Offero, and probably went into Dalmatia. The Aeronauts came in the same ship, with their hands and feet entirely benumbed with cold, to Pola, a port in Istria, where they remained four days to

recover from their fatigues. To-day, about eight in the morning, they arrived in Venice, and gave the above account of their adventures. Their aerial voyage from the coast of Romagna to Istria, is a distance of twenty German miles (about 120 English.) Had it not been for the brave seaman Antony Bazol, who very ably steered his ship to save them, they would, no doubt, have been buried in the waves. They were received here with the utmost hospitality, and do not appear to have any desire to make another aerial excursion at midnight."

The rebel general, Ruffel, 19th. was tried at Carrickfergus, and, after a trial which lasted from ten in the morning till half past eight in the evening, convicted of High Treason, and executed on Friday following.

This day being appointed for a General Fast, was observed with the utmost decorum in this great metropolis. The shops and all the public offices were shut, and the interior of every house wore the appearance of Sunday. The volunteer corps of London and Westminster, and their environs, assembled at an early hour, and proceeded to their several places of worship, where they received the instruction of appropriate sermons; and the clergy displayed, upon the occasion, a most laudable zeal to strengthen and improve those generous and manly sentiments with which their audiences were inspired.—At half past ten, St. Paul's cathedral was surrounded with spectators; and before eleven the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and other city officers, with their different insignia, attended divine worship. To this

this cathedral also repaired the Hon. Artillery Company, commanded by Alderman Le Mesurier, and consisting of upwards of 1000; the two troops of Loyal London Cavalry, commanded by Col. Anderton, and Mr. Alderman Rowcroft, their major; and the 3d regiment of Loyal London Volunteers, commanded by John Pooley Kenfington, Esq. accompanied by the Rev. Henry Budd, Chaplain to the Corps, who mustered at their head-quarters, in Bridewell-yard. At ten they marched for St. Paul's, accompanied by their band, in a most superb new uniform; the band, under the direction of Mr. Hyde, playing the Duke of York's march. The streets were so extremely crowded, that it was with the greatest difficulty, and the most vigorous exertions of the pioneers, that the band could reach the cathedral, and when they had gained admittance, the choir was not large enough to contain them; numbers went into the organ loft, and the others were obliged to remain in the aisles during the whole time of divine service. All the streets leading to St. Pauls were crowded at the early hour of eight o'clock, and remained so the whole morning. About eleven, the Lord Mayor arrived in his state carriage, accompanied by Aldermen Skinner and Boydell, the Sheriffs, and the City Officers. The crowd was so great in the cathedral, that it was difficult to make a passage for their entrance into the choir. The whole of the morning service, both at the desk and the altar, was most impressively and distinctly delivered by the Rev. John Pridden, one of the minor canons; and the sermon was preached by his lordship's

chaplain, the Rev. John Hutchins. After the sermon, the 3d regiment was assembled by companies under the dome, and the oath of allegiance administered to the officers; and afterwards to the privates, six at a time. This regiment then returned to their head-quarters in the same order they came, and were dismissed. Upon their return from St. Paul's, the London Cavalry drew up in front of the Mansion-house, where the Lord Mayor uncovered, in company with the Lady Mayorefs, returned their salute. They were then dismissed, after their horn had sounded "God save the King," and their officers partook of a refreshment at the Mansion-house. The other nine regiments attended divine service in their respective wards. The first regiment of Loyal London Volunteers, commanded by Col. Birch, marched to St. Michael's Church, Cornhill. The second regiment, commanded by Lieut. Col. John Smith, assembled at its head-quarters, Guildhall, at ten o'clock, deposited their arms, and proceeded to St. Stephen's, Walbrook. The 4th regiment went to St. Sepulchre's. The 8th and 9th regiments, not finding accommodation for themselves in large bodies, filed off into companies; and, for the most part, repaired to the churches of their respective parishes. A part of the first regiment of the East-India Company Volunteers attended at St. Mary Axe. At St. Creed's was another part of that regiment, and the Aldgate, or 7th regiment of City Volunteers, headed by Alderman Combe, their colonel. At Aldgate Church the remainder of the first regiment of East-India Volunteers, commanded by

by Adjutant Dickison; and the Portoken Volunteers, headed in the absence of Col. Shaw, who accompanied the Lord Mayor as one of the Sheriffs, by Major Pratt. The second regiment of East-India Volunteers, commanded by Mr. Dominicus, amounting to 700; the Custom-house Guards, headed by Commissioner Wilson, amounting to about 300; and part of the River Fencibles, all in full uniform, attended at Allhallows, Barking. At St. Peter's, Cornhill, the third regiment of East-India Volunteers. The Bank Volunteers attended at St. Bartholomew's, behind the Exchange. The Loyal British Artificers, to the number of about 600, attended service in Tavistock chapel. The St. Clement Danes, their own church, whence they marched up Newcastle-street, and made a most soldier-like and respectable appearance. The Cecil-street Infant Association, commanded by Capt. Bradley, also attended at St. Clement's; their number amounted to 70, and if they did not boast a warlike appearance, they did a most interesting one. The Somerset-House Volunteers went to the church of St. Mary-le-strand. The Loyal City of Westminster Volunteer Corps attended divine service at the drum-head in Westminster Hall. The service was performed by the Rev. William Dakins. The novelty of the performance of divine worship in that place attracted a very numerous congregation; among them was the Earl of Inchiquin. The Law Association attended divine service at the Temple Church, headed by their colonel, the Hon. Thomas Erskine; where a most impressive discourse was delivered by Dr. Rennell; whom a

commanding eloquence and dignified manner have long rendered an object of general respect. On the present occasion there was much solicitude expressed by many to get entrance to the church, which was crowded in all parts; and, indeed, the discourse was such as warranted the solicitude the expectation of it excited. The learned divine, after descanting upon the public evils which surrounded us, combated the opinions of ancient philosophers, that there were two distinct principles of good and evil. He shewed from holy writ, that God was the author of all evil as well as good; but in doing this, he nevertheless justified the ways of God to man. He shewed that mankind, by their wickedness, had provoked the divine displeasure, whose justice had ever been administered in the extremity of mercy; and thence took occasion to admonish his hearers that they should conciliate, by amended conduct, the favour of the deity, so that when they went forth to the protection of all that was dearer than themselves, they might have his countenance with them, whether they went to death or to glory. After church, the corps returned to the ground, when it was announced that on Saturday next they would commence firing with ball. Col. Erskine and most of the other officers were present. Afterwards the oath of allegiance was administered to them in the Temple-gardens. The St. George's Volunteers, Hanover-square, attended at their own church. The sermon was delivered by the Bishop of London's nephew. The Loyal Britons Volunteer Infantry, under the command of Col. Alexander Da-

vifon, met in their ground in Bolton-row, and, after going through various evolutions, had an excellent difcourfe delivered to them by their chaplain. The St. Giles's and St. George's, after attending divine fervice at St. Giles's, proceeded at one to the Toxopholite ground behind Gower-ftreet, where they received their colours among thoufands of fpectators. The Kenfington Volunteers, under the command of Henry Knight, Efq. their captain, after the ufual hours of parade, marched to their own church. The following corps alfo attended divine fervice at the following churches and places. The Duke of Glocefter's, at South Audley chapel. The Royal Mary-la-bonne, Upper Seymour-ftreet chapel. The Bloomsbury in the chapel in the Foundling Hofpital. The St. Pancras at the church at Somers' Town. The Highgate at Highgate church. The Riflemen, or Sharp Shooters, at St. Paul, Covent-garden. The Clerkenwell at St. James's, Clerkenwell. The Iflington at their parifh-church. The Bethnal-green at Spitalfields church. The Limehouse, the Ratcliffe, the Wapping, the St. George's in the Eaft, the Whitechapel, the St. Andrew's, Holborn, the Bermondfey, the Lambeth Affociation, the Fulham, the Hammersmith, the Roehampton, the Richmond, and the Chrift Church, Surry, each attended in their refpective churches. The Duke of York and the whole brigade of Guards attended at the Almonry chapel, Weftminfter, with the following diftinguifhed officers: Gen. Burrard, Gen. Leffie, Gen. Calvert, A. G. Gen. Brownrigg, Q. M. G. General Wynyard, D. A. G. Col. Murray, with the

Duke's Staff, the Hon. Capts. A. and T. Upton and Paget. Before and after the fervice, the Duke of York's band performed; feveral of the Guards alfo affifted in the choir. The Queen's Own, or Queen's Royal regiment of Volunteers, met in Mr. Holland's field, oppofite Sloane-ftreet, under the command of Lord Hobart. That fine corps began to afsemble after eleven. When they were all collected, and had paraded for a fhort time, they marched down to Ranelagh Houfe, where the morning fervice was read by the Rev. Weeden Butler, jun. after which the Rev. Weeden Butler, fen. Chaplain to the Duke of Kent and to the regiment, preached an eloquent difcourfe. Mr. Watts (organift to Charlotte-ftreet chapel, Pimlico), was then requested to prefide at the organ: and the whole regiment immediately fang "God Save the King," in a flow, loud, and truly folemn manner. Many of the fpectators were vifibly affected. The balconies were crowded with ladies; as were the lower boxes with gentlemen. There were about 3000 vifitors in all; and the *coup d'œil* was remarkably grand.

Such a number of corps attended this day, that it is impoffible to enumerate them. Every principal church was crowded with the ardent patriots who fill the voluntary affociations; and there can be no doubt that in the prefent temper of the people of this country, not only every other great city and town, but even the fmalleft village or hamlet throughout the ifland, evinced a proportionate degree of fervour and animation in the holy caufe. The corps who had not before taken the oath of allegiance

did

did so this day, either on their drill grounds, or in their respective churches. Among the number, upwards of 300 of the most respectable individuals of the Jewish persuasion took the oaths to government. By an order from their high priest, they were prohibited from attending in our churches during the time of divine service. The high priest, however, expressed his highest concurrence to their taking the oaths of fidelity and allegiance to our king and country. These gentlemen accordingly took the oaths, either upon the drilling-grounds of their respective corps, or in the vestry-rooms of the churches, as circumstances required. They were sworn upon the book of Leviticus, instead of the New Testament, having their heads uncovered.

26th. This was a truly proud day for the country. It presented the sublime spectacle of a Patriot Monarch, who reigns no less distinguished in the hearts of his people than on his throne, meeting the brave citizens of his metropolis, armed in defence of his crown and of the British constitution; and, with the characteristic virtue of the sons of Albion, resolved to continue free, or gloriously fall with the liberty and independence of their country. Such a spectacle is worthy of such a people; such a people are deserving the superior blessings they possess.

As soon as the light appeared, the greater part of the population of London was on the foot in every quarter, impelled by the most ardent and most laudable curiosity, to be present at this grand, interesting, and glorious scene. There was on every countenance not a

common curiosity, such as was excited by former military spectacles, when the king reviewed his soldiers: it was a deeper and more lively interest. The ties which connect our gracious sovereign with his people have been drawn closer, by the common danger with which our audacious enemy has dared to threaten both. The mutual affections which have ever united them are enhanced. Instead of those common testimonies of mutual regard, which marked their meetings on former occasions, there is now an uncommon ardour and earnestness in the salutations which his Majesty receives from the publick, and an extraordinary warmth in the manner in which he returns them, excited by the unprecedented circumstances of the times. It is a strong and solemn assurance of the people to stand or fall with their king, and of the king to stand or fall with his people. This day, therefore, must have been to his Majesty, and the people of London, the most grateful of all the solemnities which they have celebrated together. The congratulations on the escape of his Majesty from the various dangers to which his precious life has hitherto been exposed, were scenes of gladness, in which the exultation was not restrained by any serious consideration: it was a general feeling of good-natured joy, in which every disposition that was not actually savage and inhuman must have indulged. But this day's solemnity was of a far different kind. The armed citizens of London came to shew their sovereign that they were ready to shed the last drop of their blood in his defence, in defence of the constitution

and of their country: the sovereign came to behold their ardour in the glorious cause, and to evince his own. These were the motives and the feelings of his Majesty and the volunteers. The motives and the feelings of those whom sex and age and circumstances rendered mere spectators, were too manifold to describe, or even to imagine; but, though less sublime, they were probably not less interesting, nor less commendable. The fathers, children, mothers, wives, and daughters, whose dearest relations go forth to meet the danger, must be agitated with a thousand feelings of tender anxiety, which, though inferior in moral rank to those that prompt the men in arms to the field, are still much to be admired and esteemed. All shewed a feeling in proportion to their condition; all shewed a feeling equally loyal and honourable. The corps evinced their zeal, and their strict attention to their orders, by being at the ground appointed for them before the time at which their attendance was commanded.—As early as seven o'clock several of the corps entered the park at the Grosvenor and Hyde-park-corner gates. By eight o'clock all the corps stood assembled in close column of companies, in and behind the right of its own ground. A quarter-master, with the camp-colour-men of each corps, were on the ground at seven, and one of them belonging to each corps attended at the different gates to conduct his regiment to its proper point. As the corps proceeded to their different stations, each marched with its right in front, so that when it arrived at the proper point, the right division stood on the

ground it was to occupy in the line, and the other divisions were in close column behind it. The advantage of this arrangement was, that all the corps could, without the slightest confusion, deploy into line as soon as the signal was given. Soon after nine o'clock a signal gun, a twelve-pounder, was fired, and the general line was formed by deploying to the left: the line was formed at close ranks. The ranks were then extended, and the officers advanced in front. The corps that had guns stationed them on their right. The deploying into line, the forming at close ranks, and the subsequent opening of the ranks, were executed with great regularity and order, and did infinite credit to the discipline and attention of each regiment.

Majors General Finch, Burrard, Leslie, and Fitzroy, were on the ground by eight; the Earl of Harrington, who commanded the line, about the same time. About nine the Commander in Chief entered from Hyde-park-corner, with the Duke of Cambridge, and their Aides-de-Camp. They proceeded along Rotten-row towards Kensington gate. The Duke of Cumberland, in the uniform of his regiment of Light Dragoons, entered shortly after at Hyde-park-corner, and proceeded towards Kensington-gate by the carriage road. A few minutes before ten, a twelve-pounder was fired as the signal of his Majesty's approach, and immediately the whole force shouldered arms. It was not quite ten when his Majesty, in his private carriage, attended by the Duke of Kent in his uniform as General, and the Duke of Clarence in the uniform of the Teddington Association,

Association, entered the park at the Light Horse-gate at Kensington. On entering the gate, his Majesty alighted from the carriage, and mounted his charger. His Majesty then rode forward, preceded by the Life Guards, and the royal grooms, with four led horses, elegantly caparisoned. His Majesty was attended by the Princes, and followed by her Majesty, with the Princess Augusta and Princess Elizabeth, in an open landau. The Princess Sophia and the Princess Mary, with two attendants, came after in another of the royal carriages. The Princesses of the Gloucester branch afterwards joined the cavalcade, in a yellow coach. Opposite the entrance of Kensington-gardens, his Majesty was met by the Duke of York, the Earls of Harrington and Chesterfield, Generals Calvert, Stewart, Burrard, and Leslie, with Lord Peterham, Col. Macquarrie, and the whole of the Staff. As the procession advanced, it was joined, near the ring, by Monsieur, dressed in green, with red facings; the Prince de Condé, in white, faced with blue; the Duke de Bourbon, in white, faced with red; and the Duke de Berri, in green. The French Princes were on horseback, attended by several of the French noblesse, decorated with the insignia of several military orders. General Dumouriez was in their train. The whole cavalcade was closed by a party of the 13th Light Dragoons; a regiment which has now frequently the honour to be associated in guarding his Majesty. The royal cavalcade passed rapidly along the carriage-road from Kensington-gate, as far as the rear of the

Knightbridge barrack, where it turned, and crossed to the right of the line by the bottom of the Serpentine river; the piles, which are placed to prevent horses and carriages from passing that way, having been removed for the occasion. As soon as his Majesty entered the Park, a royal salute of 21 guns was fired by the guns of the Artillery company. A second cannon announced his Majesty's arrival at the centre of the line. The officers immediately saluted, the corps presented arms, and the bands played "God save the King." Immediately afterwards a third cannon was fired, and the corps shouldered and then supported arms. His Majesty now proceeded to the right of the line, and passed along from right to left, each corps carrying arms as his Majesty arrived near the right of the corps. Whilst his Majesty passed along the front, the music played a variety of martial tunes. The grandest part of the spectacle was when his Majesty descended the hill, to re-pass, at the bottom of the Serpentine, to the corps on the left of the line, which were stationed along the footway to Kensington-gardens, with their front towards the water. By this time, the fog, which had dimmed the splendour of the scene in the earlier part of the day, was in some degree dispelled, and the whole of the royal procession, as well as the immense crowd that followed in the train, had become tolerably conspicuous. A sight so grand, and so delightful, is seldom seen. The whole of the ground in the rear of the Royal train was covered to the summit of the hill with women elegantly

elegantly dressed, interspersed with volunteers, and officers in uniform; and, according as they descended, fresh numbers appeared on the summit ready to assume their places, till their progress was stopped at the Serpentine, to prevent the way from being choaked for his Majesty's return. There was not the same opportunity of discerning persons of rank in this crowd as on ordinary occasions; from the attention to general accommodation, which so properly marked the general orders; no carriages, horses, or servants, were admitted within the lines; and, from the absence of those appendages of wealth and condition, it was difficult to distinguish individuals. All that could be seen was, that the women within the line were chiefly in white dresses, and the men, with the exception of a few naval officers, sharpshooters, and volunteer cavalry, in red. The general *coup d'œil* was grand beyond description. His Majesty, having passed to the extremity of the line, returned again by the Serpentine, and took his position in the centre. Then, on the signal of the seventh gun, three volleys were fired by battalions from the centre to the flanks; and on the firing of the eighth gun, three loud, universal, and unanimous cheers were given, with hats and hands waving in the air, drums beating, and music playing "God save the King." On the firing of the ninth gun, the whole of the corps wheeled backwards on their left, by divisions; and, having passed his Majesty in the order prescribed by the general instructions, proceeded by the most con-

venient way to their different quarters. The review being over at 20 minutes past one, the Royal Party, with the Foreign Princes, and the generals, returned again from the position which his Majesty had taken in the centre of the Park, by the Serpentine, and along by Rotten-row, to Piccadilly gate, from which they crossed over, and went on to Buckingham-house, followed all the way by the immense crowd. Being no longer restrained by the military employed in keeping the lines, the people ran in all directions, to indulge their affection for their Sovereign, with a view of his beloved person. The air resounded with their shouts; and his Majesty shewed the deepest sense of their loyalty, as well by the satisfaction which was visible in his countenance, as by pulling off his hat, and giving other marks of his reciprocal feelings. Never was such a concourse known with so little inconvenience. No one accident occurred: indeed, the only thing from which any accident could have been apprehended was, the extreme eagerness with which the crowd ran wherever his Majesty could be seen; their impetuosity was such, on these occasions, as to break through the best-fenced inclosures of the Park, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the troops employed in keeping the ground could stop them, though the goodness of the motive produced no relaxation in the enforcement of this very necessary duty. On the return of the corps, after the review, about half past one, all the windows in the streets through which they were

to pass, were crowded with ladies. The principal houses in Piccadilly and Park-lane were filled with persons of the first distinction, as were those of St. George's-row, leading to Bayswater, and several in Oxford-street. The small houses at the gate to Hyde-park, and the rails to the very top, had a most singular appearance from the number of persons who had climbed to the top of them. Piccadilly was thronged with carriages of every description, none but those of Ambassadors and Princes being suffered to enter the Park. With a similar laudable vigilance, carriages were excluded from Park-lane, Hereford-street, Green-street, Grosvenor-street, Mount-street, and Brook-street. It is owing to this precaution, that such an immense concourse was enabled to view this sublime sight, without a single accident. Among the persons who attracted most notice in the park, was Elfi Bey, who followed, though, from etiquette, he could not join in the royal cavalcade. The Bey was in his carriage, accompanied by his Majesty's and his own interpreter, and his aid-de-camp. His servants were dressed in scarlet and gold, with green cuffs and collars, gold epaulets, plain cocked hats, with gold loop and button, and high white feather. The whole number of spectators, and men in arms, could not be less than 200,000; every person who could come from within a circle of 20 miles being collected. Many came to town from a distance of above 100 miles, to be present at the sight. The trees, the house-tops, every position from which curiosity could satisfy itself, was

eagerly taken possession of. If we were to enumerate the minute particulars which were observed with interest in every particular spot, the task would be endless, and the detail fatiguing. It was altogether a day on which we have to congratulate London and the empire at large: it was a day which afforded the most glorious sight ever witnessed, without a single thing to excite the smallest regret.

The Volunteer Corps reviewed this day were, the Loyal London Volunteer Cavalry, 217 effective men; Hon. Artillery Company, 994; 1st Regiment of Royal East India Volunteers, 640; 2d ditto, 636; 3d ditto, 585; 1st Regiment of Loyal London Volunteer Infantry, 737; 2d ditto, 657; 3d ditto, 804; 4th ditto, 790; 5th ditto, 501; 6th ditto, 647; 7th ditto, 404; 8th ditto, 777; 9th ditto, 651; 10th ditto, 587; 11th ditto, 293; 1st Regiment of Tower Hamlets, 350; White-chapel, 445; Mile End, 333; St. George in the East, 230; Radcliffe, 183; Shoreditch, 294; Bromley St. Leonard, 175; Bethnal Green, 166; St. Katherine, 121; and Christ Church Volunteers, 184. Total 12,401.

The eclat with which the grand review of the London district of Volunteers went off on Wednesday, excited a laudable ambition in the breasts of the Westminster, Lambeth, and Southwark corps, to surpass, if possible, their brethren in arms, in discipline, in zeal, and military appearance. So great was the anxiety of some corps, that the majority of the men never laid down in the course of the preceding night, the whole

of which was spent in preparation; and even of those who did, few, it may be presumed, enjoyed a wink of sleep. At six, the corps were mustered in their respective drill-grounds, and at that time there was every prospect of a fine bright day; but the appearance soon changed, and an approaching fog seemed resolved that the Western district should have no advantage of weather over the Eastern district reviewed on Wednesday. The fog, however, not content with equalling that of Wednesday, increased to such a degree, that at half past seven, not a single object could be seen in the Park, and several of the corps would have passed by Oxford-street-gate, had they not been stopped by a party of Life-guards stationed there to guard the entrance. The eager expectation which ushered in the morning, now changed to fearful anxiety. It was too dark to observe the expression of the countenance; but every body, in tones of despondency, began to express their apprehensions that all the beauty of the military spectacle would be lost, and that a glimpse of the troops could not be obtained, much less a full view of them, and the embellishments of the scene. The houses, scaffolds, carts, caravans, and carriages of all descriptions, drawn up for the accommodation of spectators along the Baywater-road, instantly began to drop their prices; and would have fallen still lower had not the fog fortunately begun to clear away about half past eight, when the business of the day again assumed a chearful aspect, and the spectators eagerly assembled in

amazing crowds, and to a still greater extent than on Wednesday. The same excellent regulations to preserve order were observed as those which were adopted upon that day. The Park was shut up all night, and the gates were not opened for the admission of the populace until eight o'clock, at which time the corps began to arrive. From that hour until 10 o'clock the crowds at Piccadilly-gate were so great, that the pressure became intolerable; many persons, it was feared, would be crushed or trampled to death, in the immense tide which endeavoured to force itself through the side-gates, the only ones for admission. In this situation Jones, the Bow-street officer, under whose care the gate was, perceiving the imminent danger of the multitude pressing in upon the Piccadilly side, occasionally opened the main gates, and thus relieved the dreadful pressure. The parties stationed here and at the other gates to preserve order, consisted of detachments of the guards, patrols, and the Bow-street officers, except Townsend and Sayers, who attended their Majesties. As each corps entered, the party of guards at the gates shouldered arms; and as the colours passed, they presented arms. The corps immediately in the vicinity of the Park did not experience so much inconvenience from the darkness of the morning as those at a distance, who were obliged to muster earlier. From the lowness of their situation, the fog lay heaviest upon Lambeth and Southwark; and, though this circumstance was unfavourable to the scene as a spectacle, it was the source

source of much interest and variety.

The regiments reviewed this day were, the London and Westminster Light Horse Volunteers, 727 effective men; Westminster Regiment of Volunteer Cavalry, 225; Southwark Troop of Yeomanry, 69; Clerkenwell Cavalry, 46; Lambeth ditto, 40; St. George's regiment of Volunteer Infantry, 663; St. James's ditto, 954; Bloomsbury and Inns of Court ditto, 929; Royal Westminster ditto, 961; Prince of Wales's ditto, 640; St. Margaret's and St. John's, 625; Loyal North Britons, 286; Mary-la-Bonne, 905; Law Association, 335; Duke of Gloucester's, 462; the Somerset Place, 380; the St. Giles's and St. George's, 605; the Clerkenwell, 701; Loyal British Artificers, 542; the Loyal Britons, 127; St. Andrew and St. George's, 514; 1st and 2d battalion of Queen's Royal, 926; the Knightsbridge, 124; the St. Clement's Danes, 245; 1st Surrey, 515; the St. Sepulchre, 174; the St. Saviour's, 151; the Loyal Southwark, 545; Lambeth, 555; Christchurch, 171; St. John's, 138; St. Olave's, 116; Rotherhithe, 158; Duke of Cumberland's Corps of Volunteer Sharp Shooters, 84; and the Gray's Inn Corps of Volunteer Riflemen, 38. Total 14,676.

The total number of troops inspected amounted, on both days, to 27,077: but in many instances a fourth part of the corps were absent on business or otherwise; and we understand that the returns of the effective strength of the several battalions, rendered some weeks before, made the number of Volunteers within the city to exceed

35,000. The corps in the vicinity of the metropolis, as the Hackney, Pancras, Fulham, Hampstead, Islington, Camberwell, Wandsworth, &c. exceed 11,000, making in the whole a force of 46,000 men.

The King arrived at the Knightsbridge harracks, from Kew, about ten o'clock, accompanied by her Majesty and the Princesses; and soon after entered the Park, preceded by a troop of horse, and surrounded by the Dukes of York, Clarence, and Cumberland, and a number of officers on horseback. The procession moved across the head of the Serpentine river, up to the centre of the Park. The fog now began to disperse, and the sight became truly magnificent, as the cavalcade could be seen passing the lines to the distance of three quarters of a mile. After the King had inspected the line, the whole formed into companies, and passed his Majesty in review, precisely in the same manner as the London Corps on Wednesday last; and then retired in quick time. It is but justice to observe, that the regularity of the firing, on both occasions, did infinite credit to so numerous a body. The multitude was beyond conception great, particularly females; and it seemed as if the whole non-military population of the metropolis had come forward in honour of their defenders. The following general orders were issued, from the office of the Commander in Chief, to the commanding officers of the several Volunteer Corps:

“ Horse Guards, Oct. 29..

“ His Royal Highness the Commander in Chief has received the King's command to convey to several Volunteer and Associa

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Corps which were reviewed in Hyde Park on the 26th and 28th instant, his Majesty's highest approbation of their appearance, which has equalled his Majesty's utmost expectation. His Majesty perceives, with heartfelt satisfaction, that the spirit of loyalty and patriotism, on which the system of the Armed Volunteers throughout the kingdom was originally founded, has risen with the exigencies of the times, and at this moment forms such a bulwark to the Constitution and Liberties of the country, as will enable us, under the protection of Providence, to bid defiance to the unprovoked malice of our enemies, and to hurl back, with becoming indignation, the threats which they have presumed to vent against our independence, and even our existence, as a nation. His Majesty has observed with peculiar pleasure, that, amongst the unprecedented exertions which the present circumstances of the country have called forth, those of the capital of his United Kingdom have been eminently conspicuous. The appearance of its numerous and well-regulated Volunteer Corps, which were reviewed on the 26th and 28th instant, indicates a degree of attention and emulation, both in officers and men, which can proceed only from a deep sense of the important objects for which they have enrolled themselves, a just estimation of the blessings we have so long enjoyed, and a firm and manly determination to defend them like Britons, and transmit them, unimpaired, to our posterity. The Commander in Chief has the highest satisfaction in discharging his duty, by communicating these his Majesty's most gracious sentiments, and re-

quests that the Commanding Officers will have recourse to the readiest means of making the same known to their respective corps.

“FREDERIC,
“Commander in Chief.”

DIED.—2d. At New-York, in his 82d year, Mr. John Adams, one of the first promoters of the American Revolution. The bells of the town tolled for half an hour; and clergy, state officers, public functionaries, and foreign consuls, were invited, by public advertisement, to attend the funeral procession. By his death the American States have lost one of the oldest, most firm, and moderate supporters of their independence, and England one of its most steady friends in that country. After the death of the great Washington, the English party looked up to Adams as their chief, though, at the age of 82, at which he died, the energies of most men are ended. Mr. A. was the first American ambassador in this country, where, with a true Republican simplicity, and in a manner suitable to the embarrassed finances of his country, he resided in the first floor of a bookseller in Piccadilly, and afterwards as a lodger in Leicester-fields. He was a man of considerable abilities; and his “History of Republicks,” if not a first-rate production, is full of information, and, among the latter efforts of that species of literature, ranks high. Mr. A. died justly regretted and esteemed by all wise and moderate men.

18th. At his apartments in Greenwich hospital, after a few days illness of a paralytic stroke, in his 51st year, John Willett Payne, Esq. rear-admiral of the Red,

Red, vice-admiral of the coasts of Devonshire and Cornwall, treasurer of Greenwich hospital, comptroller of the household of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and lord warden of the Stannaries. The professional and private character of this gentleman have long stood so high in the public estimation that they can gain no addition by any eulogy. He began his career in the navy about the year 1769, on board the *Quebec*, of 32 guns, commanded by Lord Ducie; served as midshipman on-board the *Eagle*, of 64 guns, bearing the flag of Earl Howe, in the American war; whence he was made lieutenant, and promoted to the rank of post-captain July 8, 1780; and distinguished himself on several occasions, particularly by his action in the West Indies, 1783, with a ship of very superior force, the *Pluto*. He also commanded the *Russell*, one of the ships in Earl Howe's memorable action on the 1st of June, 1794. He was appointed Rear-Admiral of the Red, Feb. 14, 1799; and in the following year, on the resignation of Lord Bridport, succeeded him in the office of Treasurer of Greenwich Hospital. He had the honour to convey the Princess of Wales to England, in the *Jupiter*, of 50 guns. The high station which this officer has long occupied with so much credit in the Prince's household, afforded scope for the talents and courtesy of manners which he possessed in an eminent degree. His judgment was prompt and correct; his wit, though brilliant, was never severe; and his benevolence, though unbounded, was never exposed to the glare of day. The prevailing fea-

ture in his character was an uniform mildness and good-will for all. —On the 25th, the remains of this worthy and gallant officer were interred in the vault at the north-west corner of St. Margaret's church, Westminster, with unusual tokens of respect, and marks of honour. The procession, from Greenwich Hospital, to the place of burial, consisted of an hearse, three mourning-coaches with six horses each, and all the customary accompaniments of funeral grandeur. This last ceremony of respect to the corpse of a departed officer was attended by a very long train of nobility and gentry in their carriages, and would have been still farther dignified by the personal attendance of the Prince of Wales, had not the anxious sollicitations of his friends prevented his Royal Highness, who has, for several years past, honoured the deceased Admiral with peculiar marks of his royal friendship and esteem. To give every public proof of the interest taken by the heir apparent to the Crown in this last and serious duty, the equipage of the Prince manifested all the signs of royal respect: it consisted of his Royal Highness's coach (in which were Gen. Hulse, Col. McMahon, and Mr. Tyrwhitt) drawn by six horses, and accompanied by five out-riders, who, with the coachman and footmen, were all dressed in their state liveries, and wore the usual sable insignia of mourning. All the equipages bore similar emblems; and the whole appearance of the solemnity was equally dignified and serious. The service was performed in an admirable and pathetic manner by the Rev. J. S. Clarke, chaplain of the household

to the Prince of Wales. A great concourse of people crowded the church, and joined in lamenting the loss of a gallant servant of the public, and a meritorious defender of his country and the illustrious family on its throne.

NOVEMBER.

10th. A grand entertainment was given to his Excellency Elfi Bey, and a number of other distinguished visitors, by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.—The conversation turning upon the very excellent equestrian powers of the Mamelukes and the Turks, the Prince, in his usual style of affability, said, “I have now in my stud an Egyptian horse, so wild and ungovernable, that he will dismount the best horseman in the whole Bey’s retinue.” The Bey replied in Italian to the Prince —“I shall gratify your Royal Highness’s curiosity to-morrow.” An appointment consequently took place the next day at two o’clock, in the Prince of Wales’s riding house, Pall-mall; when the Bey, in company with Colonel Moore, his interpreter, and Mahomet Aga, his principal officer, a young man of apparent great agility, entered the riding-house, where the Prince and his royal Brothers waited, attended by several noblemen, to witness the management of the horse, which never before could be ridden by any body. One of the Mameluke’s saddles being fixed by the grooms, the animal was led out of the stable into the riding-house, in so rampant and unmanageable a state, that the gentlemen

present concluded no one would ever attempt to mount him. There never was a greater model of beauty. He is spotted like a leopard, and his eyes were so fiery and enraged, as to indicate the greatest danger to any one who dared to mount him. Being led round the boundary, Mahomet Aga made a spring, seized him by the reins, and in an instant vaulted on the back of the animal, which, finding itself incumbered by a burden that it never before felt, and goaded by the tightness of the Egyptian saddle, gave loose to his passion, and, in the height of ferocity, plunged, but in vain, in every direction. The Mameluke kept his seat during this proud distraction of the horse, for more than twenty minutes, to the utter astonishment of the Prince and every beholder; and the apparently ungovernable animal was at last reduced to so tame and accommodating a state, as to yield to the controul of the very able rider who had thus subdued him. The Prince expressed himself highly gratified; greatly complimented the officer for his equestrian skill; and, after retiring to Carlton House, ordered some refreshment, when Elfi Bey and his retinue departed, not a little proud of the display of their easy victory.

A dreadful scene happened this night at *Whit- 11th.*
stable, near the oyster-ground. The boat of the gun-brig called the Hackett, with ten men in it, was going to Faversham, but the weather being bad, they returned; and going along-side of the ship, the sails of the boat backed, and in a moment she upset. Seven out of the crew were drowned; one of the other three swam to the stern of the

the ship, and saved his life; the other two swam to the buoy, called the cullinbin buoy, and were taken off by another boat that belonged to the jolly boat. Amongst the sufferers were the doctor and a midshipman, two fine men. The ship fired guns of distress, and hoisted a black flag.

13th. A most beautiful vivid meteor descended this evening, about eight o'clock; taking a south-west direction, and the whole atmosphere, for the instant, appeared illumined with a vivid flame of blue light. Its appearance was exactly that of a firework, called a Bengal light, of a bright blue flame; it was not so large as has been stated, nor was its appearance accompanied by any heat or noise. This phenomenon is not calculated to excite that terror and dread which in the dark ages of superstition, the designing were wont to raise. A comparison of well authenticated facts authorises a conclusion that similar events are by no means uncommon; but by happening in the day-time, or after the inhabitants have, in general, retired to rest, they are observed but by few; and the relation, if made, disregarded; and it is perhaps as much owing to the time of the evening in which this meteor appeared, as to its magnitude and brilliancy, that it has excited so much curiosity. From the circumstance of its appearance at *Dover, Cranbrook, Chelmsford, Lewes, Brightelmstone, and Southampton*, compared with its appearance in *London*, it seems that the body which occasioned this light was moving with incredible swiftness at a vast height above the

earth, in a direction nearly west or south-west, and in a line passing to the southward of the coast of Essex. It was expected in due course of time, to be seen in France, and probably further in a south-west direction, and in the contrary direction across England, Wales, and perhaps Ireland. It was observed near the Horseguards, in Westminster, to pass about 28 or 30 degrees to the southward of the Zenith, and about 28 or 29 minutes after the hour of eight by that clock, which is well and constantly regulated to true or near time; the whole time which the light occasioned by the meteor lasted, was not estimated to exceed five or six seconds. From the great height at which this meteor was moving, and its great velocity, little expectation was entertained of hearing of its fall, or of any of those masses of iron and stony matters which have, in so many well-authenticated instances, fallen from the atmosphere, and buried themselves in the earth, or the bursting or extinction of many similar meteors.

As the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Webber were sitting 21st. in their parlour at *Batheaton* parsonage, Somerset, about eight o'clock in the evening, there came on a hail-storm, attended with lightning, when instantly the window-shutters burst open; the window was shattered to pieces, and two slate stones were driven into the apartment. The house had been struck in three directions, east, west, and south. It was totally stripped of the thatch, some of which was carried by the violence of the wind to a very great distance.

tance. Twelve out of fifteen windows, which were in the house, were literally shivered to atoms; and the lightning melted the lead in one of the chamber-windows. The roofs of a barn, stable, and many other out-houses, were blown in and destroyed. The roof of the church was slightly struck. Many trees were rooted up and carried to some distance. One large apple tree was thrown to the distance of twenty-four feet. Providentially no lives were lost. The lightning continued very vivid, with very little intermission, the whole night.

DIED.—At Curacloe, near Wexford, in Ireland, Mr. John Tute. Though in his 110th year, he possessed an unusual degree of chearfulness and activity, not often found in men of half his age.

DECEMBER.

1st. A sad accident happened during a gale in the middle of last week. Seven pilots belonging to the island of Agnes, perished near the Land's End. A Guernsey cutter privateer, with a Dutch East India ship, her prize, approached the islands; but, having lost her rudder, it was not practicable, the day the pilots got on board, from the wind and tide not being sufficiently favourable, to bring her into either of the harbours at these Isles; she was, therefore, brought to anchor as near as possible on the outside. During the night, the wind became more adverse, so that they were

constrained to slip or cut; but, as each vessel had a pilot on board, the boat with the other five men kept them company; but, the gale increasing, and shifting to a different point, they were all driven off the harbour of St. Ives, where we hear both ship and cutter now are in safety. The men then all took the boat, with hopes of regaining home; but, the weather growing worse, and they not being perfectly acquainted with that coast, were observed from the land all to perish, without the possibility of assistance.

About two o'clock in the morning a fire was discovered 7th. in the long range of auction-rooms, manufactories, and warehouses, between Frith-street and Dean-street, Soho. On the first alarm, the manufactory of Jackson and Moser, furnishing-ironmongers, and the workshops of Jamefon and Willis, coach-makers, appeared to be in flames. The drums of the St. James's and of the Royal Westminster Volunteers immediately beat to arms, and detachments from each corps hastened with the most commendable alacrity to lend their assistance in subduing the flames, and in protecting the property of those persons who were suffering from this calamity. About three, the sight that presented itself was truly awful, no less than ten houses in that street being all at once in flames, without the smallest possible chance to save one; and the fire spreading still farther, and threatening destruction to Dean-street, which runs in a parallel line with Frith-street. At this time the streets were crowded with the engines belonging

ing to the different fire-offices, besides several private engines, the whole of which were rendered useless for nearly three hours and a half before there could be any water procured, excepting what was carried in buckets from the opposite houses. As soon as a sufficient supply was procured, by the alacrity of the firemen the flames were almost immediately arrested. At day-light the fire was exhausted, and the picture was truly deplorable — furniture of all kinds promiscuously heaped together, whilst the streets were filled with different other articles saved from destruction; the feathers flying about gave it the appearance of a snowy morning, whilst the volunteers and firemen were above their shoes in water. At nine o'clock the engines ceased playing, the whole being then only a heap of smoking rubbish. The volunteers kept on guard the whole of Friday. The concourse of spectators from all parts of the town was very great; none, however, were permitted to go through the streets. Nine houses were completely destroyed, and ten others materially injured, as well as several in Dean-street.

14th. This morning about half-past two, a fire was discovered in the dwelling-house of Mr. Thomas Stacey, at Ringwood, from whence the flames were rapidly communicated to the dwelling-houses of W. Rabbits, W. Pearce, Miss Street, and J. Morgan, all of which were in a short time consumed. On the first alarm that Mr. Stacey's house was on fire, the inhabitants hastened to lend their assistance in subduing the flames, and in protecting the pro-

perty of the sufferers. Mr. Stacey caught his infant in his arms, forced through the smoke, and desired his wife to follow him; but the poor woman, unfortunately, perished in the attempt. Her remains were afterwards dug out of the ruins. Great part of the premises and stock were insured.

This morning, between 24th. three and four, a poor man, employed at Mr. Elliot's brew-house, Pimlico, fell into the copper of boiling liquor, and was scalded to death before he could be got out. He has left a wife pregnant, and four small children.

During the severe hurricane of this day, the tops of 25th. many chimneys in the metropolis were blown down, and some houses were nearly unroofed. There was no walking in the streets with safety. Many passengers were hurt by the falling of tiles. The casement of a window-light blew down from the garret window of the Flying-horse, Lambeth-street, Whitechapel, on the head of a child who was passing at the time, and fractured its skull. The infant was immediately taken to the hospital, but without hopes of recovery. A boy about eight years old, crossing the upper end of Park-street, was forcibly carried, by a sudden gust, to some considerable distance, and by its continued violence rolled several times over along the ground before he could be taken up; in the fall his under lip was shockingly lacerated through to the chin, and the whole of his face very much bruised: he was carried to a surgeon in North Audley-street. A stack of chimneys in St. James's-place was blown

blown down; they fell over the parapet into the street, but happily no person was passing at the time. Another stack in Norris-street, Haymarket, was blown down. About the same time, the parapet of the front of a public-house in Sutton-street, Soho-square, had the same mischance, attended by similar circumstances. Much damage has been done upon the river. Between Blackfriars and London bridges, four wherries were over-set and sunk. Two coal-barges broke from their moorings, and drove upon the starlings of London bridge, where they were dashed to pieces by the impetuosity of the waves; fortunately no persons were on board. The small vessels appointed for the conveyance of the volunteers and impressed seamen from the Tender, stationed off the Tower, to the Nore, were unable to proceed farther than Limehouse. The men were accordingly taken out at that place, and conveyed to their destination in vessels better calculated to combat the storm. A large tier of ships were driven from their moorings at Shadwell, and received much injury. Every other part of the river has suffered, more or less, from the same cause. In the Wet Docks, in the Isle of Dogs, though several prize-ships broke from their moorings by the badness of their own tackling, the mooring-stones remained perfectly steady, as did all the ships that were properly moored. Some trifling damage was done to the copper roofs lately fixed on one or two of the new warehouses, and to the shed upon the North Quay.—Almost every unfinished new building along the Sussex coast has been levelled with the ground; and

chimneys, to the great annoyance and danger of the inhabitants, have been precipitated through the roofs, and many of them have made their way to the ground floor. A considerable part of the antient wall which surrounds the old park at Canonbury, with the embankment thrown up for the ball-firing of the London Volunteer Corps, were levelled with the ground; and part of the Royal Standard was blown from Windsor Castle.

DIED.—1st. At his house at Battersea Rise, Surrey, in his 69th year, of a dropical complaint, to which he had been for some time subject, Thomas Astle, Esq. F.A.S. 1763, F.R.S. 1766, a gentleman well known for his extensive and accurate acquaintance with the history and antiquities of his country; keeper of the records in the Tower, and late one of the keepers of the paper-office; trustee of the British Museum, where, when a young man, he was employed to make an index to the Harleian Catalogue of MSS.; F.R.S. Edinb. Reg. Scient. Soc. Island. Soc. Antiq. Cassel. & Soc. Volsorum Velitris sod. honorar. He was son of Mr. Daniel Astle, keeper of Needwood forest, in the county of Stafford, who died 1774, and was buried in Yoxall church, where a neat mural monument is erected to his memory (see it in Shaw's History of Staffordshire, I. 101); and who appears to have been descended from a family of that name resident at, and lords of, the manor of Fauld, in Hanbury parish adjoining the seat of Burton, the Leicestershire antiquary. Mr. A., about 1763, obtained the patronage of Mr. Grenville, then first Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor

cellor of the Exchequer, who employed him as well in his public as private affairs; and joined him in a commission with the late Sir Joseph Ayloffe, Bart. and Dr. Ducarel, for superintending the regulation of the public records at Westminster. On the death of his colleagues, Mr. Topham was substituted; and both were removed by Mr. Pitt during his administration. In 1765 he was appointed receiver-general of six-pence in the pound on the civil list. In 1766 he was consulted by the committee of the House of Lords concerning the printing of the antient records of parliament. To the superintendence of this work he introduced his father-in-law Mr. Morant; and, on his death, in 1770, was himself appointed by the House of Lords to carry on the work; a service in which he was employed till its completion, five years afterwards. He was then appointed, on the death of Henry Rooke, Esq. his Majesty's chief clerk in the record office in the Tower of London; and, on the decease of Sir John Shelley, he succeeded to the office of keeper of the records. Mr. A. was several times on the Continent on literary pursuits. His publications were numerous and scientific.

17th. At Llanfihangel, in Monmouthshire, in his 103d year, Mr. John Powell. About twelve months before his death he often walked ten miles a day. He retained his faculties to the last; and could see to read the smallest print without glasses.

BIRTHS for the Year 1803.

- Jan. 9. Lady Erroll, a daughter.
 11. Marchioness of Bute, a son.
 16. Viscountess Powerscourt, a daughter.
 Countess of Limerick, a daughter.
 22. Lady William Russell, a daughter.
 24. Lady Le Despencer, a daughter.
 25. Lady Hervey, a son.
 28. The Lady of the Hon. J. T. Capel, a son.
 30. Lady Clifford, a son.
 Lately, the Countess of Brandon, a son.
 Lady Mary Murray, a daughter.
 Lady Charles Fitzroy, a daughter.
 The Lady of the Hon. Capt. Ramsay, of the 92d foot, a daughter.
 The Lady of the Hon. and Rev. Dr. Marsham, a daughter.
- Feb. 5. Hon. Mrs. Baird, wife of Lieut. Col. B., a son.
 6. The Countess of Ilchester, a son.
 Lady Robert Fitzgerald, her sixth daughter and eighth child.
 7. Lady Mulgrave, a daughter.
 8. The Hon. Mrs. Poyntz, a daughter.
 The Hon. Mrs. Parker, a daughter.
 9. Viscountess Southwell, a daughter.
 11. The Hon. Mrs. Smith, a Son.



- Feb. 12. Lady Charles Somerset, a son.
 14. The Hon. Mrs. Spencer Percival, Lady of the Attorney-General, a son.
 18. Hon. Mrs. Ryder a daughter.
 20. The Queen of Prussia, a Princess.
 Lady Blaney, a son.
 24. The Lady of the Hon. Sir Edward Carrington, a son.
 25. The Lady of the Hon. John Bridgman, a son.
 28. The Lady of the Hon. Col. W. Mordaunt Maitland, a son.
 Lately, Lady Stanley, a son and heir.
 The Lady of the Hon. G. Villiers, a daughter.
 The Lady of the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Twissleton, a daughter.
- March 1. Lady Paget, a son.
 3. Viscountess Middleton, a daughter.
 4. The Lady of the Hon. St. George Caulfield, a daughter.
 13. The countess of Cork, a son.
 16. The Duchess of Manchester, a daughter.
 24. The Lady of the Bishop of St. Asaph, a son.
 Lady Elizabeth Loftus, a son.
 31. The hereditary Princess of Mecklenburg Schwerin, a Princess.
 Lately, Lady H. St. George, a daughter.
- April 6. The Lady of the Hon. James Abercromby, a son.
- April 10. Lady C. Drummond, a son.
 12. Countess of Berkeley, a daughter.
 25. Lady William Beauclerk, a son.
 The Lady of Lord Viscount Brome, a daughter.
 29. Lady G. H. Cavendish, a daughter.
- May 2. Lady Leslie, a daughter.
 4. Lady Catherine Graham, a daughter.
 5. Lady Sefton, a daughter.
 Countess Sutherland, a son.
 26. The Hon. Mrs. Boyle, a daughter.
 30. The Lady of the Right Hon. Denis Browne, a son.
- June 8. Lady Henry Steward, a son and heir.
 12. Lady Mary Myers, a son.
 16. The Countess of Albemarle, a daughter.
 24. Lady Morpeth, a daughter.
 25. Viscountess Boyle, a daughter.
 26. The Lady of the Hon. and Rev. Thomas de Grey, a daughter.
 28. Lady Cathcart, a son.
- July 2. Lady Sinclair, a son.
 The Lady of the Hon. Lawrence Dundas, a daughter.
 5. Lady Viscountess Ashbrooke, a daughter.
 7. Lady Charlotte Gould, a son and heir.
 12. Lady Louisa Rodney, a daughter.

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| <p>July 17. The Hon. Mrs. Bentick, wife of Governor B., a son and heir.</p> <p>25. Lady A. M. Cotton, a son.</p> <p>27. Viscountess Dunlow, a son and heir.
Lately, Lady Maxwell, a son.</p> <p>29. The Lady of Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough, their tenth child.</p> <p>Aug. 8. Viscountess Kirkwall, a son and heir.</p> <p>12. The Marchioness of Winchester, a son and heir.</p> <p>13. Lady Pelham, a daughter.</p> <p>14. Lady Sarah Bailly, a son.</p> <p>16. Lady Jane Long, a son.</p> <p>17. The Hon. Mrs. Bernard, a daughter.
The Lady of the Hon. Archibald Macdonald, a son.</p> <p>Sept. 4. The wife of Col. Lowther, a daughter.</p> <p>13. The Countess of Mansfield, a daughter.</p> <p>14. The Hon. Mrs. Dundas, a daughter.</p> <p>19. The Queen of Sardinia, two Princesses, whom the Pope baptized on the following day, by the names of Maria Theresa, and Marianna.</p> <p>22. Lady Augusta Leith, a son.
Lady Douglas, a son.
Lady Elizabeth Lowther, a son.
Lady Hunloke, a son.
The Hon. Mrs. King, a daughter.
Lady Southampton, a daughter.</p> | <p>Oct. 1. Lady Lowvaine, a son.
Lady Charlotte Lenox, a daughter.</p> <p>4. Lady Ann Ashley, a son.</p> <p>12. The Lady of the Hon. and Rev. Hen. Ryder, a son.</p> <p>17. The Marchioness of Bath, a son.</p> <p>21. The Duchess of Somerset, a daughter.</p> <p>22. Lady Caroline Stuart Wortley, a daughter.</p> <p>27. Lady Caroline Rushout, a daughter.</p> <p>30. Lady Charlotte Howard, a daughter.</p> <p>31. The Lady of the Hon. Col. Vaughan, M. P. a son.
Lately, the Countess of Meath, a son.
Lady Catherine Barlow, a son.</p> <p>Nov. 5. Lady Viscountess Falkland, a son.</p> <p>6. Viscountess Andover, a daughter.</p> <p>8. The Countess Talbot, a son.</p> <p>10. The Lady of the Hon. George Neville, a son.</p> <p>13. The Lady of the Hon. E. J. Turnour, a still born son.</p> <p>14. Lady Amelia Raye, a son.</p> <p>19. Lady Wilton, a son.</p> <p>20. Mrs. Jordan, a daughter.</p> <p>24. Lady Amherst, a son.</p> <p>Dec. 12. Hon. Mrs. Warneford, a daughter.</p> <p>17. The Lady of the Hon. William Fitzroy, a son.</p> <p>19. The Hon. Mrs. Petree, a daughter.</p> |
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Dec. 27. The Hon. Mrs. Grenfell,
wife of Pascoe, G.,
Esq. M.P., a daughter.
Lady Mary Fludyer, a
son.

Dorothea Wedder-
burn.

Feb. 19. Lord William Cavendish
Bentinck, to the Hon.
Miss Acheson.

March 7. The Hon. Mr. Dutton,
brother to Lord Sher-
borne, to Miss Honoria
Gubbins.

MARRIAGES for the Year 1803.

Lately, Lord Clonbrock,
to the Hon. Miss
Blake, only child and
heiress of Lord Wallf-
court, and grand-
daughter of the late
Earl of Louth.

William Bagwell, Esq.
to the eldest daughter
of the late Admiral
Lord Graves.

Jan. 3. Lord Andover, to the
Hon. Miss Dutton.

6. Lord Delaval, to Miss
Knight.

10. The Hon. and Rev.
George Rushout, son
of Lady Northwick,
to Lady Caroline
Stewart, daughter of
the Earl of Galloway.

13. Rev. William Digby,
to the Hon. Miss C.
F. Digby, Maid of
Honour to her Ma-
jesty.

16. Charles Morley Balders,
Esq. to the Hon. Miss
Hare, daughter of
Lord Ennismore.

Feb. 2. J. B. Ponsonby, Esq. to
Lady Frances Villiers.

4. Capt. George Hope, of
the Royal Navy, to
Lady Jemima John-
stone.

9. The Hon. Major Gen.
Hope, to Miss Louisa

8. The Hon. Alexander
Murray, to Miss Oli-
phant.

21. The Hon. Andrew Coch-
rane Johnson, to Ma-
dame Amelia Con-
stance Gertrude Eli-
enette de Clugny.

29. Lord Montgomery, to
Lady Mary Montgo-
mery.

April 11. Honourable Mr. Smith,
to the youngest daugh-
ter of John Tylee,
Esq.

15. Lord Polkemmet, to Miss
Sinclair.

16. Lord Cloncurry, to
Eliza, youngest daugh-
ter of Major Gen.
Morgan.

21. The Hon. Thomas Ken-
yon, to Miss Charlotte
Lloyd.

J. M. Scott, Esq. to
Lady Arabella Bra-
bazon.

May 4. Thomas D. Hall, Esq.
of Seymour-street, to
the Hon. Miss Ly-
faght, daughter of
Lady Lisle.

5. Thomas Tenison, Esq.
to Lady Frances King.

9. The Hon. Henry Black-
wood, Captain in the
Royal Navy, to Miss
Gore.

May

May 24. Lord Viscount Galway, to the widow of P. Drummond, Esq.

June 4. The Hon. and Rev. John Blackwood, to the widow of Colonel Brice.

6. Lord Redefdale, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, to Lady Fra. Percival.

7. Honourable and Rev. W. Capel, to Miss Salter.

William Strode, Esq. of Northaw, to the Hon. Mrs. W. Finch.

8. Lieut. Col. Maitland, to the second daughter of Lady Crofton.

23. His Grace, John, Duke of Bedford, to Lady Georgiana Gordon.

27. Lord Graves, to Lady Mary Paget.

Aug. 4. Lord Viscount Fincaſtle, to Lady Susan Hamilton.

16. Phillip Roche, Esq. to the Hon. Anne Plunkett.

Hon. John Dutton, to the Hon. Miss Legge.

13. Sir Charles Douglas, to Lady Caroline Scot, third daughter of the Duke of Buccleugh.

24. Inigo Freeman Thomas, Esq. to the Hon. Miss Broderick.

Sept. 5. David Erskine, Esq. to the youngest daughter of the late John, Lord Keith Elphinstone.

20. The Hon. Mr. Wellesley, to Lady Charlotte, second daughter of Lord Cadogan.

Nov. 1. George Aust, Esq. to the Hon. Mrs. Murray.

5. Rev. E. Evans, M. A. to the Hon. Miss Bradshaw.

6. At Berlin, Francis James Jackson, Esq. envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at that Court, to Mademoiselle Dorville, daughter of the lord steward, of the court of the late Elizabeth, of Prussia.

10. The Earl of Belvidere, to Miss McCay.

19. Lord Viscount Mahon, to the Hon. Catherine Lucy Smith.

23. His Excellency Comte de Ralley, to Mademoiselle Adelaide, Princess of Bourbon.

28. William Churchill, Esq. to the Countess of Strafford.

Dec. 1. T. Walpole, Esq. to Lady Margaret Percival.

The Hon. F. P. Irby, Captain in the Royal Navy, to Emily, second daughter of the late William Drake, M. P. for Amerham, Bucks.

4. Sir Thomas Manners Sutton, Solicitor-general to his Majesty, to Miss Copley.

20. Mr. Serjeant Vaughan, to Augusta, second daughter of Lord St. John.

Rev. R. F. Halifax, son of the late Bishop of St. Asaph, to Miss Ricketts.

Dec. 20. Baron Spaen, to Lady Louisa King.

Lately, Michael Cox, Esq. to the Hon. Miss Prittie.

PROMOTIONS for the Year 1803.

Whitehall, Jan. 1. Right Hon. Thomas Steele, and John Hiley Addington, Esq. appointed paymaster-general of his Majesty's forces; the latter *vice* Lord Glenbervie, resigned.

War-Office, Jan. 4, Brevet. Col. Hugh Lyle Carmichael, of the 2d West-India regiment, to be brigadier-general in the island of Jamaica only.

Whitehall, Jan. 5. Right Hon. Sylvester Lord Glenbervie, appointed surveyor-general of his Majesty's woods, oaks, forests, and chaces, *vice* Robinson, dec.

7th. The king has been graciously pleased, in consideration of the signal services performed to his Majesty, and to his ally the Ottoman Emperor, by Sir William Sidney Smith, knight, commander and grand cross of the royal Swedish military order of the sword, a captain in the royal navy, and representative for the city of Rochester, in the parliament of the united kingdom; and to evince the sense which his Majesty entertains of the great ability and heroic perseverance manifested by him, the said Sir William Sidney Smith, upon divers occasions, and more especially of his able and highly distinguished conduct in the defence of the town of St. John d'Acre, in Syria, in the year 1799; his

royal licence and authority, that he may bear the following honourable augmentations to the armorial ensigns, borne by his family, viz. on the cheveron, a wreath of laurel, accompanied by two crosses calvary; and, on a chief of augmentation, the interior of an ancient fortification, in perspective; in the angle a breach; and, on the sides of the said breach, the standard of the Ottoman empire, and the union flag of Great Britain, as then displayed; and for crest, the imperial Ottoman chelengk, or plume of triumph, upon a turban—in allusion to the highly honourable and distinguished decoration transmitted by his said imperial Majesty to Sir William Sidney Smith, in testimony of his esteem, and in acknowledgment of his meritorious exertions in the aforesaid defence; and the family crest, viz. a leopard's head, collated and lined, issuant out of an oriental crown: the said arms and crests to be borne by him, the said Sir William Sidney Smith, and by his issue, together with the motto, "CŒUR DE LION." And although the privilege of bearing supporters be limited to the peers of the realm, the knights of his Majesty's orders, and the proxies of princes of the blood royal at installations, except in such cases wherein, under particular circumstances, his Majesty has been pleased to grant his especial licence for the use thereof; yet, in order to give a further testimony of his Majesty's particular approbation of the services of the said Sir William Sidney Smith, he has been graciously pleased to allow him to bear, for supporters to his arms, a tiger guardant, navally crowned; in the mouth a palm branch,

branch, being the symbol of victory, supporting the union flag of Great Britain, with the inscription, "JERUSALEM, 1799," upon the cross of Saint George; and a lamb, murally crowned; in the mouth an olive branch, being the symbol of peace, supporting the banner of Jerusalem: the said armorial ensigns being first duly exemplified according to the laws of arms, and recorded in the heralds' office. And also to order that this his Majesty's said concession and especial mark of his royal favour be registered in the college of arms.

War-Office, Jan. 15. Hospital-staff surgeon Alexander Lawrie, from half-pay, to be surgeon of a recruiting district, *vice* Waugh, removed to the first royal garrison battalion.

War-Office, Jan. 25. Barracks, George Little (lieutenant on half-pay), to be barrack-master in Great Britain, *vice* Fox, resigned.

Whitehall, Jan. 29. Wm. Drummond, Esq. to be his Majesty's ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Sublime Ottoman Porte.—Hugh Elliot, Esq. to be his Majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the court of Naples.—Anthony Merry, Esq. to be his Majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the United States of America.—Edward Thornton, Esq. to be his Majesty's secretary of legation at the Hague.

St. James's, Feb. 2. Major Charles Holloway, of the royal engineers, knighted.

Whitehall, Feb. 5. Hon. and Rev. George Pelham, D. D. recommended, by *cong   d'elire*, to be elected Bishop of Bristol, *vis  * Dr.

H. F. Walker, translated to the see of Hereford.

Downing-street, Feb. 5. Col. Thomas Hislop, appointed lieutenant-governor of the island of Grenada and its dependencies.

War-Office, Feb. 5, Brevet. Col. Thomas Hislop, of the 11th West-India regiment, to be brigadier-general in the leeward and windward Charribbee Islands only.

Dublin Castle, Feb. 11. Edmond Henry Viscount Limerick, created Earl of Limerick; and William Power Keating, Viscount Dunlop, Earl of Clancarty, co. Cork. Charlotte Baroness Newcomen, wife of Sir William Gleadowe Newcomen, Bart. created Viscountess Newcomen, of Moss town, co. Longford, with remainder to the heirs-male of her body by the said Sir William Gleadowe Newcomen.

St. James's, Feb. 16. Right Hon. John Hilley Addington, sworn of his Majesty's most honourable privy-council.

Dublin Castle, Feb. 22. Marquis of Donegal, sworn of his Majesty's most honourable privy-council.

War-Office, Feb. 22. Brevet. Col. Robert Brereton, of the 63d foot, to be brigadier-general in the Windward and Leeward Charribbee Islands only.—*Garrisons*. Rev. Thomas Maurice, late chaplain at Tobago, to be chaplain to the garrison of Trincomal  , in the island of Ceylon.—*Barracks*. Michael Gordon, to be barrack-master at Shelburne, in Nova Scotia, *vice* Flynn, appointed pay-master of a recruiting district. Robert Foy, Esq. (captain, on half-pay, of marines) to be a barrack-master in Great Britain, *vice* Thomas Foy, resigned.

Whitehall, March 4. George Harrison, Esq. Norroy king of arms, appointed Clarenceux king of arms, and principal herald of the south, east, and west parts of England, *vice* Lock, dec.

War-Office, March 5. Staff, John Sweetland, to be principal commissary of stores and provisions at Gibraltar.—*Royal Military College*. Lieut.-col. James Butler, of the invalid artillery, to be commandant of the junior department. Major Benj. D'Urban, of the 89th foot, to be superintendant of the junior department, *vice* Butler.—*Barracks*. Thomas Phillips, to be a barrack-master in Great Britain, *vice* Bowen, resigned.—*Hospital-staff*. Apothecary Stewart Henderson, from half-pay, to be surgeon of the Athlone recruiting district, *vice* Muttelbury, removed to Marlborough.

Whitehall, March 8. Rev. Peter M'Master, presented to the church and parish of New Luce, in the presbytery of Stranrawer, and county of Wigtown; and Rev. Andrew Jameson, to the church and parish of St. Mungo, in the presbytery of Lochmaban, and county of Dumfries, *vice* Dickson, dec.

War-Office, March 12. Staff, Brevet-major Charles Irvine, of the 85th foot, to be deputy-quarter-master-general to the forces serving in Jamaica, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, *vice* M'Murdo resigned. Lieut.-col. Willoughby Gordon, of the 85th foot, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the said forces, *vice* Irvine. Brevet-major Wm. Gifford, of the 26th foot, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the troops at Malta, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, *vice* Fitzgerald, dec.

Major Charles Philipps, of the 44th foot, to be deputy-quarter-master-general to the said troops, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, *vice* Airey, resigned.

War-Office, March 15. Staff, major-general Robert Brownrigg, to be quarter-master-general to the forces, *vice* Gen. Dundas, who is placed on the staff as a general, and resigns his office as quarter-master-general of the forces.

St. James's, March 16. William Paxton, William Blizard, and Charles Blicke, Esqrs. knighted.

War-Office, March 19. Hospital-staff surgeon — Albert, from half-pay, to be surgeon to the cavalry dépôt at Maidstone, *vice* Grant, exchanged.

Whitehall, March 26. Mr. Patrick Fotheringham, appointed commissary of the commissariat of Orkney and Zetland, *vice* Stewart, dec.

War-Office, March 26. Barracks, Henry Strachey Amiel, Esq. captain, on half-pay, of the 8th West-India regiment, to be barrack-master in Great Britain, *vice* Winchester, resigned.

Whitehall, March 29. Rev. Peter Hawker, jun. of Woodchester, co. Gloucester, appointed one of the domestic chaplains to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, *vice* Peach, dec.

St. James's, March 30. James Duberley, of Gains-hall, Huntingdonshire, Esq. Francis Searle, of Kingston-upon-Thames, Esq. and John Dumaresq, Esq. knighted.

War-Office, April 2. Barracks. Geo. Lane, Esq. late captain in the 4th foot, to be barrack-master in Great Britain, *vice* Venables, dec. Wm. Byam, late barrack-master at Silver-

Silver-hill, to be barrack-master in Great Britain, *vice* Harben, dec.

Whitehall, April 4. Ralph Bigland, Esq. Richmond herald, appointed Norroy king of arms, and principal herald of the north parts of England, *vice* Harrison, promoted to the office of Clarenceux king of arms.

Whitehall, April 9. Right Hon. Francis Lord Napier, appointed his Majesty's high commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

War-Office, April 9. Staff, Lieut.-col. Lewis Lindenthal, of the Queen's German regiment; Daniel Patterson, on the retired list of the invalids; Wm. Eden, of the 79th foot; George Murray, of the 3d regiment of foot-guards; and John Brown, of the royal staff-corps, to be assistants to the quarter-master-general of the forces.—

Royal Military Asylum. George Williamson, Esq. late captain in the 70th foot, to be commandant of the Royal Military Asylum, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, so long as he shall retain the situation of commandant.—*Hospital-staff* Apothecary — Crump, from half-pay, to be surgeon of the Newry recruiting district, *vice* Graham. To be surgeons of recruiting districts in Great Britain: surgeon — Graham, from the Newry recruiting district, *vice* Tayler, retired on half-pay; surgeon Robert Freer, from half-pay; and apothecary J. H. Beaumont, from half-pay.

Downing-street, April 19. James Gambier, Esq. appointed his Majesty's consul-general at Lisbon.

War-Office, April 19. Hospital-staff, Ralph Green, M. D. to be

assistant-inspector of hospitals, *vice* Franklin, promoted. John Webb, M. D. to be assistant-inspector of hospitals. Surgeon M. Bolton, to be inspector of field-hospitals, *vice* Green, promoted. Apothecary George Mackenzie, from half-pay, to be surgeon of a recruiting district, *vice* Fleming, dec.

Whitehall, April 19. Richard, Earl of Onvan, major-general of his Majesty's forces, permitted to receive and wear the badge of the order of the Crescent, transmitted to him by the Grand Seignior.

War-Office, April 23. Staff, Stephen Aveling, Esq. late a lieutenant in the 65th foot, to be paymaster of a recruiting district. Assistant commissaries, Wm. Jesse Cooper, and Charles Wright, to be deputy commissaries-general of stores, provisions, and forage. To be assistant commissaries: Gottlien Lewis Engleback, Edward Couch, Charles Lutyens, and James Toole. To be deputy-commissary-general of stores, provisions, and forage to the forces serving in Ireland: deputy-commissary-general P. C. E. Singer, from half-pay. To be assistant commissaries to the said forces: assistant commissaries Wm. Henderson and Wm. Hannigan, from half-pay.

War-Office, April 30. Staff, Major Thomas Birch, of the 16th light dragoons, to be an assistant to the quarter-master-general to the forces, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army. Major Edward Henry Bunbury, on the half-pay of the late 9th West-India regiment, to be an assistant to the quarter-master-general to the forces.

War-Office, May 3. Staff, John Aldrich, Esq. on half-pay as paymaster of the late 2d battalion of the

the 27th foot, to be pay-master of a recruiting district.

St. James's, May 4. William, Earl of Mansfield, took the oaths on being appointed lord-lieutenant of the shire of Clackmannan, in North Britain.—Col. Cha. Green, Wm. Bulkeley Hughes, Esq. and Francis Hartwell, Esq. knighted.

Whitehall, May 5. Joseph Hawker, Esq. late Rouge Croix pursuivant of arms, appointed Richmond herald, *vice* Bigland.

War-Office, May 7. Staff, Col. Frederick Augustus Weatherall, of the 82d foot, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the forces serving in Nova Scotia. Lieut. Richard Leonard, of the 54th foot, to be fort-major of Frederick town, New Brunswick.

Downing street, May 9. Major-general David Douglas Wemyss, to be commander of all his Majesty's land forces serving in the island of Ceylon.

War-Office, May 17. William Finlayson, Esq. lieutenant on half-pay of the 89th foot, and William H. Phillips, Esq. late captain and adjutant in the Northamptonshire militia, to be pay-masters of recruiting districts.

War-Office, May 21. Garrison. Major-general John Doyle, to be lieutenant-governor of the island of Guernsey, *vice* Sir Henry Dalmyple, resigned.

St. James's, May 23. Sir James Pulteney, bart. lieut.-col. Francis Whitworth, capt. Robert Bolton, of the royal navy, Rupert George, Esq. and Richard Hankey, Esq. knighted, as proxies to five of the Knights of the Bath at the late installation.

Whitehall, May 24. Rev. Edward Bowyer Sparke, D.D. ap-

pointed dean of the cathedral church of Bristol, *vice* Layard, dec.—Rev. Wm. Nelson, D.D. appointed prebendary of the metropolitical church of Canterbury, *vice* Lynch, dec.

Whitehall, May 28. Rev. Howel Holland Edwards, M.A. appointed a prebendary of the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, *vice* Finch, dec.—Rev. Wm. Baker, LL.B. presented to the vicarage of Stonehouse, co. Gloucester.

War-office, May 28. Staff, Lieut.-general the Hon. H. E. Fox, to be commander of his Majesty's forces in Ireland. Major Wm. Nicholson, of the 72d foot, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the King's troops serving in India, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, *vice* Robertson resigned. To be assistants to the quarter-master-general of the forces: Lieut.-col. Wm. Gordon, from the 85th foot; major H. Lowe, from the royal fuzileers; major W. H. De Lancey, from the 45th foot; and captain H. F. Brownrigg, from the staff corps, with the rank of major in the army.—*Hospital-staff*. Dr. Alexander Robertson, to be a deputy-inspector of hospitals in the island of Jamaica, *vice* Lind, retired on half-pay. L. Krazelsen, to be surgeon to the forces.

St. James's, June 1. Right Hon. George Tierney, treasurer of his Majesty's navy, sworn of his Majesty's privy-council.

Whitehall, June 4. Henry, Duke of Beaufort, confirmed in the barony of Bottetourt, and created Baron de Bottetourt.

War-Office, June 4. Staff. Henry Charles Lewis, Esq. deputy-pay-master and accomptant of the army-depôt, to be pay-master of a recruiting district. John Cockburn,

to be deputy-paymaster and accountant of the army-depôt, *vice* Lewis.—*Garrison*. Hospital-mate, Thomas Johnstone, to be garrison-mate of Gibraltar, *vice* White, promoted.—*Barracks*. Robert Mann, to be a barrack-master in South Britain, *vice* Bouchier, retired.

War-Office, June 11. Brevet. Col. Martin Hunter, of the 48th foot, to be a brigadier-general in North America. Col. William Dyott, of the 25th foot, to be a brigadier-general in the windward and leeward Charibbee Islands.—

Staff. Captain, the Hon. D. G. Hallyburton, from the 1st foot-guards, to be assistant to the quarter-master-general of the forces in Great Britain, with the rank of major in the army. To be assistants in the quarter-master-general's department in Ireland: major Ch. Harcourt, from half-pay of the 40th foot; captain John Pine Coffin, from the staff corps, with the rank of major in the army.

Whitehall, June 14. Richard Brooke de Capell Brooke, of Great Oakley, co. Northampton, and of Ahadoe and Roxborough, co. Cork, Esq.; Right Hon. John Stewart, of Athenree, co. Tyrone; and the Rev. James Stronger, M. A. of Tynan, co. Armagh, and of Thornhill, co. Dublin; created baronets of the united kingdom.

Council-Office, *Whitehall*, June 17. George, Earl of Dorchester, appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Dorset, *vice* Lord Rivers, dec. took the oaths thereupon.

War-Office, June 18. His Royal Highness Prince Adolphus Frederick, K. G. late lieutenant-general in the Hanoverian service, appointed lieutenant-general in the army,

by commission dated Aug. 24, 1798.

War-Office, June 21. Hospital-staff. Apothecaries, Wm. Phillips and — Longmore, from half-pay, to be apothecaries to the forces.

Downing-street, June 25. Spencer Smith, Esq. appointed envoy-extraordinary at the Court of his Serene Highness the Elector of Wurtemberg; and Henry Watkin Williams Wynn, Esq. at the Court of his Serene Highness the Elector of Saxony; Spiridion Foresti, Esq. resident to the Republic of the Seven Islands; Henry Savage Yeames, Esq. consul-general in the Russian ports in the Black Sea; Waller Wright, Esq. consul in the several ports of the Republic of the Seven Islands; and Charles Denis, Esq. consul at Civita Vecchia.

Whitehall, June 25. George Hilario Barlow, Esq. a member of the Council of Fort William in Bengal, created a baronet.—Rev. Thomas Burgefs, D. D. prebendary of Durham, recommended, by congé d'elire, to be elected Bishop of St. David's, *vice* Murray, dec.—Rev. John Fisher, D. D. prebendary of Windsor, recommended, by congé d'elire, to be elected Bishop of Exeter, *vice* Courtenay, dec.

Whitehall, June 28. Sir Rupert George, knt. Ambrose Serle, and Thomas Hamilton, Esqrs. the Hon. Edward Bouverie, and James Bowen, Esq. appointed commissioners for conducting the transport service, and for the care and custody of prisoners of war.

War-Office, June 28. *Garrison*. Brevet-major Colin Dundas Graham, of the late Scotch brigade, to be fort-major of Edinburgh castle,

vice

vice Sir James Foulis, resigned.—*Hospital-staff.* Apothecary, James Fitzgerald, from half-pay, to be surgeon to a recruiting district. Surgeon, T. Wilson, from half-pay of the 35th foot, to be surgeon to ditto. To be surgeons to the forces in Ireland: surgeons Clement Archer, Thomas L. Whistler, and Thomas Kenning, from half-pay.

War-Office, July 5. Barracks. Alexander Walker, Esq. late deputy-barrack-master at Windsor, to be barrack-master in Great Britain, *vice* Tuffnel, dec.

War-Office, July 11. Staff. Major-general George Hewett, to be inspector-general of the Royal Army of Reserve. To be assistant-inspectors of ditto, lieut.-col. Jn. James Barlow, of the 61st foot; captain Peter Carey, of the 27th light dragoons. To be superintendent of cloathing, &c. of ditto, lieut.-col. George Williamson. To be deputy-inspector in North Britain, colonel Thomas Scott, of the 94th foot.

War-Office, July 12. Staff. Col. George Horsford, of the 4th West-India regiment, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the forces serving in Jamaica, *vice* Gordon, placed on the staff in Great Britain.—*Hospital-staff.* Assistant-inspector William Greaves, from half-pay, to be an assistant-inspector to the forces. John Buffa, M. D. from half-pay, to be physician to the forces. Surgeon Richard Morell, from half-pay, to be surgeon to the forces. Hospital-mate — Boulger, to be surgeon to the forces.

Whitehall, July 19. Rev. Wm. Beaumont Busby, M. A. appointed a prebendary of Windsor, *vice* Fisher, promoted to the see of Exeter.

War-Office, July 19. Hospital-staff. W. Domcier, M. D. to be physician to the foreign depôt in the Isle of Wight. Apothecary, Thomas Rufs, to be surgeon to the forces. Surgeon, Robert Salmond, from the 43d foot, and surgeon M. Harbinson, from the 81st foot, to be surgeons to recruiting districts. To be apothecaries to the forces: apothecaries, John Crane, Wm. Wood, A. Stuart, W. S. Holland, T. L. Bolton, Rob. Allen, T. Rofs, from half-pay.

War-Office, July 26. Brevet. Capt. Thomas Hardyman, of the 50th foot, to be major in the army.

—*Staff.* James Fisher, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 62d foot, to be pay-master of a recruiting-district. To be assistant-commissaries to the forces in Ireland: assistant-commissaries W. Dillon, Arthur Ormsby, and Thomas Gilston, from half-pay.—*Royal Military College.*

Captain James McDermott, of the 10th light dragoons, to be inspector of the 2d company of cadets in the junior department, and instructor of tactics.—*Barracks.*

To be assistant-barrack-master-generals, with the rank of major so long as their services shall continue in the barrack-department: Charles Wm. Thornton, Esq. late an assistant-barrack-master-general; John Baddeley, Esq. captain on half-pay of the 22d light dragoons.—*Hospital-staff.*

To be assistant-inspectors of the forces: assistant-inspectors, J. Borland, A. Baillie, J. M'Niell, R. Patrick, A. Jamieson, R. Walters, from half-pay. To be physicians to the forces: James Roger-son, M. D. and James Fellows, M. D. from half-pay. To be surgeons to the forces: surgeons —

Tucker,

Tucker, H. B. Worth, W. Fergusson, ——— Andrews, Francis Downing, John Crozier, A. Grant, T. Docker, G. E. Lockley, J. R. Grant, from half-pay. Assistant-surgeon, Peter Adrian, from the 61st foot. To be surgeons of recruiting districts: surgeon John Henry, from half-pay; surgeon Michael Balfour, from the 9th foot.

Whitehall, July 29. Major-general John Doyle, lieutenant-governor of the island of Guernsey, permitted to receive and wear the insignia of the order of the Crescent, transmitted to him by the Grand Seignior.

War-Office, July 30. Brevet. Captain Levett Ibbetson, of the 28th foot, to be major in the army. *Staff*. Charles Gordon, Esq. pay-master of the 2d battalion royals, to be pay-master of a recruiting district.

War-Office, Aug. 9. *Staff*. Major-general Richard England, to be lieutenant-governor of Plymouth, *vice* Campbell, retired. Colonel Sir Samuel Achmuty, of the 10th foot, to be commandant of the isle of Thanet.—*Brevet*. Captain Henry Bromley, of the 26th foot, to be major in the army.—*Barracks*. To be barrack-masters in Great Britain: G. Manby, Esq. late captain-lieutenant of the Cambridgeshire militia; G. Roope, Esq.; G. Wathen, lieutenant, on half-pay, of 4th foot; E. Pyott, Esq.; David St. Clair, Esq.; H. Kilvington, Esq. late cornet in the 12th light dragoons; J. Fielde; P. Van Courtland, Esq.; Wm. Ross Darby, Esq.; George Winter, Esq. captain in the royal marines; G. Mason, lieutenant in ditto.

War-Office, Aug. 13. *Staff*. Major Wm. Wilson, Esq. pay-master,

on half-pay, of the 54th foot, to be pay-master of a recruiting district, *vice* Brereton, retired on half-pay.—*Barracks*. To be barrack-masters in Great Britain: Charles Bacon, Esq.; Wm. G. Child, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 19th light dragoons; ——— Wilson, Esq. late a captain in the 39th foot; Augustus Duggan, Esq. late major of the Norfolk fencible cavalry; John L. Bucknall, Esq.; John Boys, Esq.; James Duffey; John Reid, late ensign in the 36th foot; Joseph Lambly, late a lieutenant in South Lincoln militia.

War-Office, Aug. 16. Brevet. Colonel George Moncrieffe, of the 90th foot, and colonel An. Dunlop, of the 21st light dragoons, to be brigadier-generals in the West-Indies only.—*Staff*. To be assistant-quarter-masters-general to the forces in Ireland: lieut.-col. G. Airey, of the 8th foot; lieut.-col. A. R. Dillon, on half-pay of the 115th foot; captain R. Owen, of the 56th foot; and major James Forster, of the 11th foot.—*Hospital-staff*. William Balmain, Esq. late chief surgeon at New South Wales, to be surgeon to the forces.

St. James's, Aug. 17. Right Hon. Charles Yorke, sworn one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state.

Whitehall, Aug. 20. David Wedderburn, of Ballindean, co. Perth, Esq. created a baronet, with remainder to the heirs-male of the body of Sir Alexander Wedderburn, of Blackness, deceased.

War-Office, Aug. 22. Francis Moore, Esq. appointed, by the Right Hon. Charles Bragge, secretary at war, his deputy, *vice* Matthew Lewis, Esq.

War-Office, Aug. 30. Brevet.

To be majors in the army: capt. Th. Dorrington, of the 15th battalion of Reserve; capt. J. Dumaresque, of the 9th ditto; capt. G. Wade, of the 30th foot; and capt. Charles Morley Baldero, of the 53d foot.—*Hospital-staff.* Surgeon John Philips, to be assistant-inspector of hospitals. To be surgeons to the forces: surgeon Wm. Chambers, from the 10th light dragoons; surgeon Major Carroll, from the 45th foot; surgeon Al. Dunlop, from the 38th foot; surgeon Jn. Coffins, from the 12th light dragoons; surgeon Thomas Kidd, from the 63d foot; surgeon — Cobbe, from the 20th light dragoons; and surgeon Thomas Gunning from the 47th foot.

Dublin-Castle, Sept. —. Right Rev. Dr. Wm. Knox, Bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora, alias Tana-bor, translated to the see of Derry, *vice* the Earl of Bristol, dec.

Whitehall, Sept. 8. His Excellency Wm. Drummond, his Majesty's ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the Sublime Porte, permitted to receive and wear the insignia of the order of the Crescent, transmitted to him by the Grand Seignior.

Whitehall, Sept. 10. Right Hon. George Keith, Baron Keith of Stonehaven-Marischal, co. Kincardine, in Scotland, K. B. and admiral of the blue, created a baron of the united kingdom, by the title of Baron Keith of Banheath, co. Dumbarton; with remainder, in default of issue, with the dignity of a baroness, to Margaret Mercer Elphinstone, only daughter of the said Baron Keith, and the dignity of a baron to the lawful heirs-male of her body.

Whitehall, Sept. 10. Dr. James

Cowper, appointed professor of practical astronomy and observer in the University of Glasgow; and the Rev. Mr. Ouchterlson, presented to the church and parish of Baldernock, in the presbytery of Dumbarton, and county of Stirling, *vice* Cowper.

Whitehall, Sept. 13. Wm. Wals Langford, Esq. appointed his Majesty's agent and consul-general at Tripoli.

War-Office, Sept. 13. *Hospital-staff.* Edw. N. Bancroft, M.D. from half-pay, to be physician to the forces. *Hospital-mate* Richard Lewis, to be apothecary to the forces. To be surgeons to the forces: surgeon Perkins Crofton, from the 21st foot, and surgeon G. T. Aveling, from the 1st dragoons.

War-Office, Sept. —. *Hospital-staff.* Surgeon James Whitelocke, to be an assistant-inspector of hospitals. Deputy-purveyor Robert Stewart, from half-pay, to be deputy-purveyor to the forces. Apothecary — Burke, to be gar-rison-surgeon of the island of Barbadoes.—*Barracks.* To be barrack-masters in Great Britain: T. Haynes, Esq. major of the Bristol Volunteers; Francis White, retired ensign of the Tower Invalids; Christ. Middlemass, Esq. major of the Dunbar Volunteers; James Galbreath, late deputy-barrack-master at Yorke; John Johnstone, late barrack-master in the island of Minorca; John Shearman; Geo. Lamb.

War-Office, Sept. 24. Staff. To be inspecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteers, with temporary rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army so long as they continue to hold these appointments,

ments, viz. Col. Charles Mac Murdo, late of the 31st foot; Lieut.-col. John Jenkinson, on half-pay of the late Sheffield regiment; Lieut.-col. Wm. Thomlinson, on ditto of the late 91st foot; Major Ralph Gore, on ditto of the late York Fusileers; William Harris, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 2d foot; John C. Cowell, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 1st battalion of Royals; Henry Harnage, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 104th foot; John D. Kane, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 4th foot; Heneage Twyfsden, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 4th foot; James Kirkman, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 52d foot; W. Dalrymple, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 2d foot; John Stewart, Esq. late major of the 27th foot; J. Hugh M'Leroch, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the Rifle-corps; Wm. Gore, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the Birmingham Fencibles; Col. H. M. Clevering, of the late Argyllshire Fencibles; Lieut.-col. Robert Garden, on half-pay of the 54th foot; Lieut.-col. G. Duke, on half-pay of the 65th foot; and Major Frederick Metzner, on half-pay of the late American Provincials.

War-Office, Sept. 27. Brevet. To be majors in the army: Capt. Wyndham Quinn, of the 3d foot; Capt. Thomas Mellor, of the 81st foot; Capt. Robert Campbell, of the 42d foot; Capt. Nathaniel Myott, of the 26th foot; and Capt. Edward Draper, of the 3d foot guards. Staff. Capt. William Macondy Harvey, of the 1st West-Indian regiment, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the forces serving in the Charibbee Islands, with the

rank of major in the army, *vice* Modern, deceased.

War-Office, Oct. 1. His Majesty has been pleased to appoint Lieutenant-generals William Shirreff, William Grinfield, Samuel Hulse, Albermarle Bertie, Charles Vallancey, John Earl of Clanricarde, Sir James Steuart, bart. Thomas Carleton, James Marsh, Cavendish Lister, James Ogilvie, Sir Robert Lawrie, bart. Wm. Edmeston, David Home, Hugh Debbieg, Montgomery Agnew, Alexander, Earl of Balcarres, Cornelius Cuyler, Charles, Earl of Harrington, the Hon. Richard Fitzpatrick, Nisbet Balfour, Edmund Stephens, Sir Thomas Trigge, K. B. Francis, Earl of Moira, and Peter Craig, to be generals in the army.

Major-generals, George Bernard, George Nugent, John Bower, Thomas Awerne, James Barker, John Campbell, Charles Tarrant, John Barcklay, William Macarmak, John Freke, Sir Robert Stuart, bart. Richard England, William Keppel, John Hely, Lord Hutchinson, K. B. John Hamilton, Alexander Hay, Thomas Goldie, Simon Fraser, James Stewart, Charles Hastings, Thomas Davis, Robert Manners, William Loftus, William Myers, Oliver Nicols, Alexander Mercer, George Hewet, and Charles Baron Hompesch, to be Lieutenant-generals in the army.

Colonels, General Elliott, of the Royal Marines; Duncan Campbell, of ditto; Patrick Wauchope, of the 50th foot; Baldwin Leighton, of the 46th foot; Patrick Sinclair, on half-pay of 54th foot; Richard Chapman, of the Invalid Artillery; John Coffin, on half-pay of the

the King's American Regiment; Richard Armstrong, on half-pay of the Queen's American Rangers; John Murray, on half-pay of 96th foot; Sir Charles Green, Knt. of 30th foot; William St. Leger, of 27th Light Dragoons; Henry Magan, of 39th foot; Richard N. Hopkins, of 32d foot; John Smith, of the 1st foot-guards; Alexander Mackay, adjutant-general in Scotland; Thomas Hartcup, of the invalid engineers; William O. Huddleston, of the artillery; George Fead, of ditto; James Sowerby, of the invalid artillery; Thomas Blomesfield, of the artillery; Gother Mann, of the engineers; Donald Macdonald, of 55th foot; John Pratt, of the late Irish artillery; Forbes Champagne, of the 26th foot; Josiah Champagne, of a regiment of infantry; Harry Calvert, of 5th West India regiment; George Cockburn, on half-pay of 92d foot; Edward Dunne, on half-pay of the Pembrokehire fencible cavalry; James Drummond, of 43d foot; Edwin Hewgill, of 19th foot; William Dowdeswell, of 18th foot; Alexander Mackenzie, of 86th foot; George Moncrieffe, of 90th foot; Thomas Meyrick, of 21st foot; Charles Craufurd, on half-pay of Rutland fencible cavalry; George H. Vansittart, of 12th battalion of reserve; the Hon. Charles Fitzroy, of 1st foot-guards; Francis Hugonin, of 4th dragoons; and Thomas P. Vandeleur, of the 8th light dragoons; to be major-generals in the army.

Lieutenant-colonels Duncan Mackintosh, of 60th foot; Francis Carruthers, on half-pay of 61st foot; Robert Shaw, of 74th foot; Christopher Darby, of 54th foot;

David Clephane, of 20th foot; William Balfour, of 57th foot; William Wilkinson of 30th foot; William Dickson, of 42d foot; Bulstrode Whitelocke, of 77th foot; Henry Tucker Montrefor, of 18th foot; Albert Gledstanes, of 57th foot; John Hodgson, on half-pay of the late 131st foot; Charles Stevenson, of a regiment of infantry; Lawrence Bradshaw, of 1st life-guards; George William Richard Harcourt, of 12th foot; William Palmer Acland, of the coldstream foot-guards; Nicholas Nepean, of the late Banffshire fencibles; James Taylor, of 12th foot; Miles Nightingale, of 51st foot; James Hay; the Hon. William Eardley, on half-pay of 82d foot; William Cochell, of 5th foot; Leonard Shaftoe Orde, on half-pay of 132d foot; Richard Bingham, of 3d foot; Joseph French, on half-pay of 102d foot; John Lee, on half-pay of 112th foot; Henry Clinton, of 1st foot-guards; John Sontag; James Robertson, of 92d foot; Edward William Leyborne, of the late Cambrian rangers; James Dunlop, of 77th foot; Fitzroy J. Grafton Maclean, of 60th foot; Walter Ker, of the late British fencibles; Alexander Campbell, of 74th foot; and John Pigott, on half-pay of 113th foot; to be colonels in the army.

Majors Wyndham Quinn, of 3d foot; Thomas Dorrington, of 15th foot; Thomas Mellor, of 81st foot; G. Wade, of 30th foot; John Dumaresq, of 9th battalion of reserve; T. Hardyman, of 30th foot; H. Bromley, of 26th foot; Robert Campbell, of 42d foot; Robert Al. Dalzell, of 1st foot-guards; Clans Pell, of 16th foot;

George

George Sutherland, of ditto; Robert Balfour, of 2d dragoons; Dugald Campbell, of 46th foot; James Macdonald, of 73d foot; James Green, of 26th foot; George Bowater, of the artillery; William Borthwick, of ditto; John Barton, of ditto; George Scott, of ditto; George Miller, of 57th foot; Robert Walker, of 7th foot; Breon Bordes, of 73d foot; Archibald Mosman, of ditto; Henry Teesdale, of 1st dragoon-guards; Thomas Goldie, of 9th dragoons; James Cuming, of 47th foot; Robert Hamilton, on half-pay of 7th West-Indiaretiment; Jasper Grant, of 41st foot; Pierre L'Arday, of Meuron's regiment; Francis Piackand, of ditto; Henry Erskine, of 91st foot; James St. Clair, of the late Cambrian rangers; and R. A. Seymour, of the 15th light dragoons; to be lieutenant-colonels in the army.

Captains the Hon. Henry A. B. Craven, of 9th battalion of reserve; Lewis C. Mears, of the marines; George Stephens, of 47th foot; John H. Brown, of 78th foot; Wm. Campbell, of ditto; Wm. Wishart, of 15th foot; Andrew Patton, of 92d foot; Geo. Bruhl, of 3d foot-guards; Charles Macquarrie, of 42d foot; Charles Hill, of 50th foot; Colin Campbell, of 60th foot; John Macdougall, of 91st foot; G. P. Hutchinson, of 4th dragoons; Ames G. Norcott, of 9th foot; John Balcomb, of 1st dragoon-guards; John White, of 80th foot; Isaac P. Tinling, of 1st foot-guards; Wm. Shipley, of 54th foot; W. Hilliard, of 89th foot; John Stoddart, of 45th foot; George Evans, of 32d foot; Charles Bruce, of 39th foot; John Blair, of 1st battalion of royals;

Nuttall Green, of 3d foot; William Ledwill, of 2d battalion of reserve; J. F. Fitzgerald, of the new Brunswick fencibles; Patrick Ross, of 22d light dragoons; Ar. Christie, of 6th foot; the Hon. J. T. Deane, of 38th foot; James B. Horner, of 84th foot; Thomas Costello, of 28th foot; Charles Hicks, of 61st foot; George E. Vinicombe, of the marines; Brook Young, of the artillery; Donald Macbean, of the 41st foot; James Shortall, of the late Irish artillery; Richard Legge, of ditto; Charles F. Hill, of 10th foot; and Robert Crawford, of the late Irish artillery; to be majors in the army.

War-Office, Oct. 1. Barracks. To be barrack-masters in Great-Britain: Thomas Figg, late barrack-master at Shoreham; Tenison Smith; John F. Smyth, Esq. late captain of the American provincials; Thomas West, late a lieutenant in the 72d foot; Jas. Townsend, Esq. captain-commandant of the Honiton volunteers; John Stuart, Esq. late a captain of the 37th foot; and Henry Lefanu, Esq. late a captain in the 56th foot.—Staff. J. P. Milbanke, Esq. captain on half-pay of 47th foot, to be paymaster of detachments at Bristol. To be assistant-commissaries of stores, provisions, and forage to the forces; Charles William Sidney, John Crauford, Philip Rawlings, and Edward P. Henslow.

War-Office, Oct. 3. Lieutenant-general Char. Leigh, appointed a general in the army.

War-Office, Oct. 4. Brevet. Lieutenant-colonels Henry Frederick Campbell, of the 1st foot-guards, William Burnett, of the

14th foot, Richard Stewart of the 43d foot, and the Hon. Charles Stuart, of the 18th light dragoons, to be aides-de-camps to the King.—Staff. To be inspecting field-officers of yeomary and volunteer corps, with the rank of lieutenant-colonels in the army, so long only as they continue to hold these appointments, viz. Sir James G. Baird, late lieutenant-colonel of the 28th dragoons; Lieut. col. George Robert Ainslie, of the late Birmingham fencibles; Robert Douglas, Esq. late lieutenant colonel of the 58th foot; Josiah Cottin, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 10th light dragoons; Joseph Hardy, Esq. late of the 93d foot; Francis Gore, Esq. late major of 17th light dragoons; Lieut. col. Manley Power, on half-pay of the 20th foot; Sir Nathaniel Duckenfield, bart. late lieutenant-colonel of the Windsor foresters; Col. Ronald Crauford Ferguson, on half-pay of the 93d foot; George Lyon, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 11th light dragoons; and Francis Mannouch, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 68th foot.

Whitehall, Oct. 4. Henrietta Laura, Baroness of Bath, (wife of lieutenant-general Sir James Pulteney, bart.) created Countess of Bath, co. Somerset, with the dignity of Earl of Bath to her lawful male issue.

War-Office, Oct. 13. Breyet. Major Henry Eustace, of the late Irish engineers, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army. Capt. John Thomas Eyre, on the staff at army dépôt, to be major in the army.—Staff. To be inspecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps, with the temporary rank of lieutenant-colonels in the army, so long

only as they continue to hold these appointments, viz. Peppard Knight, Esq. late major of the 4th foot; J. P. Addenbroke, Esq. late major of the 54th foot; H. P. Pulleine, Esq. late major of the 21st light dragoons; H. Master, Esq. late major of the 52d foot; and Wm. Douglas, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 85th foot. To be deputy-commissary-general to the forces serving in Ireland: assistant-deputy-commissary-general, William Finny. To be assistant-commissaries to the said forces: William Maturin, Joseph Moore, and Robert Boyes, gents.—Hospital Staff. Surgeon, Robert Moore Peile, to be assistant-inspector to the forces serving in Ireland; assistant-inspector, G. R. Redmond, from half-pay, to be an assistant-inspector. To be deputy-purveyors: deputy-purveyors, J. Paterson, C. T. Aveling, and C. Winicki, from half-pay. To be assistant-surgeon to the garrison of Gibraltar: hospital-mate, Matthew Hutchinson, *vice* Johnstone, resigned. To be assistant-surgeons to the light infantry battalions of the line formed in Ireland: 1st battalion, Edward Purdon; 2d John Carter; 3d William Griffin. To be assistant-surgeons to the light infantry battalions of militia forming in Ireland: 1st battalion, Patrick Hughes; 2d John M'Casey; 3d C. H. Quinn; 4th Henry Forcade; 5th David Linn; and 6th Robert Maxwell.

War-Office, Oct. 15. Staff. Edward Buckley, gent. to be an assistant-commissary of stores and provisions to the forces.—Garrison. Rev. John Deeds, to be chaplain to the garrison of Port d'Espagne, in the island of Trinidad.

Ad.—Barracks. Robert Wilson, Esq. late captain in the 49th foot, to be barrack-master in Great Britain.

Dublin-Castle, Oct. 20. Hon. and Rev. Charles Lindsay, D. D. to be bishop of Killaloe and Killenora, alias Tanabor, *vice* Knox; translated to the see of Derry.

War-Office, Oct. 20. Brevet. Col. John Ramsay, of the Chasseurs Britanniques, to be a brigadier-general in the island of Malta only. Major James Campbell, of the 91st foot, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army. Capt. Henry James Shawe, of the 61st foot, and captain Francis Forrester, of the 15th light dragoons, to be majors in the army. Capt. Daniel Lyman, of the 2d Royal garrison battalion, to be major in the army in the island of Scilly only.—Staff. Lieutenant-general, William Lord Cathcart, to be commander of his Majesty's forces in Ireland. To be inspecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps, with the temporary rank of lieutenant-colonels in the army, so long only as they continue to hold these appointments, viz. John Enys, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 29th foot; lieutenant-colonel Daniel Seddon, on half-pay of the late 22d light Dragoons; and—Dodd, Esq. late major of the Inverness fencibles.—Hospitals-Staff. Surgeon Clement Archer, from the Irish establishment, to be surgeon to the forces in Great Britain, *vice* Crofton, who exchanges. Surgeon—Crofton, from the English establishment, to be surgeon to the forces in Ireland, *vice* Archer.

War-Office, Oct. 22. Barracks. To be barrack-masters in Great Britain: Samuel Palmer, captain

in the Beer and Seaton volunteer artillery; James Dufantoy, lieutenant of invalided marines, *vice* Davies, promoted to be extra-assistant-barrack-master-general; and George Lawson Hall, late a captain in the 30th foot.

St. James's, Oct. 26. Henry-Charles, Duke of Beaufort, sworn lord-lieutenant of the counties of Monmouth and Brecon, *vice* his Father, deceased.

War-Office, Oct. 27. Hospital-Staff. Surgeon, James Pitcairn, to be assistant-inspector to the forces serving in Ireland. Surgeon Ebenezer Browne, from the 30th foot, to be surgeon to the forces. Surgeon George Mitchelson, from the 26th foot, to be surgeon to a recruiting-district, *vice* Fitzgerald, deceased.

Whitehall, Oct. 27. John Halkett, Esq. appointed captain-general and governor in chief of the island of Tobago.

Whitehall, Oct. 29. Right Hon. Lord Viscount Castlereagh, the Duke of Portland, Lord Hawkesbury, Lord Hobart, Charles Yorke, Henry Addington, Lord Glenbervie, Thomas Wallace, Edward Golding, and Thomas Maitland, Esqrs. appointed his Majesty's commissioners for the affairs of India.—Rev. J. Brereton, M. A. appointed a prebendary of Salisbury cathedral, *vice* Burgess, now bishop of Bristol.

Dublin-Castle, Nov. 1. William Downes, chief justice of the court of King's Bench, sworn of his Majesty's most honourable Privy-council of Ireland.

War-Office, Nov. 1. Barracks. James Taitt, Esq. late an assistant-deputy-quarter-master-general in America, to be barrack-master at

the Bahamas, *vice* Carre, deceased. To be barrack-masters in Great Britain: John Brown, Esq. captain in the 5th battalion of reserve; John Macdonald, Esq. late of the regiment of the Isles, *vice* Crichton, resigned; and Charles Wright, Esq. captain on half-pay of the 72d foot. To be deputy-barrack-masters in Great Britain: Thomas Halls, lieutenant of retired marines, and Launcelot Hayman.

War-Office, Nov. 3. Brevet. Lieutenant-colonel Richard Thomas Nelson, on half-pay of the late Essex fencibles, to be colonel in the army.—His Majesty has been pleased to appoint the following officers of the East India Company's forces, to take rank by Brevet in his Majesty's army in the East Indies only: To be major-generals, colonel Richard Lucas, and colonel Kenneth Mackenzie; to be lieutenant-colonels, Majors, John Charles Witter, John Bell, and John Arthur Tanner; to be majors, captains James Robertson, and John Griffith.—Staff. To be inspecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps, with the temporary rank of lieutenant-colonels in the army, so long only as they shall hold the said appointments, viz. colonel John Gordon Cuming, of the late Inverness fencibles, and — Blakeney, Esq. late major of the 23d foot.—Hospital Staff. Surgeon, Thomson Forster, from half-pay, to be surgeon to the forces.

War-Office, Nov. 5. Barracks. Nathaniel Forster, lieutenant on half-pay of the late loyal Sheffield regiment, to be a barrack-master in Great Britain. John George Pell, lieutenant in the Leicestershire

militia, to be a deputy-barrack-master in Great Britain.

Dublin-castle, Nov. 7. Right Hon. St. George Daly, one of the barons of the court of exchequer in Ireland, appointed one of the justices of the court of King's bench, *vice* Right Hon. William Downess, appointed chief justice of the said court.—James M'Clelland, Esq. solicitor-general in Ireland, appointed one of the barons of the court of exchequer in Ireland, *vice* Daly.—William Conyngham Plunkett, Esq. one of his Majesty's counsel at law, appointed his Majesty's solicitor-general in Ireland, *vice* M'Clelland.

St. James's, Nov. 9. Right Hon. Thomas Lord Pelham, sworn chancellor of the duchy and county-palatine of Lancaster, *vice* Earl of Liverpool, resigned.

War-Office, Nov. 9. Staff. Captain William Samuel Currey, of the 86th foot, to be deputy-quarter-master-general to the forces serving in both the Canadas, with the rank of major in the army.—Hospital Staff. Surgeon, George Heatherley, from the 37th foot, to be garrison-surgeon of St. Lucia. Surgeon, David Hutcheson, from the 68th foot, to be apothecary to the forces.

Downing-street, Nov. 12. Hon. Henry Pierrepont, appointed his Majesty's envoy-extraordinary at the court of Stockholm.

Whitehall, Nov. 12. Rev. Walter King, D. D. to be prebendary of Canterbury, *vice* Bulby, resigned.

War-Office, Nov. 15. Staff. John Offay, to be an assistant-commissary of stores, provisions, and forage to the forces. William Fisher, to be an assistant-commissary of

of stores, provisions, and forage on home service.

Whitehall, Nov. 15. Major-general John Stuart, permitted to receive and wear insignia of the Ottoman imperial order of the crescent, conferred upon him by the Grand Seignior.

Whitehall, Nov. 16. Right Hon. Robert Banks Jenkinson (commonly called Lord Hawkesbury,) summoned to the house of peers, by the stile and title of baron Hawkesbury, of Hawkesbury, co-Gloucester.

War-Office, Nov. 17. Lieutenant-general, his Royal Highness Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Cambridge, K. G. to be colonel in chief of the King's German legion.

—Brevet. Major William Kent, of the 10th foot, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army.—Staff. Major Lachlan M'Quarrie, of the 86th foot, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the forces lately serving in Egypt, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army. Lieutenant-colonel Henry Cuyler, on half-pay of the 27th foot, to be an inspecting field-officer of yeomanry and volunteer corps, *vice* Dodd, resigned. Rev. George Clarke, to be chaplain to the royal military asylum.—Garrison. Surgeon, Alexander Straith, from the second garrison-battalion, to be extra-garrison-surgeon of Gibraltar, *vice* Pym, promoted.—Hospital-Staff. Surgeons, H. B. Worth, and W. North, sen. from half-pay, to be surgeons to the forces. Surgeon, James Rogers, from the 4th garrison-battalion, to be surgeon to the forces serving in Ireland, *vice* Peile, promoted. To be surgeons to the divisions of light infantry militia in Ireland: 1st division,

assistant-surgeon, S. L. Steele. from the 89th foot; 2nd, assistant surgeon, Alexander Boyle, from the 62 foot; 3d, assistant-surgeon, John Henning, from the 3d dragoons.

Whitehall, Nov. 19. Right Hon. Henry Addington, George Thynne, Esq. (commonly called Lord George Thynne,) Nathaniel Bond, William Brodrick, and Edward Golding, Esqrs. appointed commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his Majesty's exchequer.

Whitehall, Nov. 22. James Mackintosh, Esq. appointed recorder of Bombay, *vice* Sir William Syer, deceased.

St. James's, Nov. 23. Right Hon. Thomas Maitland, and Right Hon. Nathaniel Bond, sworn of the privy council.

Whitehall, Nov. 36. Brook Watson, of East Sheen, co Surry, Esq. commissary-general to his Majesty's forces in Great Britain, created a baronet of United Kingdom, with remainder, in default of issue male, to William Kay, Esq. deputy commissary-general of the said forces, great nephew of the said Brook Watson, Esq. and to Brook Kay, Esq. an officer in the naval service of the East India company, and to their respective male issue.

William Henry Jervis, Esq. captain in the Royal Navy, appointed treasurer and receiver-general of Greenwich hospital, in the room of admiral Payne, deceased.

War-Office, Nov. 29. Staff. Lieutenant and adjutant — Jervis, to be captain of the staff at the army Depôt, in the Isle of Wight. —To be inspecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps, with the rank of lieutenant-col-

nels in the army, so long only as they continue to hold the said appointments: colonel Walter Ker, on half-pay of the late British fencibles; lieutenant colonel Boyle Travers, on half-pay of the late 112th foot; lieutenant-colonel George Jackson, on half-pay of the late Argyleshire fencibles; lieutenant-colonel Thomas Molyneux, on half-pay of the late 104th foot; lieutenant-col. Francis Delaval, on half-pay of the independents; lieutenant-colonel Sir Montagu Bourgoyne, bart. on half-pay of the 21st light dragoons; Thomas R. Grey, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 20th foot; Robert Bell, late lieutenant-colonel of the 86th foot; Henry Chaytor, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 1st foot-guards; Frederick Keppel, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 49th foot; Sir Edward Barnes, Knt. late lieutenant-colonel of the 83d foot; Andrew Wight, Esq. late major of the 36th foot; John Murray, Esq. William Gooch, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 5th foot; colonel George Warde, of the late horse grenadier-guards; and C. Watson, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 3d dragoons.—Hospital-staff. Apothecary, J. Gaynor, from half-pay, to be apothecary to the forces. Deputy purveyor C. James, from half-pay, to be a deputy-purveyor to the forces.

War-Office, Dec. 1. Barracks. Stackhouse Thompson, Esq. paymaster of the 4th battalion of reserve, to be a barrack-master in Great Britain.

Carlton-House, Dec. 6. Thomas Tyrwhitt, Esq. M. P. for the borough of Portarlington, appointed (by the Prince of Wales) lord

warden of the Stannaries, and admiral of the duchy ports and harbours, in the counties of Cornwall and Devon, *vice* admiral Payne, deceased.—John M'Mahon, Esq. M. P. for the borough of Aldborough, appointed secretary and keeper of his Royal Highness's privy-seal and council-seal, and auditor of the duchy of Cornwall. *vice* Tyrwhitt, promoted.

War-Office, Dec. 8. To be inspecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps: Lieutenant-colonel Matthew Sharpe, from half-pay of the late 28th light dragoons; and lieutenant-colonel William Hutchinson, on half-pay of the late independent companies.—Hospital-Staff, Surgeon W. Adams, from the 39th foot, to be surgeon of a recruiting-district, *vice* Pitcairn, promoted.

War-Office, Dec. 10. Staff. Leeds Booth, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 87th foot, to be an inspecting field-officer of yeomanry and volunteer corps, (with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, so long only as he shall hold the said appointment,) *vice* Molyneux, resigned. Assistant commissary John Bissett, to be a deputy-commissary-general of stores, provisions, and forage to the forces, *vice* Longden, resigned. John Durie, to be an assistant-commissary of stores, provisions, and forage to the forces serving in the West Indies, *vice* Sandiford, resigned.—Garrison, George Gordon, D. D. to be chaplain to the garrison of Fort George, *vice* James Gordon, resigned.—Hospital-staff. Surgeon William Comins, to be an assistant-inspector of hospitals to the forces serving in Ireland. Surgeon Huson Bigger, to be surgeon to the said forces.

forces.—Barracks. To be barrack-masters in Great Britain: Robert Edward Hunter, Esq. captain in the Margate volunteer infantry; Thomas B. Tindal, Esq. captain and adjutant of the Cornwall militia, *vice* Foy; William Wightman, lieutenant of the retired marines, and of the first Devonshire militia; and John Belfon, lieutenant of the reduced marines, and of the 2d Staffordshire militia.

Whitehall, Dec. 15. Rev. George Hutton, M.A. presented to the vicarage of Sutterton, co. of Lincoln, *vice* Dr. Charles Lindsay, promoted to the see of Killaloe and Kilfenora in Ireland.

Whitehall, Dec. 17. John Lane, Esq. of Upper Eaton-street, Grosvenor-place, to be receiver-general of the duty of one shilling in the pound on salaries, fees, and wages of any offices and employments payable by the crown in North-Britain, *vice* the earl of Leven and Melville, resigned.

St. James's, Dec. 21st. James Mackintosh, Esq. to the honour of knighthood.

Downing-street, Dec. 22. Charles Cameron, Esq. appointed captain-general and governor in chief in and over his Majesty's Bahama Islands in America.

War-Office, Dec. 24. Brevet. Major William Maundy Harvey, of the 1st West India regiment, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army.—Staff. Captain David Williams, from the 7th foot, to be captain on the Staff at the army depôt, *vice* Wooldridge, exchanged. To be inspecting field officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps: colonel G. Bromhead, on half-pay of the late Lochaber fencibles; Colonel William Murray, on half-pay of the

late 24th light dragoons; lieutenant-colonel John Lee, on half-pay of the 112th foot; lieutenant-colonel James Orde, on half-pay of the 4th foot; and Gordon Skelly, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the Royals, (with temporary rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army.)—Hospital-staff. Surgeon William Hussey, from the Royal horse-guards, to be an assistant-inspector of hospitals. Surgeon Edward Porteus, from the 45th foot, to be surgeon to the forces, *vice* Balmain, deceased.—Barracks. Webster Whistler, late a lieutenant in the 24th light dragoons, to be a barrack-master in Great-Britain, *vice* Pyott, deceased.

Downing-street, Dec. 26. John-Philip Morier, Esq. appointed consul-general in Albania, the Morea, and the adjacent territories of the Ottoman empire. Charles Lock, Esq. to be consul-general in the kingdom of Egypt.

War-Office, Dec. 27. Brevet. Captain Earnest Misset, of the Queen's German regiment, to be major in the army.—Staff. Captain William Marlay, of the Staff corps, to be a permanent assistant in the quarter-master-general's department (with the rank of major in the army,) *vice* Lowe, appointed to the command of a corps. Ensign — Baron, of the 1st Royal garrison battalion, to be adjutant to the detachments in Hilsa barracks, *vice* Stevenson, appointed adjutant to the 1st Royal garrison battalion. H. Bishoppe, Esq. late major in the 17th light dragoons, to be inspecting field-officer of yeomanry and volunteer corps, with temporary rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army.

Downing-street, Dec. 27. Right
* F 4 Hon.

Hon. Percy Lord Viscount Strangford, appointed secretary of legation to the court of Lisbon.

DEATHS for the Year 1803.

Jan. 1. At Paris, the Hon. Mrs. Cecil, mother of the Marquis of Exeter. She was a foreign lady, Charlotte Gornier, married to the Hon. Mr. Cin, 1753.

4. At Raphoe, in Ireland, Mrs. Hawkins, lady of the Bishop of Raphoe.

12. At Edinburgh, Lady R. Bruce, daughter of the late William Earl of Kincardine, and aunt to the present Earl of Elgin.

14. At Paris, of a decline, the Hon. Temple Luttrell, next brother to Earl Carhampton.

17. The Countess Dowager of Aylesbury.

20. At Nice, of a decline, the Hon. Mrs. Charles Ellis, only daughter of the late Lord Hervey.

24. At Edinburgh, Lady Elizabeth Wemyss, widow of the Hon. James W. of Wemyss, and sister to the late Earl of Sutherland.

29. At Duffeldorf, Baroness Hompesch, wife of Major-general Baron Ferdinand H. and eldest daughter of the late Sir Hugh Christian, K. B.

Lately, in the Mediterranean sea, whither he had gone for the recovery of his health, the Hon. Cap. Duncan, of the guards, eldest son of Lord Viscount D. His body was conveyed to Malta, where it was interred with military honours.

Feb. 3. At Offenbach, in his 68th year, the Prince of Ysenbourg. He is succeeded by his son, Prince Charles-Frederick-Louis-Maurice, of Ysenbourg, commander of the order of Malta.

6. Hon. Mrs. Henniker, widow of Major H. Esq. second son of the late Lord H.

11. In Ireland, the Hon. James Tonson, second son of the late Lord Riversdale.

12. At Munich, aged 3 years, Prince Maximilian of Bavaria, third son of the Elector.

At Bath, the Hon. Mrs. Bagwell, eldest daughter of the late Lord Graves.

26. The Hon. Edward Griffin Kinnaird, second son of Lord K.

March — At her house at Elford, co. Stafford, in her 87th year, Mary dowager Viscountess Andover. She had lived secluded from all society, but that of her relations and most intimate friends, for the last 20 years; and has died immensely rich, both in landed and personal property. She was sister to the late Earl of Aylesford, and married William Lord Viscount Andover, son of Lord Suffolk, who died before his father. Her children by him were, the Earl of Suffolk, formerly secretary of state, and the Hon. Mrs. Howard, married to the Hon. Richard Bagot, now Mr. Howard, brother to the late Lord Bagot. Lord Suffolk, in 1777, married his first cousin, Lady Charlotte Finch, eldest sister to the Earl of Aylesford.

4. At his Lordship's house in Stratton-street, the infant son of Lord Pelham.

At Harrow school, the Hon. Frederick Nugent, second son of the Earl of Westmeath.

6. In Lincoln's Inn Fields, the widow of Samuel Ruffey, Esq. sister of the Dowager Lady Duckenfield.

8. At his town-house in Cleveland-row, about half past 3 o'clock in the morning, after a short illness from

from a cold, which brought on the complaints accompanying the influenza, Francis Duke of Bridgewater, Marquis of Brackley, Earl of Bridgewater, Viscount Brackley, and Baron of Ellesmere, of Worley, in Lancashire, and Ashridge, Bucks. He was born May 21, 1726; and succeeded the late Duke John, his brother, in 1748; and remained unmarried. Of those illustrious characters that have done honour to the British peerage, the Duke of Bridgewater deserved to be placed in the first rank. That time and fortune which too many others have devoted to purposes, if not injurious to society, at least useless, his Grace spent in pursuits that entitle him to be called the benefactor of his country. By his active spirit, and his unshaken perseverance, he amassed immense wealth. But the publick grew rich with him; and his labours were not more profitable to himself than they were to his country. His return to the income-tax was 110,000*l.* a year; the greater part acquired by his own exertions, and derived from circumstances of the highest benefit to the nation. He was the third Duke of Bridgewater, and died without issue.

11. At Richmond, Surrey, in her 71st year, the Hon. Julian Howe, sister to Viscount H.

14. Mrs. Lowth, relict of the late Bishop of London.

20. In his 82d year, the Hon. James-Everard Arundel, second son of Henry sixth Baron Arundel of Wardour, by his first wife, Elizabeth-Eleanor, daughter and heir of Baron Everard, of the principality of Liege, one of the barons of the empire. He married, 1751, Anne, daughter and heir of John

Windham, Esq. of Ashcombe, Wilts, by whom he had James-Everard, who died young, and was buried in Salisbury cathedral; James-Everard, born 1763; Thomas-Raymond, born 1765; Eleanor-Anne, born 1752; Mary-Windham, born 1757; and Catherine-Elizabeth, born 1759; married, 1792, to Geo. Ryves, Esq. captain of his Majesty's ship Agincourt, and eldest son of the late G. R. Esq. of Ranston, Dorset, by whom she has several children.

21. At Wandsworth, Surry, aged 40, H. Bengel, Esq. late of the royal navy.

In his 76th year, the Hon. Thomas Walpole, second son of Horatio first Lord Walpole, of Woolterton, co. Norfolk.

In Blackman-street, Southwark, in his 70th year, John Pardon, Esq. treasurer of the county of Surrey.

At Twinsted-hall, near Sudbury, Suffolk, while sitting in his chair, aged 72, Sir James Marriott, Knt. master of Trinity-hall, Cambridge, late judge of the high court of admiralty, and also late M. P. for Sudbury, which he represented in two parliaments.

28. At her ladyship's seat at Bounds, in her 56th year, Mary Countess of Darnley, relict of John third Earl of Darnley. Her ladyship was only daughter and heiress of John Stoyte, Esq. of Street, co. Westmeath, Ireland (by Mary Howard, sister of Ralph Viscount Wicklow,) and married, 1766, John Earl of Darnley, by whom she had seven children, the eldest of whom, John, is the present Earl of Darnley in Ireland, and Baron Clifton in England, and married, 1791, Miss Brownlow, daughter of the late Right Hon. Wm. Brownlow,

low, of Lurgan, in Ireland. Her remains were interred at South Borough chapel, near Tunbridge Wells; a number of poor children, educated and cloathed at her expence, attended the fueral in mourning.

At Munich, Lady Wallace, sister to the Dukes of Gordon, and, in former times, well known in the literary world and the circles of fashion.

29. At Vienna, aged 70, Geof. Baron Van Swieten, commander of the order of St. Stephen, and director of the Imperial library. He was son of the celebrated Baron Van Swieten, the physician, and was, some years since, the imperial envoy at the court of Berlin. He has bequeathed his library (including a very considerable musical collection) to the university of Vienna.

April 2. In Scotland, Sir James Montgomery, late lord chief baron of Scotland, and uncle to the unfortunate colonel M. who was killed in a duel with captain Macnamara on the 6th.

3. At Burton-Pynsent, co. Somerset, the Right Hon. Hester Grenville, Baroness of Chatham in her own right, and Countess-dowager of Chatham. Her ladyship was the only daughter of Richard Grenville, of Wotton, by Hester Temple, Viscountess Cobham, to which title she succeeded on the death of her brother, and was created Countess Temple 1749. Hester Grenville, Baroness of Chatham, was the only daughter by this marriage, and was created a peeress Oct. 5, 1761, having married, Nov. 6, 1754, William Pitt, the illustrious Earl of Chatham, by whom she has left issue the

present Earl and the Right Hon. William Pitt.

5. At her house, in Wimpole-street, aged 86, Lady Frances Williams Wynn, relict of Sir Watkin Williams Wynn.

7. At Edinburgh, in his 77th year, Patrick Crichton, Earl of Dumfries, elected, 1786, one of the 16 peers of Scotland. He succeeded his uncle, the fourth earl; and married, 1771, a daughter of Ronald Crawford, Esq. of Restalrig, by whom he had a son, born 1776, and a daughter, born 1773.

9. At his house in Jermyn-street, in his 63d year, Gen. de Bonermeister, resident-minister from the court of Hesse-Cassel. His remains were deposited in the Savoy chapel. In the death of this distinguished personage the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel has lost an able general and a faithful minister. His Excellency's military career has shewn itself most conspicuously in the German, American, and late continental wars; and he bore to his grave the honourable wounds he received in those contests. His services were principally with his Britannic Majesty's troops. His suavity and mildness of manners endeared him particularly to their Majesty's and the Royal Family, to most of the Nobility, and to all those who had the honour of his acquaintance. His Excellency's illness was long and painful; during which time the attention of his Excellency's secretary, N. G. Lewis, Esq. and a number of friends, was unremitted; which must afford much consolation to his relatives abroad.

10. At Holton Park, co. Oxford, in her 24th year, the Hon. Mrs. Parker,

Parker, wife of colonel P. brother to the Earl of Macclesfield.

15. At Vienna, in his 89th year, the Archbishop of that see, Cardinal Prince Migazzy. On the preceding day he had taken a walk upon the Prater; found himself unwell; and, returning home, expired almost immediately. Cardinal M. it is well known, was not upon the best terms with the Emperor Joseph II. and refused to promote any of that Monarch's views of reform. He was of a very ancient family, which distinguished itself in the Valteline in the year 1200; and, for some time, he filled the office of imperial envoy at Madrid. His remains were interred on the 19th at Vienna, by torch-light; the funeral procession being opened by the children of the orphan-house, and the poor belonging to several other charitable foundations.

18. At Stratford-house, Essex, John Lord Henniker, Baron Henniker, of Stratford-upon Slaney, F.R.S. and LL.D. His Lordship was born in 1724, and married, 1747, Anne, eldest daughter (and coheirefs with her sister, Elizabeth Duchefs of Chandos) of Sir John Major, Bart. of Warlingworth-hall, co. Suffolk, and had issue, 1. the Hon. John Henniker-Major; 2. the Hon. Major Henniker, deceased; 3. the Hon. Gen. Brydges-Henniker; 4. Anne-Elizabeth, married, 1787, Edward Stratford, Earl of Aldborough, and died at Aldborough-house, Dublin, July, 1802, without issue. His Lordship was descended from an ancient family in Kent; succeeded to the title of baronet 1781, and was created a peer July 30, 1800, by the title of Baron Henniker of

Stratford-upon-Slaney, in the county of Wicklow. He is succeeded in his title and large estates by his eldest son, the Hon. John-Henniker-Major, F.R.S. of Portman-square, now second Lord Henniker, who married Emily, daughter of Robert Jones, Esq. of Duffrin, Glamorganfhire.

25. At Brighthelmstone, after a lingering illness, in his 7th year, the Hon. Wm. Neville, youngest son of Lord Braybroke.

27. At his seat of Castletown, in Ireland, the Right Hon. Thomas Conolly.

30. At her father's seat, the Priory, near Stanmore, co. Middlesex, in her 22d year, after a short illness of an inflammation of the membrane which lines the windpipe, and which very suddenly produced suffocation, Lady Harriet Hamilton, eldest daughter of the Marquis of Abercorn. She was to have been married to the Marquis of Waterford in a few days.

In Frederick-street, Dublin, Lady Grace Queade, daughter of John first Earl of Aldborough, sister to the present Earl.

May 1. At her house in Upper Seymour-street, Lady M. Milbourne.

5. At Camelford-house, co. Oxford, aged 65, Anne, dowager Lady Camelford. She was daughter and coheir of Pinkney Wilkinson, of Burnham, co. Norfolk, Esq. and married, 1771, to Thomas Pitt, Lord Camelford, by whom she has left one son, and a daughter, married, 1792, to William Wyndham, Lord Grenville.

7. At Stratfield Say, Hants, aged 83, George Pitt, Lord Rivers, a lord of his Majesty's bed.

bed-chamber, and lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Dorset, in which he is succeeded by Lord Dorchester. The peerage descends, in the present instance, to his only son, the Hon. George Pitt.

21. At Kensington, the Hon. Mrs. Luttrell, relict of the Hon. Temple L. next brother of Henry Earl of Carhampton. She was daughter of Sir Henry Gould, Knt. one of the judges of the court of common pleas in England, and sister of Honoria Countess of Cavan.

At Hazlewood, co. Sligo, Ireland, William Willoughby Cole, Earl of Enniskillen, so created 1789.

At her house, at St. Donlough's, near Dublin, Lady Catharine O'Toole, sister to the Earl of Mountnorris.

26. At Lydiard-Tregeze, near Wootton-Basset, the Hon Mr. St. John, eldest son of Lord Viscount Bolingbroke.

June 2. In Welbeck-street, Cavendish-square, aged 73, Mrs. Catherine Trapaud, relict of the late Gen. Cyrus T. who died May 3, 1801, and aunt to the late Duke of Bridgewater.

3. In Cavendish-square, in his 43d year, the Right Hon. and Rev. George Murray, D.D. Lord Bishop of St. David's, and brother to the Duke of Athol.

4. At Euston-hall, Suffolk, in her 22d year, of a cold, which settled in the chest, Lady Caroline Fitzroy, sixth daughter of the Duke of Grafton.

At Forglen, in Scotland, William Ogilvie, Lord Bamff.

5. At the Earl of Derby's, in Grosvenor-square, after a short

illness, Mrs. Farren, mother of the Countess of Derby.

6. At her apartments near Kensington, the Hon. Miss Lambe, daughter of Lord Melbourne.

9. In Lower-Grosvenor-street, the Right Rev. Henry Reignald Courtenay, D.D. Lord Bishop of Exeter, son of Sir Wm. C. of Powderham, co. Devon, bart. brother to the first Viscount Courtenay, and uncle to the present.

12. At Florence, Lady Catherine Burgess, sister to the Duke of St. Alban's.

20. At Bath, after a long illness, aged 66, the Right Hon. Nathaniel Lord Harrowby.

22. The wife of Thomas Wilkinson, Esq. of Binchester, co. Durham, Daughter of the late Hon. Mr. Lyon.

July 1. The infant daughter of Lord George Henry Cavendish; interred, on the 8th, at his Lordship's house, in Hertford-street, aged four years, the youngest daughter of Lord Bruce.

8. At Albano, near Rome, of a severe attack of the gout, aged 73, Frederick Hervey, Earl of Bristol, grandson of the first Earl, in which title he succeeded his brother, Augustus-John, 1779, and Bishop of Cloyne, 1767, of Derry, 1768, and a privy-counsellor of Ireland. He was born in 1730; educated at Mr. Newcome's school at Hackney; admitted of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 1747, where he took no degree; but the honorary one of D.D. was conferred on him by mandamus. He was appointed chaplain in ordinary to the King, and a principal clerk of the privy-seal, both which he resigned when appointed a bishop. He married Elizabeth, daughter of

of Sir Germain Davers, who died at Ickworth, Suffolk, Dec. 19, 1800, by whom he had two sons: George, late captain of the Zealous man of war, and Augustus-John; and two daughters, Mary, married to John Lord Erne of Ireland, and Elizabeth, married to John-Thomas Foster. He was among the leaders of the Irish patriots during the American war, and a member of the famous convention of volunteer delegates held in Dublin in 1782; on which occasion he was escorted from Derry to Dublin by a regiment of volunteer cavalry, and received military honours in every town through which he passed in that long journey. His Lordship was building at his family-seat at Ickworth, a villa on the Italian model, by Italian architects and artists of every class; to which he had appropriated 12,000*l.* annually, and the ornaments of which are so tender and sharp as to require covering to preserve them from injury by the external air. As an amateur, connoisseur, and indefatigable protector of the fine arts, he died at his post, surrounded by artists, whose talents his judgment had directed, and whose wants his liberality had relieved. His love of the sciences was only surpassed by his love to his country, and by his generosity to the unfortunate of every country; neither rank nor power escaped his resentment when any illiberal opinion was thrown out against England. At a dinner with the late King of Prussia and the Prince Royal of Denmark, at Pyrmont, in 1797, he boldly said, after the conversation about the active ambition of England had been changed into enquiries about

the delicacy of a roasted capon, that he did not like neutral animals, let them be ever so delicate. In 1798 he was arrested by the French in Italy, and confined in the castle of Milan; was plundered by the republicans of a valuable and well-chosen collection of antiquities, which he had purchased with a view of transmitting to his native country; and was betrayed and cheated by many Italians, whose benefactor he had been. But neither the injustice nor the ingratitude of mankind changed his liberal disposition: he no sooner recovered his liberty than new benefactions forced even the ungrateful to repent, and the unjust to acknowledge his elevated mind. The Earl of Bristol was one of the greatest English travellers (a capacity in which his merits have been duly appreciated by the celebrated Martin Sherlock;) and there is not a country in Europe where the distressed have not obtained his succour, and the oppressed his protection. He may truly be said to have clothed the naked, and fed the hungry; and, as ostentation never constituted real charity, his left hand did not know what his right hand distributed. The tears and lamentations of widows and orphans have discovered his philanthropy when he is no more; and letters from Swiss patriots and French emigrants, from Italian catholics and German protestants, prove the noble use his Lordship made of his fortune, indiscriminately, to the poor, destitute, and unprotected of all countries, of all parties, and of all religions.

17. At his apartments at Brixton causeway, Surrey, in his 25th year,

year, of a tedious and painful illness, which he bore with manly fortitude, Alexander Manners Leslie, Esq. nephew to Lord Newark.

At Barchfeld, of a lingering disease, in his 61st year, his Serene Highness Adolphus, reigning Prince of Hesse Philippsthal-Barchfeld.

Aug. 4. At Bath, in her 32d year, the wife of the Rev. Dr. Edwards, and niece of Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough.

12. In St. James's-square, Bath, Mrs. Jervis, aunt of Earl St. Vincent.

21. At Teignmouth, Devon, in his 75th year, Cornwallis Maude, Viscount Hawarden and Baron De Montalt, of Hawarden, in Flintshire.

28. At Alnwick castle, Northumberland, in her 19th year, Lady Frances Percy, third daughter of the Duke of Northumberland.

Sept. 14. Killed, in gallantly boarding a privateer off Civita Vecchia, the Hon. Henry Fitzgerald, son of Lord Lecale (brother to the Duke of Leinster.)

22. At Badminton, co-Gloucester, aged 17, Lady Aune-Elizabeth Somerset, youngest daughter of the duke of Beaufort.

At Edinburgh, in the prime of life, the Duchess of Gramont, who was distinguished at the Court of France, during the Monarchy, for her beauty and merit.

At the palace of Kilmore, in Ireland, of a convulsive fit, Miss Anastasia Beresford, second daughter of the Bishop of Kilmore.

October. At Ardsfalla, co. Meath, the Right Hon. Peter Ludlow, Earl Ludlow, so created in 1760, Baron Ludlow of Ardsfalla, 1755. He was born in 1730, being son of

Peter Ludlow, Esq. of Ardsfalla, by Mary, daughter and heir of John Preston, Esq. of Ardsfalla. He married, 1753, Lady Frances Sanderson, eldest daughter of Thomas, third Earl of Scarborough, by whom he had Augustus Viscount Preston, his successor, born 1753, two other sons, and four daughters.

1. At Barrogill Castle, of a fever, in her 17th year, the Hon. Lady Helen Sinclair, second daughter of the Earl of Caithness.

3. Mrs. E. Mathew, aunt to the Earl of Landaff.

8. Interred, in St. George's chapel, Windsor, in the same grave with her beloved husband, the Hon. Anne Brudenell, relict of the Hon. Col. Robert Brudenell.

11. At his seat at Badminton, co. Gloucester, of the gout in his stomach, in his 59th year, the most noble Henry Somerset, Duke of Beaufort, Marquis and Earl of Worcester, Earl of Glamorgan, Viscount Grosmont, Baron Herbert, Lord of Ragland, Chipstow, and Gower, Baron Beaufort, of Caldecot Castle, Baron Bottetourt (to which he succeeded on the death of his mother, April 8, 1799,) lord-lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the counties of Monmouth and Brecknock, and K. G. He was born Oct. 16, 1744; and was married, April 2, 1766, to Elizabeth, youngest daughter of the late Admiral Boscawen, and sister to George Evelyn, Viscount Falmouth, by whom he has left eight sons and three daughters; the eldest of whom, Henry Charles, Marquis of Worcester, and M. P. for Gloucestershire, succeeds him in his titles and estates. His Grace will be very much lamented by his family, his friends,

friends, his neighbours, and his numerous tenantry, in the counties of Gloucester and Monmouth. He maintained the dignity of his station rather by the noble simplicity of his manners, and his provincial hospitality, than by attentions to exterior splendour and display of fashion. It was not to his taste, nor did it suit with his fancy, to solicit notice by any of those attractions at which the public gaze with temporary admiration. Grosvenor-square was not disturbed by his festivities; but at Badminton and Troy-house every visitor felt the honour of his reception, and was delighted with the satisfaction that accompanied it. In politics he supported a tranquil, dignified independence. He never engaged in the ranks of opposition; and the support he generally gave to his Majesty's ministers could never be justly attributed to any motives but such as were perfectly consistent with the integrity which distinguished his honourable life. His remains were, on the 20th, interred in the family-vault at Badminton.

12. Miss Jane Lyon, fourth daughter of the late Hon. Thomas L. of Hetton, Durham.

14. At her house in Gay-street, Bath, Viscountess Northland, wife of Lord Viscount Northland, of Ireland.

18. At Stonehouse, near Plymouth, the Hon. Miss Susan De Courcy, third daughter of Lord Kinsale, of Ireland.

19. At Cumner, Berks, aged 83, the widow of the Rev. John Bertie, youngest brother of Willoughby, Earl of Abingdon.

21. At his house at Twickenham, Middlesex, Lord Frederick

Cavendish, uncle to the Duke of Devonshire and Lord G. H. Cavendish. He was born in August 1729.

26. At his seat, Trentham-hall, co. Stafford, in his 68th year, Granville Leveson Gower, Marquis of Stafford, Earl Gower, Viscount Trentham, Baron Gower, and K.G. He is succeeded by Earl Gower, his eldest son, who was married, 1785, to the Countess of Sutherland, now Marchioness of Stafford. The late Marquis was born Aug. 4, 1721; first married, in 1744, to Elizabeth, daughter of Nicholas Fazakerley, Esq.; secondly, March 28, 1748, to Louisa Egerton, daughter of Scrope, Duke of Bridgewater.

30. At Wonerth, near Guildford, co. Surrey, aged 95, Grace dowager Lady Grantley, daughter of Sir Wm. Chapple, knt. judge of the King's Bench; married, 1741, to Sir Fletcher Norton, afterwards created Lord Grantley, by whom she had four sons and one daughter.

November 2. At Edinburgh, the Hon. Mrs. Mary, Elizabeth Forbes, daughter of Lord Forbes, sister to the Duchess of Athol, and wife of John Hay, Esq. banker, of Edinburgh.

16. At Rome, in her 75th year, the Princess Matilda, of Este, sister of the late Duke of Parma.

22. At Bradley-hall, co. Stafford, in her 15th year, of a scarlet fever, Lady Harriet Stanhope, eldest surviving daughter of the Earl of Chesterfield. She was his Lordship's only daughter by his first wife, Anne, daughter of Alexander Thistlethwaite, Esq. of Titherley, co. Hants.

24. At Plesse, in Upper Silesia, of a severe nervous fever, in her 20th

20th year, having been married only three months, the reigning Princess of Anhalt Coether-Plesse, born Princess of Holstein-Beck.

27. In Lancashire, the lady of the Hon. Capt. Jones, brother of Lord Viscount Ranelagh.

December 7. At her house at Twickenham, in her 79th year, Anne Lady Mendip.

8. In York-place, Kingsland-road, the Hon. Mrs. Murray, only daughter of the late Lord John M. and wife of Col. M. of Banner Cross, co. York.

12. At her house in Seymour-place, in her 70th year, Lady Charlotte Tufton, aunt to the present Earl of Thanet.

His Royal Highness Prince Frederick Adolphus, Duke of Ostrogothia, uncle to the King of Sweden.

18. In Portland-place, after a long and severe illness, the wife of William Gosling, Esq. and daughter of Lady Cunliffe.

24. In his 43d year, after a long illness, his Serene Highness George Duke of Saxe Meiningen; born Feb. 4, 1761.

28. At Vienna, of a paralytic stroke, in his 79th year, the minister plenipotentiary, from Hanover, Baron Von Muhl, many years senior of the diplomatic corps.

29. At Corhampton, Hants, Hester Countess Dowager of Clanricarde, relict of John, eleventh Earl of Clanricarde, mother of the present Earl, and grandmother of Sir Francis Vincent, bart. She was youngest daughter of Sir Henry Vincent, of Stoke D'Abernethy, Surrey, and mother of two sons and three daughters.

SHERIFFS appointed by his Majesty in Council, for the Year 1803.

Bedfordshire. Godfrey Thornton, of Moggerhanger, Esq.

Berkshire. Daniel Agace, of Winkfield, Esq.

Buckinghamshire. Joseph Franklin, of Haddenham, Esq.

Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire. James Duberley, of Gain's Hall, Esq.

Cheshire. John Fielden, of Great Mollington, Esq.

Cumberland. Robert Warwick, of Warwick Hall, Esq.

Derbyshire. Sir Robert Wilmot, of Chaddestden, Bart.

Devonshire. Sir Stafford Northcote, of Pynes, Bart.

Dorsetshire. John Wedgewood, of Grenville, Esq.

Essex. Stephen Fryer Gillum, of Shenfield, Esq.

Gloucestershire. Samuel Wathen, of Woodchester, Esq.

Herefordshire. Benjamin Bidulph, of Burghill, Esq.

Hertfordshire. Henry Brown, of North Mims Place, Esq.

Kent. Christopher Cooke, of Ash-grove, Esq.

Leicestershire. James Vann, of Belgrave, Esq.

Lincolnshire. Sir Henry Nelthorpe, of Sealby, Bart.

Monmouthshire. George Jones, of Magor, Esq.

Norfolk. Thomas Hare, of Stow Hall, Esq.

Northamptonshire. John Harvey Thursby, of Abington, Esq.

Northumberland. Shaftoe Crafter, of Crafter, Esq.

Nottinghamshire. William Coape Sherbrooke, of Oxton, Esq.

Oxfordshire. James Taylor, of Sandford, Esq.

Rutlandshire.

Rutlandshire. Joseph Cooke, of Edith Weston, Esq.

Shropshire. Thomas Kinnerley, of Leighton, Esq.

Somersetshire. Sir Hugh Smith, of Wraxhall, Bart.

Staffordshire. George Birch, of Hampstead, Esq.

County of Southampton. William Mills, of Bistern, Esq.

Suffolk. Sir Harry Barker, of Melford, Bart.

Surrey. John Pooley Kensington, of Putney, Esq.

Sussex. John William Commerell, of Strood, Esq.

Warwickshire. Henry Greswold Lewis, of Malvern Hall, Esq.

Wiltshire. Thomas Henry Hele Phipps, of Westbury Leigh, Esq.

Worcestershire. John Philips, of Winterdyne, Esq.

Yorkshire. Sir Henry Carr Ibbetson, of Denton, Bart.

Cardigan. John Lloyd, of Mabus, Esq.

Glamorgan. John Morris, of Clafemont, Esq.

Brecon. Sackville Gwynne, of Trimawr, Esq.

Radnor. T. H. M. Gwynne, of Llanelwith, Esq.

NORTH WALES.

Merioneth. John Forbes, of Ofabodig, Esq.

Carnarvan. Gwyllym Lloyd Wardle, of Wern Fawr, Esq.

Anglesey. William Bulkeley Hughes, of Plas Coch, Esq.

Montgomery. J. Winder, of Vaynor, Esq.

Denbigh. Henry Ellis Boates, of Rose Hill, Esq.

Flint. Owen Molyneux Wynne, of Overton, Esq.

SOUTH WALES.

Caermarthen. John Llewellyn, of Castle Piggin, Esq.

Pembroke. George Bowen, of Llwgwair, Esq.

Prince of Wales's Council.

County of Cornwall. Thomas Rawlings, of Badstow, Esq.

APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE.

*Dispatch from Lieut. Gen. Grinfield,
Commander in Chief of His Ma-
jesty's Troops in the Windward
and Leeward Charibbee Islands,
to Lord Hobart, Principal Secre-
tary of State for the War De-
partment.*

St. Lucia, June 22.

“ MY LORD,

“ IT is with satisfaction I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship, that this day the fortress of Morne Fortunée was carried by assault; and the Island of St. Lucia is in consequence unconditionally restored to the British Government.—I have to state to your Lordship, that in consequence of his Majesty's order, signified to me in your letter, dated the 16th of May, and received on the 14th instant, which I immediately communicated to Commodore Hood, he arrived at Barbadoes on the 17th: the troops, stores, &c. were on board, or embarked on the 19th; sailed on the 20th. On the 21st, at day-break, they were off the north end of St. Lucia; in the course of the day the greatest part of the troops were disembarked in Choque Bay; about half past five the out-posts of the enemy were driven in, the town of Castries taken, and a summons was sent to the commander of the troops of the

French Republic.—In consequence of the refusal of Brigade General Nogues to accede to any terms, and the expectation of approaching rains, it became necessary to get possession of the Morne with as little delay as possible. It was therefore determined, this morning, to attack the fortress by assault, which was done accordingly at four o'clock; and it was carried in about half an hour, and with less loss, considering the resistance, than could have been expected; but the loss has been chiefly among the higher ranks of officers, and those the most truly valuable; but it is yet to be hoped most of them will recover, for the real benefit of his Majesty's service.—I cannot omit a circumstance which reflects so much credit, as well on the British nation, as on the conduct of the soldiers actually employed, that, notwithstanding the severe and spirited resistance of the French troops, yet, no sooner were the works carried by assault, and the opposition no longer existed, than every idea of animosity appeared to cease, and not a French soldier was either killed or wounded.—The return of the killed and wounded is herewith inclosed, which, excepting the number of officers of high rank, is not equal to what might have been expected, and

and by far less than it would have been, in all probability, had a formal investment of the fortress taken place. These dispatches will be delivered to your Lordship by my Aid-du-Camp, Capt. Weir, to whom I beg to refer your Lordship for any information you may require."

Killed, Wounded, and Missing, of the Troops in the Assault, and Capture of the fortress of Morne Fortunée, in the Island of St. Lucia, in the Morning of the 22d of June.

Royal Military Artifices, 1 serjeant killed.—2d Battalion of Royals, 1 serjeant, 8 rank and file, killed; 1 field-officer, 1 captain, 2 serjeants, 43 rank and file, wounded; 1 rank and file missing.—64th Regiment, 1 serjeant, 5 rank and file, killed; 2 field-officers, 1 captain, 1 subaltern, 2 serjeants, 31 rank and file, wounded; 1 rank and file missing.—68th ditto, 1 drummer missing.—3d West India Regiment, 1 serjeant, 3 rank and file, killed; 2 subalterns, 23 rank and file, wounded; 5 rank and file missing.—Staff, 1 field-officer wounded. Total, 4 serjeants, 16 rank and file, killed; 4 field-officers, 2 captains, 3 subalterns, 4 serjeants, 97 rank and file, wounded; 1 drummer, 7 rank and file, missing.

Officers Wounded.—2d Battalion of Royals, Lieut. Col. Macdonald, severely; Captain Chaloner, severely.—64th Reg. Lieutenant-Col. Pakenham, severely; Major Sir G. Richardson, Capt. Galway, Lieut. F. Rowan, slightly.—3d

West-India Regiment, Lieut. Moultrie, slightly; Ensign Fagan, slightly.—Staff, Lieut. Col. Mordey, Deputy Adjutant-General, severely.—N. B. Hospital-Mate, Heyes, attached to the 3d West-India Regiment, severely wounded, not included above.

(Signed) W. TATUM,
Capt. Assistant Adj. Gen.

Letter from Commodore Hood, Commander in Chief at the Leeward Islands, to Sir E. Nepean, Bart. dated on board the Centaur, in Choque Bay, St. Lucia, June 22.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that, on my arrival at Barbadoes on the 17th, late in the evening, having consulted Lieut. Gen. Grinfield with respect to the intended co-operation of the army and navy, I instantly took measure to prevent further supplies being thrown into St. Lucia, (the ships on this service, under the orders of Captain O'Brien, of the Emerald, made some captures of trading vessels), and every disposition was settled for embarking the troops and light artillery on board the ships of war, and the necessary stores, &c. in small vessels, for the expedition: by great exertions the whole was effected on the 20th, and the arrangements completed. The Lieut. General having embarked with the troops, I put to sea with the ships named in the margin*; was joined next morning by the Emerald and Of-

* Centaur, Courageux, Argo, Chichester, Hornet, and Cyane.

prey, having Brigadier-General Preyost on board, and were all anchored by eleven o'clock in this Bay. There being a strong breeze, the boats of the Squadron had a heavy pull with the first division of the army, composed of the 2d battalion of the Royals, and two field-pieces, under the command of Brig. Gen. Brereton; but, by the great energy and excellent disposition made by Captain Hallowell, were landed in good order about two P. M.; and by the perseverance of every officer and man employed in landing the remainder of the troops, the Lieutenant-general was enabled to make an early arrangement for an attack on that very important and strong post, Morne Fortunée, where the force of the enemy was assembled, which, on the Commandant refusing to give up when summoned, was ordered to be attacked with that decision and promptitude which has always been the characteristic mark of Lieutenant-general Grinfield, and carried by storm at half past four this morning, with the superior bravery which has ever distinguished the British soldier: this placed the colony completely in our possession. To Captain Hallowell's merit it is impossible for me to give additional encomium, as it is so generally known; but I must beg leave to say, on this expedition, his activity could not be exceeded; and, by his friendly advice, I have obtained the most effectual aid to this service, for which he has been a volunteer; and, after the final disembarkation, proceeded on with the seamen to co-operate with the army. The marines of the Squadron, by desire of the Lieutenant-general, were

landed and ordered to take post near Gros Ilet, to prevent supplies being thrown into Pigeon Island, which, on the fall of Morne Fortunée, was delivered up. We are already occupied in re-embarking troops and other necessary service for future operations. Capt. Littlehales, of this ship, is charged with the dispatch, whose assiduity and attention I with much satisfaction acknowledge, will be able to give their Lordships any further information.

I am, &c.
SAM. HOOD."

Dispatch from Lieutenant-General Grinfield, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Troops in the Windward and Leeward Islands.

Scarborough, Tobago, July 1;

"MY LORD,

"I have the honour to report to your Lordship the surrender, by capitulation, of the fort of Scarborough, and the restoration of the Island of Tobago to the British Government. I have the satisfaction to add, that this event appears to be received by the colony, the inhabitants of which are almost entirely British, with the liveliest sense of gratitude. The circumstances which led to this fortunate and valuable conquest were as follow: On the 25th, Commodore Hood, with the fleet and troops, sailed from St. Lucia; and yesterday, at day-break, we made this island. About five in the afternoon, having landed the greater part of the troops, the two leading columns marched towards Scarborough; and, meeting with no opposition in the defiles of St. Mary's,

Mary's, advanced to Mount Grace; from which place I sent a summons to the Commandant, Gen. Berthier, who returned an answer by proposing terms of capitulation, which were finally settled about four this morning, and at eleven possession of the fortress was given to the British forces; the French garrison marching out with the honours of war, and laying down their arms, after passing the guard of honour, under the orders of Brigadier-general Picton. The fort having surrendered without resistance, I can only speak in general terms of the excellent discipline and good conduct of the officers and soldiers in this expedition. There is no doubt, had the French garrison been sufficiently strong to have hazarded resistance, they would have met with as obstinate an attack as was experienced by the garrison of Morne Fortunée. It is next to impossible for me to say too much in praise of the co-operation of the navy. The troops are in the highest degree indebted to Commodore Hood, for the accommodation afforded to them on board, and to the judicious arrangements and execution in the embarking and disembarking of them by Capt. Hallowell. I take the liberty to inclose a copy of the orders given to the troops. I likewise inclose a list of the troops of the French Republic who laid down their arms in consequence of the capitulation; also the return of ordnance and military stores taken in the fort and other batteries in this island. Captain Draper, my aid-de-camp and secretary, returning to England, will have the honour to deliver this dispatch to your Lordship. I beg leave to

recommend him to your notice, as an intelligent, diligent, and active officer.

I am, &c.

W. GRINFIELD,

Lieutenant-General.

Terms of Capitulation agreed upon between General Grinfield and Commodore Hood, and General Berthier, dated Providence House, June 30. 1781.

Art. 1. To deliver up to the commander in chief of his Britannic Majesty's forces the fort of Scarborough in the same state in which it now is, together with the artillery, and military stores. Agreed to.—2. The garrison shall march out with all the honours of war, drums beating, and taking their arms and baggage, with one piece of field-artillery. Agreed to. The British troops being permitted, at 11 o'clock to-morrow morning, to have possession of the force of Scarborough; and the French garrison at the same time to march out with the honours of war, drums beating, arms and baggage, and one piece of field-artillery; but the arms are to be laid down, and the field-piece given up, as soon as they shall have passed the glacis.—3. The captain-general, his staff, all the officers, all the persons in military or civil employments, with all the soldiers, seamen, servants, and generally all the French attached to the service of the Republic, with their wives and children, shall be embarked within a month, and sent back to France at the expence of his Britannic Majesty. Agreed to. And shall be sent within the time, or as soon after as possible.—4. A proper ves-

fel shall be furnished, as soon as possible, for the conveyance of the captain-general, his family, staff, and other persons in his suite, with the goods and effects belonging to them. Agreed to.—5. The sick and wounded shall be attended to in the military hospital of Scarborough, at the expence of his Britannic Majesty, and sent to France when cured. Agreed to.—And they shall be sent to France as soon as they may be recovered.—6. The property of every kind belonging to the inhabitants of the colony shall be respected; their laws, customs, and usages, will be preserved, as they have hitherto been by the French Government. Agreed to. The colony will have the laws existing when under the British Government previous to its last cession to the French Republic.—7. The captain-general, César Berthier, shall immediately dispatch the national brig Souffleux, now at Scarborough, to apprize his government of this capitulation. The necessary passport for this purpose shall be given by the commander of the naval forces of his Britannic Majesty. Agreed to by me, but subject to the commodore's opinion. An unarmed vessel may be sent to France, and if the Souffleux is disarmed, she may be sent to France.—8. The French merchant vessels, now in Scarborough Roads, under the batteries of the fort, shall be allowed to sail for such port of Europe or America as they shall think proper. A. Requires to be referred to the Commodore. Provided the property does not belong to persons who have come to the island since its cession to the French Republic.—9. None of the inhabitants shall be molested on account

of the conduct they may have held, or opinions they may have professed, under the French Government. Agreed to.—10. During the space of two years, to commence this day, it shall be permitted to such inhabitants as are desirous of quitting the island, to dispose of their properties, and remove the amount to whatever place they please. Agreed to.

[Here follow the general orders of the commander in chief, in which he highly compliments the whole of the forces, and attributes their success principally to the steady co-operation of Commodore Hood and Captain Hallowell. He compliments the alertness of the Artillery and Artificers, and attributes the speedy surrender of the colony to the advance march of the first column, consisting of two companies of the 64th regiment, and five companies of the 3d West-India regiment, under Brigadier-general Picton.]

Return of the French troops and sailors in Fort Scarborough, in the Island of Tobago, at the time of its surrender to the British forces, on the 1st of July, 1803.—3 captains, 2 serjeant-majors, 8 serjeants, 16 corporals, 73 grenadiers, 9 drummers, 120 sailors.—Total 228. The general and staff-officers not included.

(Signed) C. LUXEMBOURG,
Capitaine Commandant."

Next is a return of the ordnance and stores found on the island, and amongst which are a vast quantity of ammunition, and several pieces of artillery of different calibre, in very good order.

Dispatch

Dispatch from Commodore Hood, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at the Leeward Islands, to Sir Evan Nepean, Bart. Dated the 1st of July.

Centaur, Great Courland Bay, Tobago, July 1.

"SIR,

"Having sailed from St. Lucia on the evening of the 25th of last month, accompanied by his Majesty's ships Centaur, Argo, Ulysses, Chichester, and Hornet, with Lieutenant-general Grinfield, and troops for the attack of Tobago, embarked on board, and several small ordnance and provision vessels, we arrived off the island yesterday forenoon, and were joined by his Majesty's ships Venus and Port Mahon, neither of which having troops, I directed Captain Graves to anchor close to the battery on the east point of Courland Bay, and commence the attack, that the first division of the army (composed of two companies of the 64th regiment, and five companies of the 3d West-India Regiment, commanded by Brigadier-general Picton, and conducted by Captain Hallowell, of the Argo) might be covered in proceeding to land in the Bay, and Capt. Nevill to run in with the Port Mahon close to the back of the battery, to cover the landing; and as soon as the two companies of the 64th were in the boats, I bore up with the Centaur, with an intention of supporting the ship and sloop; but the steady and judicious conduct of these officers in the execution of this service, was so completely effective, that the battery was soon silenced by the fire of the Venus, and the Port Mahon drove them from the back, landed and took

possession without any loss, by which the troops were disembarked unmolested. From the superior energy of Lieutenant-general Grinfield, the rapid movements of the army were such as to cause Gen. C. Berthier to propose for the surrender of the Fort of Scarborough the same evening, and the articles of capitulation, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose, were completed by half past four this morning. I should do great injustice to the Lieutenant-general, and the several officers and soldiers under his command, if I did not mention the most cordial good understanding which has subsisted between us during the whole of our operations, as I should also do to the several captains, officers, petty officers, seamen, and royal marines, of the several ships, for their unremitting attention and good conduct. The Royal Marines, and a body of seamen, were landed to co-operate with the army, under the command of Captain Hallowell; and it is scarcely necessary for me to add, his zeal and exertions were equally conspicuous as on the late expedition to St. Lucia. He is charged with this dispatch, and will give their Lordships any further information they may desire on the subject.

I am, &c.

SAM. HOOD."

The following Returns of Troops and Stores taken at St. Lucia, together with the General Orders issued by Lieutenant-general Grinfield upon that Occasion, have been received by this opportunity.

1 brigadier-general, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 10 captains,
* G 4 8 lieu.

8 lieutenants, 12 second-lieutenants, 1 surgeon-major, 1 surgeon, 1 assistant-surgeon, 13 serjeant-majors, 77 serjeants, 74 corporals, 18 drummers, 402 privates, 11 women, 9 children. Total 640.—N. B. One hundred and sixteen of the prisoners included in the total are returned sick. Taken from the Prefect's return.

WILLIAM TATUM,
Captain, Assistant-Adjutant-Gen."

[Here follows a return of ordnance, ammunition, and stores, found at Morne Fortunée, and batteries adjoint, by which it appears there were 32 iron and 2 brass guns of different calibre, with 4 brass and iron mortars, &c.]

Letter from Captain Malbon, commanding his Majesty's Ship Anzura,

" On the 30th June, about four o'clock in the morning, I made the island of Peter's; and at five sent the large cutter and launch, manned and armed with a 12 pound cannonade, under the command of Lieut. Richard Longfield Davies, and Lieut. Baillie, of the Marines, to oblige the town to surrender, or begin the attack. Between 6 and 7 o'clock they entered the harbour, under a very thick fog, and, perceiving a boat crossing from one side to the other, brought her to, in which they found the Commissary, who acted as Governor. The confusion that the place was thrown into from the sudden attack, prevented the inhabitants from assembling together; and at half past seven the Commissary surrendered the island, by delivering the colours to Lieut.

Davies. From what has been since learned, there is no doubt, that, if the inhabitants could have had time to have collected themselves from their different situations, they would have made a strong resistance, having since discovered upwards of 100 stand of arms among them. Knowing the small force in the boats, I used my utmost efforts to get his Majesty's ship into the harbour, but was as frequently prevented by thick fogs. About 11, it being somewhat clear, I entered under a very heavy press of sail between the rocks, which were not a cable's length across, and at two P. M. brought to with the best bower in 15 fathom water. Found here a French merchant brig (La Reine des Anges) and a schooner (Le Provoyer), with 11 small schooners, and upwards of 100 battoes. The island contained fish, stores, salt, and merchandize of various descriptions, and, upon a rough survey, about 220 men were upon the island and in the boats; but they being so detached, several got away in the small craft, one of which, I have since been informed, was taken off Liverpool in Nova Scotia, and another at St. Lawrence in Newfoundland. On every thing being secured, I ordered one of the fishing schooners to be fitted as a tender; and, having her manned and armed with a 12 pound cannonade, gave the command to Lieut. Davies, with directions to scour the coast, and take possession of the islands of Great and Little Miquelon; which he did, but no inhabitants or stores were found at either of those places.

J. MALBON."

Dispatch

*Dispatch from Lieut. Col. Nicholson,
to Gen. Grinfield, Commander in
Chief in the Windward and Lee-
ward Charibbee Islands.*

New Amsterdam, Berbice, Sept. 25.

“SIR,

“Agreeable to your orders of the 19th inst. I proceeded with the troops under my command, and arrived off the river Berbice on the 23d inst. in the morning, where the ships of war and transports came to anchor: as it was from thence Capt. Bland and myself agreed to send Brigade-major Armstrong and Lieut. Pardoe in a flag of truce, with a summons to the Provisional Government, the naval and military commanders, to surrender the colony of Berbice to his Majesty's forces under our command. The flag of truce returned early the next morning, having on board a committee of the Provisional Government, a captain of artillery, and a lieutenant of the Batavian navy, to treat for the surrender of the colony, which was done, and the articles of capitulation signed; but as the commander of the Batavian troops would not sanction the surrender, without consulting the officers under his command, it was agreed that the *Netly* schooner, with the smallest of the transports, should pass over the bar, there anchor, and wait till the flag of truce returned from the fort with the commandant's answer; which not arriving as soon as was expected, the *Netly* and the transports got under weigh, and were proceeding to pass the forts, when the flag of truce returned, with a captain of artillery, to signify the commandant's approval of the

terms, but requesting the British troops might not land until this day, which was complied with, and they remained on board the vessels, at anchor off the town, until noon this day, when the troops landed and took possession of the forts, &c. of the Batavian garrison, consisting of upwards of 600 men, who were made prisoners. The steady and active co-operation of Capt. Bland and the officers, seamen, and marines, employed on this service, demand my warmest acknowledgments; and it is my duty to report to you how much I am satisfied with the zeal and active exertions of Lieut.-col. M'Creagh, of the 7th West-India regiment, and all the officers and every individual of all the corps employed on this service. I am engaged in preparing the returns of ordnance and stores of every description found in the enemy's forts and magazines, which I shall have the honour of presenting to you on my return to Demarara, which I expect will be in three days from this date. Herewith I inclose a copy of the Summons and Articles of Capitulation, and have the honour to remain, &c.

(Signed) R. NICHOLSON.
Lieut.-col. 1st Battalion of Royals.”

Return of prisoners of war who surrendered at Demarara and Essiquibo on the 20th September.—
1 lieut.-colonel, 1 major, 10 captains, 26 lieutenants, 1 adjutant, 1 quarter-master, 1 serjeant-major, 3 surgeons, 5 assistant-surgeons, 174 serjeants and corporals, 1 armourer, 27 trumpeters and drummers, 685 privates.

Surrendered in the colony of Berbice on the 25th September:—
1 lieut.-colonel, 4 captains, 10 lieutenants,

lieutenants, 6 second lieutenants, 1 quarter-master, 1 surgeon, 1 assistant-surgeon, 1 cadet, 26 serjeants and corporals, 10 trumpeters and drummers, 563 privates.

Total.—2 lieut.-colonels, 1 major, 14 captains, 36 lieutenants, 6 second lieutenants, 1 adjutant, 2 quarter-masters, 1 serjeant-major, 4 surgeons, 6 assistant-surgeons, 1 cadet, 200 serjeants and corporals, 1 armourer, 37 trumpeters and drummers, 1248 privates.

Dispatches from Commodore Hood, of similar import, are next given. They contain a spirited eulogium on the bravery of, and good understanding between, the land and sea forces: they also contain a letter from Capt. L. O. Bland, of the *Heureux*, who landed the marines to second the efforts of the military. He observes, “the garrison did not join in the Capitulation till we arrived with the British land and sea forces nearly within gun-shot of their works. Seeing we were determined, a boat was hurried off to inform us they would surrender if we would wait till next day; which was agreed, on our being allowed to go into the harbour that night, and take possession of the shipping.”

Return of shipping found in the river Demarara.—*Hippomenes* Batavian corvette, pierced for 18 guns; *Sophia*, a ship claimed as English property; *Rotterdam*, ditto; *Diana*, ditto; *Elbe*, detained by the Dutch before our arrival, under British colours; *Nile*, ditto; *Admiral Kingbergen*; *Aurora*; *Leesfield*; *Maria*; *Wilhelmina*, ditto; *Boodes Welfeeren*, and *Wilhelmina*, Dutch merchant ships.

At Berbice—Serpent National schooner, and five merchant vessels. Total 19.

Extract of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Sir J. T. Duckworth, K. B.

Shark, Port Royal, Jamaica, Sept. 29.

Understanding from Gen. Dessalines, that it was his intention to summon the town of St. Marc immediately, which was reduced to the last extremity, I was strongly induced to urge him not to put the garrison to death; which he consented to: and I stipulated with him, that, if they surrendered, he should march them round to the Mole in safety, and that I should appear off the Bay, and take possession of the shipping, one of which I knew to be a ship of war.

Vanguard, off Cape Nicola Mole, Sept. 9.

“SIR,

“I received Gen. Dessalines’s dispatches about 8 o’clock at night of the 31st of October, and got under weigh at one A.M. At day-light we chased a man of war brig off St. Marc, but the wind being light and partial she got into that place. In the afternoon we perceived a flag of truce coming out, but a heavy squall of wind and rain obliged them to return. The following morning they came on board, and brought a letter from Gen. D’Henin, which I answered by making several distinct propositions, and sent them in the ship’s boat as a flag of truce, with an officer, and Mr. Cathcart had the goodness to take charge of them: about 5 o’clock the same day

day the General himself came on board in the boat, and we agreed to a convention: the next day and part of the night we were busily employed in effecting the embarkation of the garrison, &c.; and the whole being completed, Gen. D'Henin and his staff came on board the Vanguard at 3 o'clock in the morning of the 4th, and we made sail out of the bay. The situation of this garrison was the most deplorable it is possible to imagine; they were literally reduced to nothing, and long subsisted on horse-flesh. I forgot to mention, that on the 1st we captured the same schooner, we had taken on the 26th past, with 25 barrels of flour going to St. Marc, which I took out; and transferring her people, with 15 foldiers she had on board, to a small sloop we took at the same time, sent her away, and kept the schooner, as she might be eventually useful to us: and she is the vessel I have made over to Gen. D'Henin. The vessels delivered to us, consist of the Papillon corvette, pierced for 12 guns, but only mounting 6, having 52 men on board, commanded by Monsieur Dubourg, lieutenant du vaisseau; the brig Les Trois Amis, transport, nothing in; and the schooner Mary Sally, who has between 40 and 50 barrels of powder. Gen. D'Henin has given me regular receipts for the garrison, which amounts in all to 850 men.—I have farther to inform you, Sir, that on the 5th we captured the National schooner Le Courier de Nantes of 2 guns and 4 swivels and 15 men, commanded by an ensigne de vaisseau, from Port-auPrince, with a supply of 30 barrels of flour and sundry other articles, for St. Marc. I inclose a weekly account; and have great satisfaction in stating

that we are almost well again; not one of the men who came from the hospital has died.

I am, &c.

JAMES WALKER."

Rear Admiral Duckworth, &c.

Letter from Captain Bligh, to Admiral Duckworth.

Theseus, Port Dauphin, St. Domingo, September 8.

"SIR,

"Having found extreme difficulty, in preventing small vessels from passing into Cape François with provisions from the little ports on the Northern part of the island, in consequence of their finding a safe retreat from our pursuit under the batteries of Port Dauphin, and conceiving that port to be of the utmost importance to the enemy, I deemed it necessary to make some efforts for the reduction of the place, and the capture of a ship at anchor there. As soon as the sea breeze this morning rendered it impossible for the enemy's frigates to leave their anchorage, I proceeded to Manchermel Bay, leaving the Hercule and Cumberland on their station. The water being sufficiently deep to allow me to place the ship within musket shot of Fort Labouque, situated at the entrance of the harbour, our fire was so well directed, that it was impossible for the guns of the battery to be pointed with any precision, the colours of which were struck in less than half an hour. Another fort in the harbour and the ship being the next objects of our attention, the Theseus entered the port with the assistance of the boats, and, having fired a few shot at the ship of war, she hauled her colours down, and proved

to be *La Sageffe*, mounting 20 eight pounders on the main deck, and 8 four-pounders on the quarter-deck and fore-castle, commanded by Lieut. J. B. Baruesche, and having only 75 men on board. The Commandant conceiving the place no longer tenable after the loss of the ship, and being under some apprehensions of being exposed to the rage of the Blacks, whom he considered as a merciless enemy, claimed British protection, and surrendered the fort and garrison at discretion. Having spiked the guns and destroyed the ammunition, the garrison and inhabitants, many of whom were sickly, were embarked, and landed under a flag of truce at Cape François. Being informed by the prisoners that their Gen. Dumont and his suite had lately fallen into the hands of the Blacks, and that they were in the most imminent danger, I was induced from motives of humanity to solicit their freedom from the Chief of those people; and I had the satisfaction of having my request immediately complied with: they accompanied the rest of the prisoners into Cape François.

I am, &c.

JOHN BLIGH.

Letter from Admiral Duckworth, detailing the particulars of a Negotiation with General Rochambeau, for the surrender of the French Force in St. Domingo, dated Sloop Shark, Port Royal, November the 30th.

" SIR,

" I transmit you inclosures, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, stating an attempt of capitulation, made by Gen. Rochambeau, on the 19th instant, from which I hope the

period is not far distant, when it will be brought to a proper issue for the whole of St. Domingo.

J. T. DUCKWORTH."

[TRANSLATION.]

ARMY OF ST. DOMINGO.

Head Quarters at the Cape, 27th Brumaire, 12th year of the French Republic.

The General in Chief, to Commodore Loring, commanding the Naval Forces of His Britannic Majesty, before the Cape, &c.

" SIR,

" In order to prevent the effusion of blood, and to preserve the scattered remnant of the army of St. Domingo, I have the honour to send to you two officers, charged with instructions from me to enter into an accommodation with you. The General of Brigade, Boyer, Chief of the Staff, and Captain Barré, are charged to transmit my letter to you; and they are also the officers whom I have chosen to treat with you.

I have the honour to be, &c.

D. ROCHAMBEAU."

Copy of the propositions made by the General Rochambeau, to evacuate Cape François, St. Domingo.

" I. The General Rochambeau proposes to evacuate the Cape; himself and his guards, consisting of about 4 or 500 men, to be conveyed to France without being considered prisoners of war.—Not granted.

II. The Surveillante and Cerf to be allowed to carry him and suite to France.—Not granted.

(Signed) JOHN LORING."

*Bellerophon, off Cape François.
November the 19th.*

"SIR,

"I have to acquaint you, on the subject communicated to me by General Boyer and Commodore Barré, of your desire to negotiate for the surrender of Cape François to his Britannic Majesty, that I send for the purpose, and to know your final determination, Captain Mofs of His Majesty's ship *Le Desirée*, in order to agree with your wishes, inasmuch as is consistent with the just rights of his Britannic majesty on that point, I have also to inform you my instructions confine me to the French officers and troops in health, being sent to Jamaica, and the sick to go to France or America, the transports to convey them being first valued, and security given by the Commander in Chief, for the due payment of the valuation by the French Republic. The white inhabitants of the Cape, will not be permitted to go to Jamaica. Such are the parts of my instructions, with which I am bound to comply in any agreement for the surrender of Cape François."

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. LORING."

*Gen. Rochambeau,
Commander in Chief.*

[TRANSLATION.]

COLONY OF ST. DOMINGO.

*Head Quarters at the Cape, 28th
Brumaire, An. 12.*

*The General in Chief of the Army of
St. Domingo, Captain General of
the said Colony, Commander of the
French West India Islands, &c.
&c. to Commodore Loring, com-*

*mander of the Naval Forces of His
Britannic Majesty, before the
Cape, &c.*

"SIR,

"I have received the letter which you have done me the honour to address to me. As your propositions are inadmissible, I request you will consider my preceding letter as amounting to nothing.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

With great consideration,

D. ROCHAMBEAU."

Port-Royal, December the 18th.

"SIR,

"Having, in my letter No. 3, by this conveyance, stated to you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the Admiralty, that Gen. Rochambeau had made proposals for capitulating, which, though inadmissible, I thought soon must lead to others more reasonable; the event has justified my opinion; but I am sorry to say, that officer, whose actions are too extraordinary to account for, had, on the 19th ultimo, (previous to his proposals to Captain Loring, through the general of brigade, Boyer and Commodore Barré) actually entered into a capitulation with the black general Dessalines, to deliver up the Cape to him, with all the ordnance, ammunition, and stores, on the 30th; I conclude, flattering himself, that the tremendous weather, which our squadron was then and had been experiencing for three weeks, would offer an opening for an escape, but the perseverance and watchfulness thereof precluded him from even attempting it. On the 30th, the colours of the Blacks were displayed at the forts, which induced Capt. Loring to dispatch
Capt.

Capt. Bligh, to know Gen. Dessalines's sentiments respecting Gen. Rochambeau and his troops; when, on his entering the harbour, he met Commodore Barré, who pressed him, in strong terms, to go on board the *Surveillante*, and enter into some capitulation, which would put them under our protection, and prevent the Blacks from sinking them with read hot shot, as they had threatened, and were preparing to do, which Capt. Bligh complied with, when they hastily brought him a few articles they had drawn up, which he (after objecting to some particular parts, that they agreed should be altered, to carry his interpretation on their arrival at Jamaica) signed, and hastened to acquaint Gen. Dessalines, that all the ships and vessels in port had surrendered to his Majesty's arms; and with great difficulty he obtained the promise to desist from firing, till a wind offered for carrying them out (it then blowing hard directly into the harbour); this promise he at length obtained, and the first instant, the land-breeze enabled them to sail out under French colours, which upon a shot being fired athwart them, the vessels of war fired their broadsides, and hauled down their colours, except the *Clorinde*, a large frigate of 38 guns, who unluckily took the ground abast, and was forced to throw most of her guns overboard, and knocked her rudder off, when there was great apprehension for her safety; and I am informed, by the captains of the squadron, that we must attribute the saving her, (apparently without farther damage) to the uncommon exertions and professional abilities of acting Lieut. Willoughby, with the boats of the *Hercule*, who, I

trust, will be honoured with their Lordships' protection. Capt. Loring, after seeing the generality of the prizes taken possession of, left the *Theseus* and *Hercule*, to fix a temporary rudder to the frigate, and bring the remainder with them, bearing away for the Mole, and on the 2d, summoned the general of Brigade, Noailles, who commanded there, to capitulate: this he declined doing, asserting he had provisions for five months, and herewith I transmit a copy of his letter. The numerous and crowded state of the prisoners on board all the prizes, and their being without provisions, making it necessary for Capt. Loring to proceed to Jamaica, he arrived here the 5th, with the *Elephant* and *Blanche*, also the *Surveillante* and *Vertu* 38 gun frigates, and various other prizes, leaving the *Pique* to blockade the Mole, who anchored in this port the 8th, and acquainted me, that Gen. Noailles had evacuated the night he refused to capitulate, bringing in with her 5 out of the 6 vessels, in which the garrison had embarked, a brig with the General on board only escaping. I send a vessel of war to England, with Gen. Rochambeau, and those officers who are said to have participated in his cruelties at the Cape.

I am, &c.

J. T. DUCKWORTH."

Sir Evan Nepean, Bart. &c.

[TRANSLATION.]

RIGHT DIVISION OF THE NORTH.

General Noailles to Commodore Loring.

Mole, 10th, Frimaire, An. 12.

"Sir,

"I have received the letter which you have done me the honour

now to address to me, under the date of the 10th Frimaire. I request you will inform me of the terms upon which you propose to treat with me.

I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration, Sir,

Your most obedient,

Humble servant,

(Signed) NOAILLES."

*Shark, Port-Royal, Jamaica,
December the 20th.*

" Sir,

" Accompanying this, you will receive, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, copies of various letters, &c. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, relative to the proceedings of Captain Loring, of His Majesty's ship *Bellerophon*, while senior officer of the Squadron blockading Cape François.

J. T. DUCKWORTH."

Sir Evan Nepean, Bart, &c.

*Bellerophon, off Cape François,
November the 23d.*

" Sir,

" Having received information, that Gen. Rochambeau's intentions are to endeavour to make his escape in a schooner, and observing, yesterday afternoon, several boats pass and repass between the *Surveillante* and an armed schooner, laying in the Carocal Passage, I made the signal for the launches armed, to assemble on board the *Blanche*, and ordered Captain Mudge to proceed with them off the entrance of the passage, to intercept her, should she attempt to come out. I directed the launches to act under the command of Lieut. Pilch, of the *Bellerophon*, and at 2 A. M. she was very judiciously boarded and taken by the launches of the

Bellerophon and the *Elephant*, without the loss of a man killed or wounded, though, for a short time, under a very smart fire from the enemy's great guns and small arms: she proves to be the French national schooner *La Decouvert*, commanded by Monsieur Froyan, enseigne de vaisseau; she had mounted 6 six-pounders, and 6 brass swivels, and 52 men: the enemy had two men wounded. The officer commanding the *Desirée's* launch, being anxious to secure the passage, got so far to the eastward of the entrance, as not to observe the motions of the other boats, that he unfortunately could not join them, or get near the schooner till day-light, or, I am sensible, from the character he bears, would be as vigilant as the other boats.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. LORING."

Sir J. T. Duckworth.

*Bellerophon, off Fortuda,
November the 30th.*

" Sir,

" I have to inform you of the surrender of Cape François to the Gen. Dessalines, on the 18th instant, when he attacked it at the head of the army, and agreed with the General in Chief, Rochambeau, for ten days to complete the evacuation. Not having received a second proposition from Rochambeau, during the suspension of hostilities between the two parties, I endeavoured, if possible, to learn the disposition of Dessalines's seeing his flag displayed on the forts, as to the ships of war and other vessels in the harbour; and you will see, by his letter to me of the 27th, which I herewith transmit, as well as a copy of mine to him, the indefinite mode of ex-

pression he makes use of. I therefore sent Capt. Bligh to explain with him. On his arrival at the Cape, he met, on the part of Rochambeau, a strong desire to agree for the surrender of the ships and vessels, which, from his declaration to destroy them, I had no reason to expect. The articles of agreement which were entered into, I herewith inclose, and hope they will meet your approbation. Capt. Bligh immediately made known to Dessalines, the surrender of the frigates and merchant vessels to his Britannic majesty, and requested he would give orders to prevent firing on them, which till then, was his intention; and, after some hesitation, Gen. Dessalines reluctantly complied. This morning, the *Surveillante*, *Cerf* brig, an hospital ship, and three or four neutral schooners, came out; the whole were under weigh in the harbour, but owing to the sudden change of wind, they were prevented from proceeding. I am sorry to say, the *Clorinde* is on shore under fort St. Joseph, and I fear will be totally lost. I have taken possession of the vessels that are out, and left Capt. Bligh with the *Herculé*, *Desirée*, and *Pique*, to complete the evacuation of the Cape and Monte Christie. When the *Elephant* joins with the *Vertu* and merchant vessels I left in the Cape, I shall proceed with her and prizes to Port Royal, leaving the *Tatar* to blockade the Mole.

I am, &c.

JOHN LORING."

His Majesty's Ship Bellerophon.

"Sir,

"Not having had the honour to receive your answer to my letter

of yesterday, I beg to represent, that, from the tenor of yours of the 22d, I did hope to see your flag flying this morning at Fort Picolet. As I have full confidence you will not rescind the agreement with Gen. Rochambeau, who intends, if possible, to have more time granted him to escape, and that you will have possession of the town, and its forts, this afternoon; I shall then be much obliged if you will send me some experienced pilots, to conduct a part of my squadron into the harbour, to take possession of the shipping.

JOHN LORING."

General Dessalines.

[TRANSLATION.]

LIBERTY OR DEATH.

Head-quarters, 6th Frimaire, An. 12.

The General in Chief of the indigenous Army, to Capt. Loring, commanding the Naval Forces of his Britannic Majesty before the Cape.

"Sir,

"I am accused by you of the receipt of a letter which I never had the honour to receive. You may be assured that my favourable disposition towards you, and hostility towards Gen. Rochambeau, are unalterable. I shall enter the Cape to-morrow morning at the head of my army. It is a matter of great regret to me I cannot send you the pilots which you require. I presume you will have no occasion for them. I shall force the French ships to quit the road, and you will do with them as you judge proper.

DESSALINES."

[Here

[Here follows the capitulation agreed upon by Captain Bligh and General Boyer, by which the French naval and military forces were surrendered to his Majesty's squadron.]

*Bellerophon, off Cape Nicola Mole,
December the 2nd.*

"Sir,

"From General Rochambeau's extraordinary conduct on the public service, neither Captain Bligh nor myself have had any thing to say to him farther than complying with his wishes, in allowing him to remain on board the *Surveillante* until her arrival at Jamaica, which I very readily agreed to, as also the commodore. I have Gen. Boyer, with about 22 officers, and 190 soldiers and sailors, on board the *Bellerophon*, and 60 more on board the *Hercule*, that were taken out of the *Surveillante*; the *Blanche* has on board all the crew of the *Cerf*. I had began this letter yesterday, to have dispatched the *Blanche* early this morning, but, seeing the *Desirée* coming down with six sail, waited until she joined, and am happy to inform you, that, through the exertions of Lieut. Willoughby, the *Clorinde* is afloat again with the loss of her rudder, and Captain Bligh is preparing a temporary one to bring her down; the *Vertu*, and other ships are out, and I am in hourly expectation of seeing them with the *Elephant*. I have sent Capt. Ross into the Mole, to summon that garrison to surrender; and shall dispatch the *Blanche* immediately. I have Gen. Noailles's answer.

Half-past four. Captain Ross has this instant returned with the

inclosed answer; and I dispatch the *Blanche* in consequence, and shall follow soon after. The *Elephant*, *Vertu*, and ten sail of various descriptions of vessels, are now joining.

I am, &c.

Rear Admiral JOHN LORING."
Sir T. Duckworth,
K. B. Commander in Chief, &c.

*Shark, Port Royal,
December the 20th.*

"Sir,

"Feeling that the Lord's Commissioners of the Admiralty, would wish to be acquainted with the articles of Capitulation between the Gen. Rochambeau and Dessalines, for the surrender of the Cape, and having just obtained a copy thereof, I herewith transmit the same for their Lordship's information.

I am, &c.

J. T. DUCKWORTH."
Sir Evan Nepean, Bart. &c.

[TRANSLATION.]

FRENCH AND INDIGENOUS ARMIES.

*27th Brumaire, Anno 12.
November the 19th.*

"Adjutant Commander Duvoyrier, charged with due powers by General Rochambeau, commander of the French army, to treat for the surrender of the Cape, and J. Jacques Dessalines, general in chief of the indigenous army, have agreed to the following articles:

I. The town of the Cape, and the forts which belong to it, shall be surrendered in ten days from the 28th of the present month, to the General in Chief Dessalines.

II. The ammunition and warlike stores of the Arsenal, the arms and the artillery which are in the town and in the forts, shall be left in their present state.

III. All the ships of war, or others, which shall be judged necessary by General Rochambeau, for transporting the troops, and the inhabitants who may wish to depart from the island, shall be at full liberty to sail on a day to be appointed.

IV. The officers, civil and military, the troops composing the garrison of the Cape, shall depart with the honours of war, carrying with them their arms, and the effects belonging to their demi brigade.

V. The sick and wounded are especially recommended to the humanity of General Dessalines, who engages to embark them for France, on board neutral vessels.

VI. General Dessalines, in giving the assurance of his protection to the inhabitants who may continue in the country, relies on the justice of General Rochambeau, to set at liberty all men belonging to the country, of whatever colour they may be; and that none of them shall, under any pretence, be compelled to embark with the French army.

VII. The troops belonging to the two armies shall remain in their respective positions until the tenth day, fixed for the evacuation of the Cape.

VIII. General Rochambeau shall send, as a security for the fulfilment of the present convention, the adjutant-commandant Urbain de Vaux; in return for whom, General Dessalines shall send an officer of an equal rank.

Done in good faith, at the head-

quarters of Haut du Cap, the same day, month, and year, above stated.

(Signed) DESSALINES.
DUVEYZIER."

Shark, Port Royal, Dec. 23.

" Sir,

" Accompanying this you will receive, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, an account of vessels captured and destroyed by his Majesty's squadron under my command, since the return made in November last.

I am, &c.

J. T. DUCKWORTH."
Sir Evan Nepean, Bart, &c. &c.

[Here follows a list of 37 ships and vessels captured, detained, and destroyed at Jamaica, the Bahama Islands, under the orders of Sir J. T. Duckworth, K. B.]

N. B. There has been destroyed since last return, 30 sail of small craft of various descriptions at Cape François, Monte Chrifte, and the Mole, &c. &c.

Proceedings of the Meeting of the Subscribers to Lloyd's Coffee House, held the 20th of July, 1803, when the Patriotic Fund was established.

The Merchants, Underwriters, and other subscribers to Lloyd's Coffee-house, having this day met for the purpose of setting on foot a general subscription, on an extended scale, for the encouragement and relief of those who may be engaged in the defence of the country, and who may suffer in the

common cause; and of those who may signalize themselves during the present most important contest: and feeling confident, that when our very existence as a great and independent nation is at stake, it only becomes necessary to point out any means by which the exertion of our native spirits and the application of our powerful resources, may receive an additional stimulus; they beg leave to submit to the liberal consideration of their fellow subjects, the following resolutions, which have been unanimously passed at this meeting, and presume to hope, that the object of this subscription will be so promoted and sanctioned by public bodies in general—by the higher ranks, and opulent classes of society—and by individuals of every description, that the mite of the labourer, combining with the munificent donation of the noble and wealthy, shall be the best pledge of our unanimity—shall insure our seamen, our soldiers, our countrymen at large, with a well-grounded confidence in the liberality and gratitude of the community; and shall impress on the minds of our enemies the appalling conviction, that the energies of this great empire are irresistible, as its resources are incalculable.

BROOK WATSON, Esq. in the Chair.

On a motion being made, the following Resolutions being produced, were read, and passed unanimously.

I. That in a conjuncture when the vital interests of our Country, when the peculiar blessings which, under our beloved Sovereign and happy Constitution, endear our social state, are involved in the

issue of the present contest, when we are menaced by an enemy, whose haughty presumption is grounded only on the present unfortunate position of the Continental Powers, and when we seem to be placed, for the moment, as the last barrier against the total subjugation of Europe by the overbearing influence of France—it behoves us to meet our situation as men—as freemen—but, above all, as Britons. On this alone, with the Divine Aid, depends our exemption from the yoke of Gallic despotism—on this alone depends, under the same protecting power, whether this Empire shall remain, what it has for ages been, the strenuous supporter of Religion and morals, the asserter of its own, and the guardian of the liberties of mankind, the nurse of industry, the protector of the arts and sciences, the example and admiration of the world—or whether it shall become an obsequious tributary, an enslaved, a plundered, and degraded department of a foreign nation.

II. That, to give more effect and energy to the measures adopted by Government for the defence of our liberties, our lives and property—to add weight to those personal exertions we are all readily disposed to contribute, it behoves us to hold out every encouragement to our fellow-subjects, who may be in any way instrumental in repelling or annoying our implacable foe, and to prove to them that we are ready to drain both our purses and our veins, in the great cause which imperiously calls on us to unite the duties of loyalty and patriotism, with the strongest efforts of zealous exertion.

III. That, to animate the efforts
* H 2 of

of our defenders, by sea and land, it is expedient to raise, by the patriotism of the community at large, a suitable fund for their comfort and relief—for the purpose of assuaging their wounds, or palliating in some degree the more weighty misfortune of the loss of limbs—of alleviating the distresses of the widow and orphan—of smoothing the brow of sorrow for the fall of their dearest relatives, the props of unhappy indigence or helpless age—and of granting pecuniary rewards, or honourable badges of distinction, for successful exertions of valour or merit.

IV. That a subscription, embracing all the objects in the foregoing resolution, be now opened; and, to set an example to the public bodies throughout the United Kingdom and its dependencies, and to our fellow subjects of every class and denomination, that, independently of our individual contributions, the sum of 20,000*l.* three per cent Consolidated Annuities, part of the funded property of this Society, shall be appropriated to this purpose.

V. That on Friday the 29th instant, at 12 o'clock precisely, a general meeting of the Subscribers to this fund be held at this House, for the purpose of appointing their Committee; and that the Committee of the House be requested to become, and they are hereby constituted a Committee, *ad interim*, for the receipt and management of the subscriptions, and other purposes expressed in these resolutions.

VI. That the Committee of this House, and the Bankers in the Metropolis, and in the Cities and

Towns of the United Kingdom, be requested to receive subscriptions; and that such part of the fund as shall not be used for the purpose now intended, be returned in proportion to the sums subscribed.

VII. That all sums, however small, which shall be offered by the patriotism of the poorer classes of our fellow-subjects, shall be accepted—the cause affecting equally the liberties and lives of persons of every description.

VIII. That the Thanks of this meeting be given to the Chairman, for his able and impartial conduct in the chair.

Lloyd's, 29th of July, 1803.

*At a General Meeting of Subscribers.
Brook Watson, Esq. in the Chair,*

Resolved,

That a Committee be now formed from the first Fifty Subscribers of 100*l.* and upwards; and that the Committee have power to add to their number such other Subscribers as they shall think proper.

Resolved,

That the following gentlemen elected as above, constitute the Committee for managing the Patriotic Fund, nine of whom shall be a quorum for transacting business.

Sir J. W. Anderson, Bart. M. P.
and Alderman
John Julius Angerstein, Esq.
James

James Abel, Esq.
 John Jacob Appach, Esq.
 Sir Francis Baring, Bart. M. P.
 Thomson Bonar, Esq.
 Thomson Bonar, Jun. Esq.
 George Brown, Esq.
 George Baillie, Esq.
 Peter Begbie, Esq.
 Cornelius Buller, Esq.
 Horatio Clagett, Esq.
 Robert Christie, Esq.
 Thomas Everett, Esq. M. P.
 John Frazer, Esq.
 Peter Free, Esq.
 George Godwin, Esq.
 Benjamin Goldsmid, Esq.
 Alexander Glennie, Esq.
 David Hunter, Esq.
 George Henckell, Esq.
 Germain Lavie, Esq.
 Richard Lee, Esq.
 Joseph Marryat, Esq.
 George Munro, Esq.
 John Mangles, Esq.
 John Mavor, Esq.
 R. H. Marten, Esq.
 William Macnish, Esq.
 Charles Offley, Esq.
 Thomas Reid, Esq.
 Thomas Rowcroft, Esq. Alderman
 Andrew Reid, Esq.
 Thomas Raikes, Jun. Esq.
 J. Smith, Esq. M. P.
 Robert Shedden, Esq.
 George Shedden, Esq.
 James Shaw, Esq. Alderman
 Benjamin Shaw, Esq.
 F. S. Secretan, Esq.
 Robert Thornton, Esq. M. P.
 Henry Thompson, Esq.
 John Turner, Esq.
 Sir Brook Watson, Bart. and Ald.
 Robert Wigram, Esq. M. P.
 Thomas Warre, Esq.
 James Warre, Esq.
 David Pike Watts, Esq.
 George Wood, Esq.
 William Whitmore, Esq.

Added by the Committee,
 Joseph Nutt, Esq. Gov. of the
 Bank of England
 Jacob Bosanquet, Esq. } of the
 Chairman, } Hon. East
 John Roberts, Esq. } India
 Deputy Chairman, } Company,
 Edward Forster, Esq. Governor of
 the Royal Exchange Assurance
 Company
 John Woolmore, Esq.
 Thomas King, Esq.
 William Bell, Esq.
 Henry Bonham, Esq.
 James Innes, Esq.
 Sir Charles Price, Bart. M. P.
 and Alderman
 John Remington, Esq. Prime War-
 den of the Fishmongers' com-
 pany
 William Hoare, Esq.
 William Parker, Esq. Prime War-
 den of the Goldsmiths' Com-
 pany
 Henry Pigeon, Esq. Prime War-
 den of the Merchant Taylors'
 Company
 Jacob Warner, Esq. Prime War-
 den of the Grocers' Company
 Rev. Colston Carr, of Ealing
 John Pooley, Kensington, Esq.
 Thomas Birch, Esq.
 The Right Hon. Earl Spencer
 The Right Hon. Lord Carrington
 Robert Hunter, Esq.
 John Jackson, Esq.

Lloyd's 2nd of August, 1803.

*At a Meeting of the Committee for
 managing the Patriotic Fund.*

Resolved,

That Sir Francis Baring,
 Bart. be Chairman of this Com-
 mittee.

* H 3

Resolved,

Resolved,

That the following gentlemen form a Committee of Treasury.

Sir Francis Baring, Bart. M. P.
John Julius Angerstein, Esq.
Thomson Bonar, Esq.
Robbert Shedden, Esq.
Thomas Reid, Esq.
Richard Lee, Esq.
John Mavor, Esq.

Resolved,

That the following gentlemen be appointed Trustees for the purchase and sale of stock, or other Government securities, for the purposes of this Institution; and that the same be invested in their names,

Sir Francis Baring, Bart. M. P.
John Julius Angerstein, Esq.
Thomson Bonar, Esq.

Resolved,

That Mr. John Parr, Welsford, be appointed Secretary to the Committee.

ROYAL CORRESPONDENCE.

No. I.

Carlton House, July 18th, 1803.

Sir,

The subject on which I address you, presses so heavily on my mind, and daily acquires such additional importance, that notwithstanding my wish to avoid any interference with the dispositions made by his

Majesty's Ministers, I find it impossible to withhold, or delay an explicit statement of my feelings, to which I would direct your most serious consideration.

When it was officially communicated to Parliament, that the avowed object of the enemy was a descent on our Kingdoms, the question became so obvious, that the circumstances of the times required the voluntary tender of personal service; when Parliament, in consequence of this representation, agreed to extraordinary measures for the defence of these Realms alone, it was evident that the danger was not believed dubious, or remote.

Animated by the same spirit which pervaded the Nation at large, —conscious of the duties which I owed to his Majesty, and the Country, I seized the earliest opportunity to express my desire of undertaking the responsibility of a military command.

I neither did nor do presume on supposed talents, as entitling me to such an appointment; I am aware I do not possess the experience of actual warfare; at the same time I cannot regard myself as totally unqualified or deficient in military science, since I have long made the service my particular study; my chief pretensions were founded on a sense of those advantages which my example might produce to the State, by exciting the loyal energies of the Nation, and a knowledge of those expectations which the public had a right to form, as to the personal exertions of their Princes; at a moment like the present.

The more elevated my situation, in so much the efforts of zeal became

came necessarily greater; and I confess, that if duty had not been so paramount, a reflection on the splendid achievements of my predecessors would have excited in me the spirit of emulation; when, however, in addition to such recollections, the nature of the contest in which we are about to engage was impressed on my consideration, I should, indeed, have been devoid of every virtuous sentiment, if I felt no reluctance in remaining a passive spectator of armaments, which have for their object the existence of the British Empire.

Thus was I influenced to make my offer of service; and I did imagine, that his Majesty's Ministers would have attached to it more value; but when I find that from some unknown cause, my appointment seems to remain so long undetermined; when I feel myself exposed to the obloquy of being regarded by the Country as passing my time indifferent to the events which menace, and insensible to the call of patriotism, much more of glory, it then behoves me to examine my rights, and to remind his Majesty's Ministers, that the claim which I have advanced is strictly constitutional, and justified by precedent; and that, in the present situation of Europe, to deny my exercising it, is fatal to my own immediate honour, and the future interest of the Crown.

I can never forget that I have solemn obligations imposed on me by my birth, and that I should ever show myself as foremost in contributing to the preservation of the country. The time is arrived when I may prove myself sensible of the duties of my situation, and

of evincing my devotion to that Sovereign, who, by nature, as well as public worth commands my most affectionate attachment.

I repeat, that I should be sorry to embarrass the Government at any time, most particularly at such a crisis: but since no event in my future life could compensate for the misfortune of not partaking in the honours and dangers which await the brave men destined to oppose an invading enemy, I cannot forego the earnest renewal of my application.

All I solicit is, a more ostensible situation than that in which I am at present placed; for situated as I am, as a mere Colonel of a Regiment, the Major General commanding the Brigade, of which such a Regiment must form a part, would justly expect, and receive the full credit of pre-arrangement and successful enterprize.

I remain, Sir,

Very sincerely your's
(Signed) G. P.

Right Hon. Henry Addington, &c. &c.

No. II.

July 26th, 1803.

A week has now elapsed, since the Prince of Wales transmitted to Mr. Addington a letter on a subject of the highest importance. Though he cannot anticipate a refusal to so reasonable a demand, he must still express some surprize, that a communication of such a nature should have remained so long unanswered.

When the Prince of Wales desired to be placed in a situation, which might enable him to show to the People of England, the example of zeal, fidelity, and devotion

tion to his sovereign, he naturally thought, that he was only fulfilling his appropriate duty as the first Subject of the Realm, in which, as it has pleased Providence to cause him to have been born, so he is determined to maintain himself, by all those honourable exertions which the exigencies of these critical times peculiarly demand. The motives of his conduct cannot be misconceived, or misrepresented; he has, at a moment when every thing is at stake that is dear and sacred to him, and to the nation, asked to be advanced in military rank, because he may have his birthright to fight for, the throne of his Father to defend, the glory of the People of England to uphold, which is dearer to him than life, which has yet remained unsullied under the Princes of the House of Brunswick, and which, he trusts will be transmitted pure and uncontaminated to the latest generations. Animated by such sentiments, he has naturally desired to be placed in a situation where he can act according to the feelings of his heart, and the dictates of conscience.

In making the offer, in again repeating it, the Prince of Wales considers, that he has only performed his duty to himself, to the State, to the King, to Europe, whose fate may be involved in the issue of this contest; if this tender of his services is rejected, he shall ever lament that all his efforts have been fruitless, and that he has been deprived of making those exertions which the circumstances of the Empire, his own inclinations, and his early and long attention to military affairs, would have rendered so peculiarly grateful to himself,

and he trusts, not entirely useless to the Public.

No. III.

Downing-street, July 27th, 1803.

Upon receiving the letter with which Mr. Addington was last week honoured, by the Prince of Wales, he assured his Royal Highness that it should be immediately laid before the King. This was accordingly done, and the letter is still in his Majesty's possession. A communication was afterwards made to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in a mode, and through a channel which Mr. Addington humbly hoped his Royal Highness would approve. Mr. Addington, however, now finds it to be incumbent upon him, in consequence of the expectation which has been expressed by his Royal Highness, to state, that his Majesty, on being informed of the sentiments and wishes of the Prince of Wales, applauded in the strongest manner, the feelings by which his Royal Highness is actuated; but referred, nevertheless, to the answers which his Majesty had judged it necessary to return to similar representations, and which, in obedience to the commands of his Royal Highness, had been laid before his Majesty upon former occasions.

No. IV.

Carlton House, July 28, 1803.

The Prince of Wales has received Mr. Addington's written communication of the last night. The Prince of Wales has only to observe, that he requires Mr. Addington

dington to submit to his Majesty his last note, dated the 26th of this month.

No. V.

Downing-street, July 28th, 1803.

Half-past 11, P. M.

Mr. Addington is just honoured with the commands of the Prince of Wales, and will not fail to lay his Royal Highness's letter, dated the 26th of this month, before the King.

No. VI.

Downing-street, August 1st, 1803.

Sir,

In obedience to the commands of your Royal Highness, I laid before his Majesty the letter, dated the 26th of July, with which your Royal Highness has honoured me; and I have it in command from his Majesty to acquaint your Royal Highness, that, "the King had referred Mr. Addington to the orders he had before given him, with the addition, that, the King's opinion being fixed, he desired that no further mention should be made to him upon the subject."

I have the honour to be,
With every sentiment of respect and deference, Sir, your Royal Highness's most humble, &c.
(Signed) H. ADDINGTON.

No. VII.

(Copy)—Letter to the King.

Sir,

A correspondence has taken place between Mr. Addington and myself, on a subject which deeply involves my honour and character; the answers which I have received

from that gentleman, the communication which he has made to the House of Commons, leave me no hope, but in an appeal to the justice of your Majesty. I make that appeal with confidence, because I feel that you are my natural advocate, and with the sanguine hope, that the ears of an affectionate Father may still be opened to the supplications of a dutiful Son.

I ask to be allowed to display the best energies of my character; to shed the last drop of my blood in support of your Majesty's Person, Crown and Dignity; for this is not a war for empire, glory, or dominion, but for existence. In this contest, the lowest and humblest of your Majesty's subjects have been called on: It would therefore little become me, who am the first, and who stand at the very footstool of the Throne, to remain a tame, an idle, a lifeless spectator of the mischiefs which threaten us, unconscious of the dangers which surround, and indifferent to the consequences which may follow. Hanover is lost; England is menaced with invasion; Ireland is in rebellion; Europe is at the foot of France: At such a moment, the Prince of Wales, yielding to none of your servants in zeal and affection, to none of your subjects in duty, to none of your children in tenderness and affection, presumes to approach you, and again to repeat those offers which he already made through your Majesty's Ministers. A feeling of honest ambition, a sense of what I owe to myself and to my family, and above all, the fear of sinking in the estimation of that gallant army, which may be the support of your Crown, and my best

best hope hereafter, command me to persevere, and to assure your Majesty with all humility and respect, that, conscious of the justice of my claim, no human power can ever induce me to relinquish it.

Allow me to say, Sir, that I am bound to adopt this line of conduct by every motive dear to me as a Man, and sacred to me as a Prince. Ought I not to come forward in a moment of unexampled difficulty and danger? Ought I not to share in the glory and victory, when I have every thing to lose by defeat? The highest places in your Majesty's service are filled by the younger branches of the Royal Family; to me alone no place is assigned; I am not thought worthy to be even the Junior Major General of your army. If I could submit in silent submission to such indignities, I should indeed deserve such treatment, and prove to the satisfaction of your enemies and my own, that I am entirely incapable of those exertions which my birth, and the circumstances of the times, peculiarly call for. Standing so near the Throne, when I am debased, the cause of Royalty is wounded. I cannot sink in the public opinion, without the participation of your Majesty in my degradation; therefore every motive of private feeling and of public duty induce me to implore your Majesty to review your decision, and to place me in that situation, which my birth, the duties of my station, the example of my predecessors, and the expectations of the People of England entitle me to claim.

Should I be disappointed in the hope which I have formed; should this last appeal to the justice of my

Sovereign; and the affection of my Father, fail of success, I shall lament in silent submission, his determination; but Europe, the world and posterity, must judge between us.

I have done my duty; my conscience acquits me; my reason tells me that I was perfectly justified in the request which I have made, because no reasonable arguments have ever been adduced in answer to my pretensions; the precedents in our history are in my favour; but if they are not, the times in which we live, and especially the exigencies of the present moment, require us to become an example to our posterity.

No other cause of refusal has, or can be assigned, except that it was the will of your Majesty; to that will and pleasure I bow with every degree of humility and resignation; but I can never cease to complain of the severity which has been exercised against me, and the injustice which I have suffered, till I cease to exist.

I have the honour to subscribe myself, with all possible devotion, Your Majesty's most dutiful and affectionate Son, and Subject,

(Signed) G. P.

Brighthelmstone, August 6th, 1803.

No. VIII.

(Copy.)—Letter from the King.

My dear Son,

Though I applaud your zeal and spirit, of which, I trust, no one can suppose any of my family wanting, yet considering the repeated declarations I have made of my determination on your former applications to the same purpose, I had

I had flattered myself to have heard no further on the subject.

Should the implacable Enemy so far succeed as to land, you will have an opportunity of showing your zeal at the head of your regiment; it will be the duty of every man to stand forward on such an occasion, and I shall certainly think it mine to set an example, in defence of every thing that is dear to me, and to my People.

I ever remain, my dear Son,

Your most affectionate Father,

(Signed) GEORGE R.

Windsor, August, 7th, 1803.

No. IX.

(Copy.)—Letter to the King.

Brightelmstone, August 23d, 1803.

Sir,

I have delayed thus long an answer to the letter which your Majesty did me the honour to write, from a wish to refer to a former correspondence which took place between us in the year 1798. Those letters were mislaid, and some days elapsed before I could discover them. They have since been found. Allow me then, Sir, to recal to your recollection the expressions you were graciously pleased to use, and which I once before took the liberty of reminding you of, when I solicited foreign service, upon my first coming into the army. They were, Sir, that your Majesty did not then see the opportunity for it, but if any thing was to arise at home, I ought to be "first and foremost." There cannot be a stronger expression in the English language, or one more consonant to the feelings which

animate my heart. In this I agree most perfectly with your Majesty, I ought to be the *first and foremost*. It is the place which my birth assigns me, which Europe, which the English nation expect me to fill; and which the former assurances of your Majesty might naturally have led me to hope I should occupy. After such a declaration. I could hardly expect to be told that my place was at the head of a Regiment of Dragoons.

I understand from your Majesty, that it is your intention, Sir, in pursuance of that noble example which you have shown during the course of your reign, to place yourself at the head of the People of England. My next brother, the Duke of York, commands the Army; the younger branches of my Family are either Generals, or Lieutenant Generals, and I, who am Prince of Wales, am to remain Colonel of Dragoons. There is something so humiliating in the contrast, that those who are at a distance, would either doubt the reality, or suppose that to be my fault, which is only my misfortune.

Who could imagine, that I, who am the oldest Colonel in the service, had asked for the rank of a General Officer in the Army of the King my Father, and that it had been refused me?

I am sorry, much more than sorry to be obliged to break in upon your leisure, and to trespass thus, a second time, on the attention of your Majesty; but I have, Sir, an interest in my character, more valuable to me than the Throne, and dearer, far dearer to me than Life. I am called upon
by

by that interest, to persevere, and I pledge myself never to desist, till I receive that satisfaction which the justice of my claim leads me to expect.

In these unhappy times, the world, Sir, examines the conduct of Princes with a jealous, a scrutinizing, a malignant eye. No man is more aware than I am of the existence of such a disposition, and no man is, therefore, more determined to place himself above all suspicion.

In desiring to be placed in a forward situation, I have performed one duty to the People of England; I must now perform another, and humbly supplicate your Majesty to assign those reasons which have induced your Majesty to refuse a request, which appears to me, and to the world, so reasonable, and so rational.

I must again repeat my concern, that I am obliged to continue a correspondence, which I fear, is not so grateful to your Majesty as I could wish. I have examined my own heart; I am convinced of the justice of my case, of the purity of my motives: Reason and Honour forbid me to yield; where no reason is alleged, I am justified in the conclusion that none can be given.

In this candid exposition of the feelings which have agitated, and depressed my wounded mind. I hope no expression has escaped me, which can be construed to mean the slightest disrespect to your Majesty. I most solemnly disavow any such intention; but the circumstance of the times, the danger of invasion, the appeal which has been made to all your subjects, oblige me to recollect what I owe

to my own honour, and to my own character, and to state to your Majesty, with plainness, truth, and candour, but with the submission of a Subject, and the duty of an affectionate Son, the injuries under which I labour, which it is in the power of your Majesty alone at one moment to redress.

It is with the sentiments of the profoundest veneration, and respect, that I have the honour to subscribe myself,

Your Majesty's most dutiful, and most affectionate Son and Subject,
(Signed) G. P.

Subsequent Correspondence, between his Royal Highness the PRINCE OF WALES, and his Royal Highness the DUKE OF YORK.

No. I.

Brighton, October 2d, 1803.

My dear Brother,

By the last night's Gazette, which I have this moment received, I perceive that an extensive promotion has taken place in the Army, wherein my pretensions are not noticed; a circumstance which, whatever may have happened on other occasions, it is impossible for me to pass by, at this momentous crisis, without observation.

My standing in the Army, according to the most ordinary routine of promotion, had it been followed up, would have placed me either at the bottom of the list of Generals, or the head of the list of Lieutenant Generals. When the younger branches of my Family are promoted to the highest military situations, my birth, according

ing to the distinctions usually conferred on it, should have placed me first on that list.

I hope you know me too well to imagine, that idle, inactive rank is in my view; much less in the direction, and patronage of the military departments, an object which suits my place in the State or my inclinations; but in a moment when the danger of the Country is thought by Government so urging as to call forth the energy of every arm in its defence, I cannot but feel myself degraded, both as a Prince and a Soldier, if I am not allowed to take a forward and distinguished part in the defence of that Empire and Crown, of the glory, prosperity, and even existence of that People, in all which mine is the greatest stake.

To be told, I may display this zeal, solely and simply at the head of my regiment, is a degrading mockery.

If that be the only situation allotted me, I shall certainly do my duty as others will. But the considerations, to which I have already alluded, entitle me to expect, and bind me in every way, to require a situation more correspondent to the dignity of my own character, and to the public expectations.

It is for the sake of tendering my services in a way more formal and official than I have before pursued, that I address this to you, my dear Brother, as the Commander in Chief, by whose councils the Constitution presumes that the military department is administered.

If those who have the honour to advise his Majesty on this occasion, shall deem my pretension,

among those of all the Royal Family, to be the only one fit to be rejected and disdained, I may at least hope, as a debt of justice and honour, to have it explained, that I am laid by, in virtue of that judgment, and not in consequence of any omission or want of energy on my part.

I have, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed.) G. P. W.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York, &c.

No. II.

House Guards, October 6th, 1803.

Dearest Brother,

Nothing but an extraordinary press of business would have prevented me from acknowledging sooner your letter of the 2d instant, which I received, while at Oatlands, on Monday evening.

I trust that you are too well acquainted with my affection for you, which has existed since our most tender years, not to be assured of the satisfaction I ever have felt, and ever must feel, in forwarding, when in my power, every desire or object of your's, and therefore will believe how much I must regret the impossibility there is, upon the present occasion, of my executing your wishes of laying the representation contained in your letter before his Majesty. Suffer me, my dear Brother, as the only answer that I can properly give you, to recel to your memory what passed upon the same subject soon after his Majesty was graciously pleased to place me at the head of the army, and I have no doubt that, with your usual candour, you will yourself see the absolute necessity of my declining it.

In

In the year 1795, upon a general promotion taking place, at your instance, I delivered a letter from you to his Majesty, urging your pretensions to promotion in the army, to which his Majesty was pleased to answer, that before he had appointed you to the command of the 10th Light Dragoons, he had caused it to be fully explained to you, what his sentiments were with respect to a Prince of Wales entering into the army, and the public grounds upon which he never could admit of your considering it as a profession, or of your being promoted in the service; and his Majesty, at the same time, added his positive command and injunctions to me never to mention this subject again to him, and to decline being the bearer of any application of the same nature, should it be proposed to me; which message I was of course under the necessity of delivering to you, and have constantly made it the rule of my conduct ever since; and, indeed, I have ever considered it as one of the greatest proofs of affection and consideration towards me, on the part of his Majesty, that he never allowed me to become a party in this business.

Having thus stated to you fairly and candidly what has passed, I must trust you will see that there can be no grounds for the apprehension expressed in the latter part of your letter, that any slur can attach to your character as an Officer, particularly as I recollect your mentioning to me yourself, on the day in which you received the notification of your appointment to the 10th Light Dragoons, the explanation and condition at-

tached to it by his Majesty; and therefore, surely, you must be satisfied that your not being advanced in military rank proceeds entirely from his Majesty's sentiments respecting the high rank you hold in the state, and not from any impression unfavourable to you.

Believe me ever, with the greatest truth,

Dear Brother,

Your most affectionate Brother,

(Signed.) FREDERICK.

Prince of Wales.

No. III.

Brighton, October 9th, 1803.

My Dear Brother,

I have taken two days to consider the contents of your letter of the 6th inst. in order to be as accurate as possible in my answer, which must account to you for its being longer, perhaps, than I intended, or I could have wished.

I confide entirely in the personal kindness and affection expressed in your letter, and am, for that reason, the more unwilling to trouble you again on a painful subject, in which you are not free to act as your inclination, I am sure, would lead you; but as it is not at all improbable that every part of this transaction may be publicly canvassed hereafter, it is of the utmost importance to my honour, without which I can have no happiness, that my conduct in it shall be fairly represented and correctly understood. When I made a tender of my services to his Majesty's Ministers, it was with a just and natural expectation that my offer would have been accepted in the way in which alone it could have been

been most beneficial to my country, or creditable to myself; or, if that failed, that at least (in justice to me) the reasons for a refusal would have been distinctly stated, so that the Nation might be satisfied that nothing had been omitted on my part, and enabled me to judge of the validity of the reasons assigned for such refusal. In the first instance, I was referred to his Majesty's will and pleasure, and now I am informed by your letter, that before "he had appointed me to the command of the 10th Light Dragoons, he had caused it to be fully explained to me what his sentiments were with respect to a Prince of Wales entering into the army."

It is impossible, my dear Brother, that I should know all that passed between the King and you; but I perfectly recollect the statement you made of the conversation you had had with his Majesty, and which strictly corresponds with that in your letter now before me; but I must, at the same time, recal to your memory my positive denial, at that time, of any condition or stipulation having been made upon my first coming into the army, and I am in possession of full and complete documents, which prove that no terms whatever were then proposed, at least to me, whatever might have been the intention; and the communications which I have found it necessary subsequently to make, have ever disclaimed the existence of such a compromise at any period, as nothing could be more averse to my nature, or more remote from my mind.

As to the conversation you quote in 1796, when the King

was pleased to appoint me to succeed Sir William Pitt, I have not the most slight recollection of its having taken place between us. If your date is right, my dear Brother, you must be mistaken in your exact terms, or at least in the conclusion you draw from it; for in the intimacy and familiarity of private conversation, it is not at all unlikely that I should have remembered the communication you made me the year before; but that I should have acquiesced in, or referred to a compromise which I never made, is utterly impossible.

Neither in his Majesty's letter to me, nor in the correspondence with Mr. Addington, (of which you may not be fully informed) is there one word, or the most distant allusion to the condition stated in your letter; and even if I had accepted the command of a regiment on such terms, my acquiescence could only have relation to the ordinary situation of the Country, and not to a case so completely out of all contemplation at that time as the probable or projected invasion of this Kingdom, by a foreign force, sufficient to bring its safety into question. When the King is pleased to tell me, "that should the enemy land, he shall think it his duty to set an example in defence of the Country," that is, to expose the only life which, for the Public welfare, ought not to be hazarded. I respect and admire the principles which dictate that resolution, and, as my heart glows with the same sentiments, I wish to partake in the same danger, that is, with dignity and effect. Wherever his Majesty appears as King,

he acts and commands; you are Commander in Chief; others of my Family are high in military station; and even by the last brevet, a considerable number of junior officers are put over me. In all these arrangements the Prince of Wales alone, whose interest in the event yields to none but that of the King, is disregarded, omitted, his services rejected; so that, in fact, he has no post or station whatsoever in a contest on which the fate of the Crown and the Kingdom may depend.

I do not, my dear Brother, wonder that in the hurry of your present occupations, these considerations should have been overlooked; they are now in your view, and I think, cannot fail to make a due impression.

As to the rest, with every degree of esteem possible for your judgment of what is due to a Soldier's honour, I must be the guardian of mine to the utmost of my power.

I have, &c.

(Signed.)

G. P.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York.

No. IV.

Horse Guards, October 11, 1803.

My Dear Brother,

I have this moment, upon my arrival in town, found your letter, and lose no time in answering that part of it which it appears to me highly necessary, should be clearly understood.

Indeed, my dear Brother, you must give me leave to repeat to you, that, upon the fullest consideration, I perfectly recollect your having yourself told me, at

Carlton-house, in the year 1793, on the day on which you was informed of his Majesty's having acquiesced in your request of being appointed to the command of the 10th regiment of Light Dragoons, of which Sir William Pitt was then Colonel, the message and condition which was delivered to you from his Majesty, and which his Majesty repeated to me in the year 1795, as mentioned in my letter of Thursday last, and I have the fullest reason to know that there are others to whom, at that time, you mentioned the same circumstance; nor have I the least recollection of your having denied it to me, when I delivered to you the King's answer, as I should certainly have felt it incumbent upon me to recal to your memory what you had told me yourself in the year 1793.

No conversation whatever passed between us, as you justly remark, in the year 1796, when Sir William Pitt was promoted to the King's Dragoon Guards, which was done in consequence of what was arranged in 1793, upon your first appointment to the 10th Light Dragoons; and I conceive that your mentioning in your letter my having stated a conversation to have passed between us in 1798, must have arisen from some misapprehension, as I do not find that year ever adverted to in my letter.

I have thought it due to us both, my dear Brother, thus fully to reply to those parts of your letter in which you appear to have mistaken mine; but, as I am totally unacquainted with the correspondence which has taken place upon this

this subject, I must decline entering any further into it.

I remain ever, my dear Brother,

With the greatest truth,

Your most affectionate Brother,

(Signed) FREDERICK.

No. V.

Brighton, October 12th, 1803.

My Dear Brother,

By my replying to your letter of the 6th inst. which contained no sort of answer to mine of the 2d, we have fallen into a very frivolous altercation upon a topic which is quite foreign to the present purpose. Indeed, the whole importance of it lies in a seeming contradiction in the statement of a fact, which is unpleasant even upon the idlest occasion.

I meant to assert, that no previous condition to forego all pretensions to ulterior rank, under any circumstance, had been imposed upon me, or even submitted to me, in any shape whatsoever, on my first coming into the service; and, with as much confidence as can be used in maintaining a negative, I repeat that assertion.

When I first became acquainted with his Majesty's purpose to withhold from me further advancement, it is impossible to recollect; but that it was so early as the year 1793, I do not remember, and if your expressions were less positive, I should add, or believe; but I certainly knew it, as you well know, in 1795, and possibly before. We were then engaged in war; therefore I could not think of resigning my Regiment, if under other circumstances, I had been disposed to do it; but in truth, my rank in the nation made military rank in ordinary times a

matter of little consequence, except to my own private feelings.

This sentiment I conveyed to you in my letter of the 2d, saying expressly, that mere idle, inactive rank, was in no sort my object.

But upon the prospect of an emergency, where the King was to take the field, and the spirit of every Briton was roused to exertion, the place which I occupy in the Nation, made it indispensable to demand a post correspondent to that place, and to the public expectation. This sentiment, I have the happiness to be assured, in a letter on this occasion, made a strong impression upon the mind, and commanded the respect and admiration of one very high in Government.

The only purpose of this letter, my dear Brother, is to explain, since that is necessary, that my former ones meant not to give you the trouble of interceding as my advocate, for mere rank in the army. Urging further my other more important claims upon Government would be vainly addressed to any person, who can really think that a former refusal of mere rank, under circumstances so widely different, or the most express waving of such pretensions, if that had been the case, furnishes the lightest colour for the answer which I have received to the tenders I have now made of my services.

Your department, my dear Brother, was meant, if I must repeat it, simply as a channel to convey that tender to Government, and to obtain either their attention to it, or an open avowal of their refusal.

I am, &c. &c.

(Signed)

G. P.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York.

No. VI.

Horse Guards, October 13, 1803.

Dear Brother,

I have received your letter this morning, and am sorry to find that you think that I have misconceived the meaning of your first letter, the whole tenor of which the military promotion which gave rise to it, led me naturally to suppose your desire was, that I should apply to his Majesty, in my official capacity, to give you military rank to which might be attached the idea of subsequent command.

That I found myself under the necessity of declining, in obedience to his Majesty's pointed orders, as I explained to you in my letter of the 6th instant. But, from your letter of to-day, I am to understand that your object is not military rank, but that a post should be allotted to you, upon the present emergency, suitable to your situation in the State.

This I conceive to be purely a political consideration, and as such, totally out of my department; and as I have most carefully avoided, at all times, and under all circumstances, ever interfering in any political points, I must hope that you will not call upon me to deviate from the principles by which I have been invariably governed.

Believe me, my dear Brother,

Your most affectionate Brother,

(Signed) FREDERICK.

Prince of Wales.

No. VII.

Carlton House, October 14th, 1803.

My Dear brother,

It cannot but be painful to me,

reduced to the necessity of further explanation, on a subject which it was my earnest wish to have closed, and which was of so clear and distinct a nature, as, in my humble judgment, to have precluded the possibility of either doubt or misunderstanding.

Surely there must be some strange fatality to obscure my language in statement, or leave me somewhat deficient in the powers of explanations, when it can lead your mind, my dear Brother, to such a palpable misconstruction (for far be it from me to fancy it wilful) of my meaning, as to suppose, for a moment, that I had unconnected my object *with efficient military rank* and transferred it entirely to the view of a *political station*, when you venture to tell me, "my object is *not* military rank, but that a post should be allotted to me, upon the *present* emergency, suitable to my situation in the State." Upon what ground you *can* hazard such an assertion, or upon what principles you can draw such an inference, I am utterly at a loss to determine; for I defy the most skilful Logician, in torturing the English language, to apply *with fairness*, such a construction to any word or phrase of mine contained in any one of the letters I have ever written on this, *to me*, most interesting subject.

I call upon you to re-peruse the correspondence. In my letter of the 2d instant, I told you *unequivocally* that "I hope you knew me too well to imagine that *idle, inactive*, rank was in my view," and *that* sentiment I beg you carefully to observe, I have in no instance whatever, for one single moment

moment relinquished or departed from.

Giving, as I did, all the considerations of *my* heart to the delicacy and difficulties of *your* situation, nothing could have been more repugnant to my thoughts, or to my *disposition*, than to have imposed upon you, my dear Brother, either in your capacity as Commander in Chief, or in the near relationship which subsists between us, the task, much less the expectation of causing you to risk any displeasure from his MAJESTY, by disobeying in *any* degree his commands, although they were even to militate against myself.

But, with the impulse of my feelings towards you, and quickly conceiving what friendship, and affection *may* be capable of, I did not, I own, think it entirely impossible that you might, considering the magnitude and importance which the object carries with it, have officially advanced my wishes, as a matter of propriety, to *military rank and subsequent command*, through his Majesty's Ministers; for that direct purpose; especially when the honour of my Character, and my future Fame in life, were so deeply involved in the consideration; for I must here *emphatically* again repeat, "that *idle inactive rank*, was NEVER in my view, and that *military rank*, with its *consequent command*, was never out of it."

Feeling how useless, as well as ungracious, controversy is upon every occasion, and knowing how fatally it operates on human friendship, I must entreat that our correspondence, on this subject, shall cease here; for nothing could be more distressing to me, than to pro-

long a topic, on which it is now clear to me, my dear Brother, that *you* and I can never agree. &c. &c.

(Signed) G. P.
His Royal Highness the Duke of York.

No. VIII.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Honourable

HENRY ADDINGTON:

Richmond Park, October 23d, 1803.

Sir,

In consequence of some intelligence, which has reached me, I am impelled, by a sense of duty to your Royal Highness, and to the Public, to express an earnest and anxious hope, that you may be induced to postpone your return to Brighton, until I shall have had an opportunity of making farther inquiries, and of stating the result of them to your Royal Highness.

I have the honour to be, with the utmost deference and respect,

Sir,

Your Royal Highness's
Faithful and most humble Servant,
(Signed) HENRY ADDINGTON.
The Prince of Wales.

IX.

Answer.

Sir,

By your grounding your letter to me upon intelligence which has just reached you, I apprehend that you allude to information which leads you to expect some immediate attempt from the enemy. My wish to accommodate myself to any thing, which you represent as material to the public service, would of course make me desirous to comply with your request; but

if there be reason to imagine that invasion will take place directly, I am bound by the King's precise order, and, by that honest zeal which is not allowed any fitter sphere for its action, to hasten instantly to my Regiment, if I learn that my construction of the word "intelligence" be right, I must deem it necessary to repair to Brighton immediately.

&c. &c.

(Signed) G. P.

Carlton House, October 24th, 1803.

Right Hon. Henry Addington.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN BONAPARTE AND THE KING OF FRANCE.

Publication issued by Monsieur, Brother of the King of France.

Monsieur, brother of the King of France, has deemed it his duty no longer to remain silent respecting an important fact, of which too vague an idea has hitherto gone abroad. The variety of lights in which it has been represented, and the false reports industriously circulated by an usurped Government, imperiously require that the opinion of the publick, but more particularly that of Frenchmen, should be set right respecting the real state of the matter.

Such are the reasons, which at the present conjuncture, induce Monsieur to make public certain details, which particular circumstances do not allow, however interesting they may be, to be enumerated more at length than as follows:

On the 26th February of the

current year, a personage of prominent distinction, empowered by high authority, waited on the KING of FRANCE at Warlaw; and verbally made to his Majesty, in terms the most respectful, but at the same time the most urgent, and, in the opinion of him who urged them, the most persuasive the astonishing proposal to renounce the Throne of France, and to require the same renunciation on the part of all the Members of the House of Bourbon:—The Envoy moreover observed, that, as the price of this sacrifice, BONAPARTE would secure indemnities to his Majesty, and even a splendid establishment. His Majesty, strongly animated by that sentiment which the hand of adversity is never able to obliterate from elevated souls, and which makes him cling as tenaciously to his rights, as he does to the happiness of France, immediately wrote the following answer, which he delivered on the 28th February to the person who was deputed to him:

Answer of the King.

"I am far from being inclined to confound M. BONAPARTE with those who have preceded him. I think highly of his valour, and of his military talents. Neither do I feel ungrateful for many acts of his administration; for whatever is done for the benefit of my people, shall always be dear to my heart. He is deceived, however, if he imagines that he can induce me to forego my claims; for in fact he himself would confirm and establish them, could they be called in question by the very step he has now taken.

"I cannot pretend to know what

what may be the intentions of the Almighty respecting my race and myself; but I am well aware of the obligations imposed on me by the rank to which he was pleased I should be born. As a Christian, I shall continue to fulfil these obligations to my last breath. As a descendant of St. Louis I shall endeavour to imitate his example by respecting myself—even in captivity and chains. As successor of FRANCIS I. I shall at least aspire to say with him—We have lost every thing but our honour.”

At the bottom of this answer were written the following words :

“ With the permission of the King, my uncle, I adhere with heart and soul to the contents of this note.

(Signed) “ LOUIS ANTOINE.”

On the 2d March the King wrote to Monsieur, acquainting him with what had passed, and instructed him to make known the same to the Princes of the Blood who were in England, taking charge himself to inform such of them respecting it, who do not reside in that country. On the 22d April Monsieur called a meeting of the Princes, who, with equal alacrity and unanimity, have signed the following adhesion to the answer of the King on the 28th February :

ADHESION OF THE PRINCES.

“ We the undersigned Princes, the Brothers, Nephews, and Cousins of his Majesty Louis XVIII. King of France and of Navarre.

“ Thoroughly impressed with the same sentiments with which our Sovereign Lord and King has shewn himself to be so honourably

animated in his answer to the proposals made to him, of renouncing the throne of France, and of requiring all the Princes of his house in like manner, to renounce all the imprescriptible claims to the succession to the same throne, declare,

“ That, as our attachment to our rights, to our duty, and to our honour, can never permit us to forego our claims, we adhere with heart and soul to the answer made by our King.

“ That, in imitation of his example, we shall not lend ourselves in any manner whatever to any step or proceeding that can imply on our part, a failing in what we owe to ourselves, to our ancestors, to our descendants.

“ We finally declare, that being fully convinced that a large majority of the French people inwardly participate in all the sentiments by which we are animated, it is in the name of our loyal countrymen, as well as in our own, that we renew upon our sword, and to our King, the solemn and sacred oath, to live and die faithful to our honour, and to our legitimate Sovereign.

(Signed)

“ Charles Philippe of France.

“ Charles Ferdinand of Artois, Duke of Berri.

“ Louis Philippe of Orleans, Duke of Orleans.

“ Antoine Philippe of Orleans, Duke of Montpellier.

“ Louis Charles of Orleans, Count of Beaujolais.

“ Louis Joseph De Bourbon, Prince of Conde.

“ Louis Henry Joseph De Bourbon-Conde, Duke of Bourbon.

Wansley House, April 23, 1803.

ADHESION OF THE DUKE OF
ENGHEIN.

“Sire,

“The letter of the 2d March, with which your Majesty has vouchsafed to honour me, reached me in due time. Your Majesty is too well acquainted with the blood which flows in my veins, to have entertained a moment's doubt respecting the tenor and spirit of the answer which your Majesty calls for. I am a Frenchman, Sire, and a Frenchman faithful to his God, to his king, and to the oaths that are binding on his honour: many others may, perhaps one day envy me this triple advantage. Will your Majesty therefore vouchsafe to permit me to annex my signature to that of the Duke d'Angouleme, adhering as I do, with him in heart and soul to the contents of the note to my sovereign? It is in these invariable sentiments that I remain, Sire, Your Majesty's most humble, most obedient, and very faithful subject and servant,

(Signed)

LOUIS ANTOINE HENRY DE
BOURBON.”

*Ettenheim in the Dominions of the Mar-
grave of Baden, March 22, 1803.*

The adhesion of the Prince de Conti has not yet been received; but no doubt can be entertained about it.

Monsieur has since learned that on the 19th of March, the same Envoy pursuant to the orders which he had received, waited again upon the King! There was no longer any question about the substance of his Majesty's answer, but some alterations were intimated

respecting the terms in which the form of the answer should be couched; apprehensions seemed to be felt, lest it should so far irritate the Usurper, as to prompt him to exert his influence in order to aggravate the misfortunes of the King. His Majesty, however observed, that *he should make no alteration in his answer, which was as modest as could be expected; and that Bonaparte could not be justified in complaining of it, since, indeed, if it had treated him as a Rebel and an Usurper, it would have told him no more than the truth.* Upon this certain dangers were hinted to the King. — *What Dangers?* observed the King. *Ill-minded persons may require that I withdraw from the asylum that is granted to me. — I will pity the Sovereign who may deem himself compelled to take such a part: and I will withdraw.* No! that is not it. But may it not be apprehended that M. Bonaparte will make it a point with certain powers to deprive the Comte de Lille of the assistance they now afford him? *I do not dread poverty. Were it necessary, I would eat black bread with my family and my faithful servants— but do not be alarmed, I shall never be reduced to that extremity. I have another resource to rely upon, which I do not think proper to resort to as long as I have powerful friends; and that is, to make my situation known in France, and to stretch out my hand not—no never to a Government of usurpation, but to my faithful subjects; and, rely upon it, I shall soon be richer than I am now.*

The consequence was, that the messenger was obliged to take back the King's answer, which

had been returned to his Majesty under an expectation that he would have made some alterations in it.

The Trial of Edward Marcus Despard, Esq. and others for High Treason.

On the 3d of January, 1803, a Special Commission of Oyer and Terminer, issued under the great seal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to inquire of certain High Treasons, and Misprisons of Treason, committed within the County of Surry, and a Special Commission of Gaol delivery, as to all persons who were, or should be in custody for such offences, on or before the 25th of March following.

On the 21st of January, the Special Commission opened at the Session-House, at Newington,

PRESENT,

The Right Hon. Lord Ellenborough, Lord Chief Justice of His Majesty's Court of King's Bench;

The Hon. Sir Alexander Thomson, Knt. one of the Barons of His Majesty's Court of Exchequer;

The Hon. Sir Simon Le Blanc, Knt. one of the justices of His Majesty's Court of King's Bench;

And the Hon. Sir Alan Chambre, Knt. one of the justices of His Majesty's Court of Common Pleas.

The Sheriff delivered in the Pannel of the Grand Jury, which was called over, when the following gentlemen were sworn.

THE GRAND JURY.

The Right Hon. George William Evelyn Leslie, commonly called Lord Leslie.

The Right Hon. Thomas Onslow, commonly called Viscount Cranley.

The Right Hon. William Ruffel, commonly called Lord William Ruffel.

The Hon. Chappel Norton

Sir Mark Parsons, Bart.

Sir Geo. Glynn, Bart.

Sir Thomas Turton, Bart.

Sir Robert Burnett, Knt.

Robert Hankey, Esq.

James Trotter, Esq.

Joseph Alcock, Esq.

John Pooley, Kensington, Esq.

Joseph Bradney, Esq.

Henry Thornton, Esq.

Henry Peters, Esq.

Thomas Page, Esq.

John Whitmore, Esq.

Thomas Langley, Esq.

William Borradaile, Esq.

Thomas Gaitskell, Esq.

Richard Wyatt, Esq.

John Webb Weston, Esq.

Lord Ellenborough, as President of the Commission, immediately addressed the Jury in a Charge of the most eloquent composition.

On the same day, the Grand Jury returned a true bill against Edward Marcus Despard, John Wood, Thomas Broughton, John Francis, Thomas Phillips, Thomas Newman, Daniel Tyndall, John Doyle, James Sedgwick Wratten, William Lander, Arthur Graham, Samuel Smith, and John Macnamara, for High Treason.

At the request of the prisoner Despard, Mr. Serjeant Best and Mr. Gurney were assigned his counsel.

The prisoner Graham, stated to the court, that himself and others of the prisoners, having been in close confinement, had not been able to retain counsel or solicitor.

Lord Ellenborough informed them, that when they had fixed upon their counsel and solicitor, they might be assigned, on application being made to either of the judges in the commission, at their chambers.

5th February. The prisoners being arraigned, severally pleaded not guilty. At the request of John Wood, Thomas Broughton, John Francis, Thomas Phillips, Thomas Newman, Daniel Tyndall, John Doyle, James Sedgwick Wratten, William Lander, Arthur Graham, Samuel Smith, and John Macnamara, Mr. Jekyll and Mr. Hovel, were assigned their counsel.

On Monday, February 7th, 1803, the Court met pursuant to adjournment, at nine o'clock in the morning.

PRESENT,

The Right Hon. Lord Ellenborough,

The Hon. Mr. Baron Thomson,

The Hon. Mr. Justice Le Blanc,

The Hon. Mr. Justice Chambre,

Counsel for the Crown,

Mr. Attorney General,

Mr. Solicitor General,

Mr. Serjeant Shepherd,

Mr. Plumer,

Mr. Garrow,

Mr. Common Serjeant,

Mr. Wood,

Mr. Fielding,

Mr. Abbot.

Solicitor, Joseph White, Esq. Solicitor for the Affairs of his Majesty's Treasury.

Counsel for Edward Marcus Despard.

Mr. Searjeant Best,

Mr. Gurney.

Solicitor, Mr. Palmer, of Barnard's Inn.

THE JURY.

Grant Allen,

William Dent,

William Davidson,

Gabriel Copland,

William Coxon,

John Farmer,

John Collinson,

James Webber,

Gilbert Handyside,

John Hamer,

Peter Dubree,

John Field.

The indictment charged—[*First Count*—That the prisoners as false Traitors, &c. on the sixteenth day of November, in the Forty-third year of His Majesty's reign, and on divers other days, as well before as after, at the parish of St. Mary, Lambeth, in the county of Surry, maliciously and traitorously with force and arms, *did conspire, compass, imagine, and intend to bring and put our said Lord the King to death.*

First overt Act—That the prisoners did traitorously conspire, combine, consult, consent and agree, and attempt and endeavour to seduce divers soldiers and persons serving in the forces of the King by sea and land, from their duty and allegiance to the King, and to move, procure, and persuade the same and other soldiers, persons and subjects, to unite themselves to and join and associate with, and be aiding and assisting to them, the prisoners and divers other false trai-

traitors in a wicked and traitorous attempt to be by them made with force and arms to subvert the government and constitution of this realm, and to depose the King, and to attack, set upon, seize, imprison, kill, and destroy the King.

Second overt Act.—That the prisoners did conspire, combine, consult, consent and agree, and attempt and endeavour to administer, and cause to be administered to, and to be taken by one William Francis, one John Pike, one John Bird, and other of the subjects of the King, divers oaths and engagements intended by them the prisoners, to bind the same subjects, taking the same to be and become members of and to be aiding in divers traitorous associations, combinations, and confederacies.

Third overt Act.—That the prisoners did obtain and procure, and in their custody and possession, did have and keep divers printed and written cards and papers, containing the form and words of divers oaths and engagements, purporting, to bind the persons, taking the same to be of a certain association, society, and confederacy, and not to give evidence against any associate confederate, or other person belonging to the same, or any other similar society, with intent, and in order to administer the same oaths and engagements, and cause the same to be administered to, and to be taken by divers subjects of the King.

Fourth overt Act.—That the prisoners did administer to Thomas Blades, Thomas Windsor, and divers other subjects, such oath and engagement,

Fifth overt Act.—That the prisoners did meet, propose, treat, consult, conspire, consent and agree by lying in wait, and by attacking the person of the King to assassinate, kill, and murder the King.

Sixth overt Act.—That the prisoners did meet, propose, treat, consult, conspire, consent, and agree by themselves, and with other false traitors with force and arms, to attack and seize upon the Bank of England, and the King's Tower of London, and to seize and take possession of the weapons, arms, and ammunition therein, and in divers other magazines and places, in and about the neighbourhood of London, found and being in order by and with the said weapons, arms, and ammunition to arm themselves, and other false traitors, and to fight with, kill and destroy the soldiers, troops and forces of the King, and other his liege and faithful subjects, and to raise, levy, and make insurrection, rebellion, and war against the King within this kingdom.

Seventh overt Act.—That the prisoners did meet, propose, treat, consult, conspire, consent and agree, to obtain procure and provide weapons, arms, and ammunition, and therewith to arm themselves and divers other false traitors, the better and more effectually to set upon, attack, assassinate, kill, and murder the King, and all their traitorous compassing conspiracies, consultations, and agreements, devices, and intentions aforesaid, to accomplish and fulfil.

Eight overt act.—That the prisoners did propose, conspire, consent, and agree, that divers of them should on the day, when the King should next go to meet the parliament,

liament, lye in wait for, and set upon, attack, shoot, and fire at the person of our said Lord the King, and that others of the prisoners and other false traitors, should surround, beset, and make themselves masters of the house and places wherein the lords and commons were then expected to meet in parliament, and should also attack and sieze upon the Bank and the tower, and seize the weapons, arms, and ammunition therein, and should stop and detain the mail coaches and other carriages, usually travelling from London, to divers parts of this kingdom, and prevent the same from setting out or departing from London, as a signal and notice of the same attacks and proceedings to divers other false traitors, dwelling and being in divers parts of this kingdom, and as an incitement and encouragement to them, to raise, levy, and make insurrection, rebellion, and war, and a cruel and bloody slaughter of the King's liege and faithful subjects.

Second Count. That the prisoners did maliciously and traitorously conspire, compass, imagine, invent, devise, and intend, imprisonment and restraint of the person of our said lord the King, and the same traitorous compassing imagination, invention, device, and intention last mentioned, did then and there express, utter and declare, by divers overt acts and deeds, therein after-mentioned, that is to say,

The inditement then states the several overt acts, similar to those in the first count, and stated, that each of the overt acts was *for the purpose of seizing, taking, restraining*

and imprisoning the person of the King.

Third Count. That the prisoners maliciously and traitorously did conspire, compass, imagine, invent, devise, and intend to deprive and depose the King from the style, honour, and kingly name of the Imperial Crown of this Realm.

The indictment then stated eight several overt acts, similar to those mentioned in the first and second counts of the indictment, concluding that such overt acts were *for the purpose of deposing the King from the style, honour, and kingly name, of the Imperial Crown of this Realm.*

The indictment having been opened by Mr. Abbot, *the Attorney General* addressed the Jury.

He began, by enforcing the necessity of a patient attention to his statement, and a due consideration of the evidence. No one would deny, that if there had been a plot to overturn the constitution, and destroy our Sovereign, the base conspirator should suffer his merited punishment; but the nature of the charge should not operate to his disadvantage; that grand principle of our law ought rather to be confirmed, "that every man should be considered innocent, till he is found guilty." He adverted to the nature of the crime of treason, and expressed his expectation, that if the charge were substantiated, the Jury would pronounce the prisoner *guilty*, without the least hesitation; and after many remarks to shew that there was not the least ground for suspecting the prosecution to have been brought forward from any party motive, or prejudice on the side

of

of Government, he concluded with observing, that from the clearness of the evidence the trial could not be long.—He then proceeded to state the counts in the indictment. After fully explaining the law respecting treason and conspiracy, the Attorney General read over the names of the persons included in the indictment, and observed, that ten of them, besides the prisoner, were apprehended at the Oakley Arms on the 16th November. It appeared, that in the last spring a detachment of guards returned from Chatham, and shortly after a conspiracy was formed for overturning the Government; a society was established for the extension of liberty; of which two men, named Francis and Wood, were very active members; they frequently attempted to seduce soldiers into the association, and sometimes with success. Francis administered unlawful oaths to those that yielded, and among others to two named Blaize and Windsor, giving them two or three copies of the oath, that they might be enabled to make proselytes in their turn. Windsor soon after, becoming dissatisfied, gave information of the conspiracy to a Mr. Bownas, and shewed him a copy of the oath. This gentleman advised him to continue a member of the association, that he might learn whether there were any persons of consequence engaged in it: the prisoner at the bar tendered this oath; it was found in the possession of Broughton, Smith, and others.

The Attorney-General then commented on different passages contained in this oath, and endeavoured to shew that it would only bear a treasonable interpretation.

Proceeding in this statement, he observed, that about the middle of summer they began to think it might be dangerous for them always to meet at the same place. To avoid suspicion, they therefore went to various public-houses:—in Windmill-street, Oxford-street, St. Giles's, Hatton-garden, White-chapel, in the Borough, about the Tower, and to the Oakley Arms, in Lambeth. To these meetings they invited soldiers, and treated them; toasts were given to answer the objects of the association, such as "The Cause of Liberty—Extension of Rights—The Model of France," &c. They now increased greatly in audacity, and were betrayed by their confidence into the greatest extravagancies; some of them proposed a day for attacking the Tower; and the great blow was to have been struck on the 16th November, the day on which the King first intended to go to Parliament. On the Friday preceding, a meeting took place, when Broughton prevailed upon two of the members to go to the Flying-horse, Newington, where they would meet a *nice man*, who proved to be Colonel Despard: the mode in which the Tower was watched and guarded was inquired into, and the difficulties of intercepting the King were considered: when Broughton suggested the idea of shooting the horses, as the coach would thus be stopped: "but," said another, "would not the life-guards cut us down?" Then the prisoner exclaimed, "If no one else will do it, I myself will;" adding, with much solemnity, "I have well weighed the matter, and my heart is callous."—The Attorney General

neral then observed, that Government was well aware of the proceedings of these people, but would not interfere while danger was at a distance; however, when the schemes were nearly completed, about thirty prisoners were arrested at the Oakley Arms, and a sufficient body of evidence collected to prove them guilty. The conspirators consisted of the lowest order of the people, as journeymen, day-labourers, and common soldiers; with the exception only of the person at the bar. Several were discharged; and Windsor the evidence came after the arrest, and offered to deliver himself up, and communicate all the information in his power: on his testimony, several others were taken into custody. These were the principal points in the speech of the Attorney-General; but he continued for some time to expatiate on the probable system of defence for the prisoners, which he conceived would be principally an attack on the credibility of the witnesses; he contended, that an accomplice is *competent*; observed, that there could not be a doubt of the guilt of some of the prisoners; and that the papers were sufficient to prove the conspiracy, independent of oral testimony. He then concluded with observing to the Jury, that if they permitted their inclination to mercy, to exceed the limits of reason, they would do what the prisoner had no right to expect, and what he, as Attorney-General, would solemnly protest against on the part of the Public. He then proceeded to call the witnesses for the prosecution.

The first witness was *John Stafford*, chief clerk of the Police-office, at Union-hall; he said he was in that character, on Tuesday, the 16th of November, directed to go to the Oakley Arms, in Oakley-street, in the Parish of St. Mary, Lambeth; that he went about nine in the evening, with John May and Richard Bethel Lloyd, two of the officers, to whom a warrant was directed; that they met the Bow-street officers, whom Sir Richard Ford had directed to attend upon that occasion, by the wall of the Asylum. He proceeded, "we went together to the Oakley-arms. Lloyd, with a party, attended in a room below Stairs; Rivett, May, and I, went together into the Club-room up one pair of stairs; when we went in we found about thirty persons there; Thomas Phillips told me his name was Jackson; he afterwards said it was Phillips. There were William Lander, John Lambert Abraham Bailey, John Doyle, and John Wood. I asked Wood where he lived, what business he was of, and whether he was a soldier; he said he was not now a soldier, he had belonged to the 10th regiment; he said he was a carpenter, and not a soldier. John Francis, Thomas Newman, Daniel Tyndall, Edward Marcus Despard, Samuel Smith, Thomas Broughton, John Emblin, and John Connell, were also there; Graham and Macnamara, who were named in the indictment, were not there. They appeared mostly to be working men, some of them soldiers. John Francis, Newman, and Wood, were soldiers;

diers; none of them had their regimentals on; one had a sort of regimental jacket; I went to the fire-place, and looked about; I desired them to keep their seats; they were a little alarmed; we went in quick; I desired the officer to search them; I saw May find a paper upon Thomas Phillips. One of the patrol came up, and said, 'here is a man who will not be searched;' I was shewn to Despard as that person. Rivett pointed out the prisoner, and said, 'that is Colonel Despard.' No other person there had the appearance of a gentleman but him. Colonel Despard asked 'what was our authority?' I told him 'we had a warrant.' He asked 'to see it.' I desired May to produce it. The warrant was held out to him, where the signatures of the magistrates were: it was signed by Mr. Carpenter Smith, and Mr. Broadley. Colonel Despard seemed rather angry; rather indignant. I searched him minutely; I found nothing upon him: he had a silk umbrella in his hand. It is a silk umbrella, with an hooked yellow stick; an umbrella that is also used as a walking-stick. I saw another paper in the hands of Samuel Taunton, one of the patrol; I did not see where it came from. I did not see any more found. I did not see Broughton searched. They were all taken into custody. I continued at the public-house till they were all sent away. I sent for coaches, and sent officers along with them to places of security for the night. After they were gone, Thomas Windsor, as I since find him to be; came there. I saw him come in, dressed like a bricklayer or plasterer; there appeared to be

some lime about him. He went into the tap-room, sat down, and called for a pint of beer, and a pipe of tobacco. I had a long conversation with him. I desired him to attend at Union Hall the next day; and, in consequence of that conversation, I took down his name and place of abode, which, he said, 'was in Weymouth Street, Newington: he said he was a bricklayer by business, and a soldier in the guards.' He attended the next morning before the magistrates by my desire; he was not taken up; he was examined; and produced another paper, similar to those found at the Oakley Arms; it is now marked No. 2. He said, 'he knew the colonel; he knew James Sedgwick Wratten, John Francis, and John Wood. Then it was that Wood admitted he was a soldier; John Francis, at the same time, admitted himself to be a soldier in the guards, in Colonel Lambert's regiment, having at the Oakley Arms, called himself a shoe-maker. He also knew Emblin, he said, and Samuel Smith. The prisoners were severally committed. He thought the Parliament met that very day, the 16th of November, and the king went to the House the week following, on Tuesday, the 23d of November.'

The oath was then read, and numbered 1.: it was in these words.

"Constitution and independence of Great Britain and Ireland; an equalization of civil, political, and religious rights; an ample provision for the families of the heroes who shall fall in the contest; a liberal reward for distinguished merit: these are the objects for which we contend, and to obtain these

these objects, we swear to be united. In the awful presence of Almighty God, I, A. B. do voluntarily declare, that I will endeavour, to the utmost of my power, to obtain the objects of this union, namely, to recover those rights which the Supreme Being has given to all men; that neither hopes, fears, rewards, nor punishment, shall ever induce us to give any information, directly or indirectly, concerning the business, or of any member of this society, or of any similar society, so help me God."

Charles Bacon, one of the patrolle belonging to the Public Office in Bow Street, said, "He was present, with Stafford and others, at the Oakley Arms; he went up into the room; there were as many as thirty persons, or more; the prisoner was there. His evidence agreed with that of Stafford, with this addition, that Colonel Despard was walking up and down the room; he addressed himself to the company in the room, and said, '*he wished to know why he was detained there?* and said, *one and all follow me.*' He went towards the door, and they followed him. One of the officers went down out of the room, and desired some of the patrolle to come up; they came up into the room."

The other copies of the oath numbered 2, 3, 4, and 5, were read and compared with number 1, and they all agreed.

John May, *Samuel Taunton*, *Joseph Hannah*, and *John Rivett*, confirmed the narrative of the apprehension of the prisoners, and seizure of their papers, with some slight additions.

Thomas Windsor said "I am a private soldier in the grenadier

company of the third battalion in the first regiment of the guards; I know Colonel Despard; I know John Francis, who is one of the persons indicted. In March last I was with my regiment at Chatham; soon after their return I received some printed papers from John Francis; I delivered some of those papers to Mr. Bownas, of the Transport Office, or the Agent Office. I communicated to him how I had received these papers; I left one in his possession; I received advice from him what conduct I should hold as to the persons I received them from. John Francis said 'the object was to unite ourselves to overturn the present tyrannical system of government, to unite ourselves in different companies, and get possession of arms.' John Francis applied to Thomas Blades, of the same company, and Blades was after that at a meeting held at a public-house at St. Giles's. When Francis offered me the printed card, which was an affidavit, he bid me read it and kiss it: the first act respecting the cards and giving me some, was swearing me in; this is the usual mode of swearing in soldiers to be of this conspiracy. If the soldier to be sworn cannot read, the person bringing him reads the oath to him, if he can, if not some other person reads it to the soldier to be sworn, and then he kisses it. About a week after I was sworn in, Francis delivered me some other cards, (one of which I delivered to Mr. Bownas,) to distribute to whom I thought proper; he delivered them to me as to a person capable of the command of a company; one of the cards was, I believe, that on which I was sworn.

Meetings

Meetings were held afterwards at the Brown Bear, in St. Giles's, and at the Running Horse, in St. Giles's; from sixteen to twenty, or twenty-five persons used to meet at those houses, principally Irishmen of a low class—labouring men. These meetings were held every week. There was a resolution come to upon the motion of a man of the name of Mack, as we called him, but his proper name is Macnamara; he proposed at the meeting at the Running Horse, that we should change the public-houses of meeting as often as possible, in order to avoid detection; his advice was adopted, and they afterwards met at the Bleeding Heart, in Charles Street, Hatton Garden; I attended at that meeting; John Francis was there; Thomas Broughton accompanied me to one of these meetings at the Bleeding Heart; there were about twenty-five persons attended there; the business there was to unite ourselves, and to raise subscriptions to pay delegates to go into the country, and to pay the expense of printing these affidavits, to overturn the system of government, and to destroy the Royal family; these were mentioned in general as the objects of our meetings: there were ten men in each company, and when they amounted to eleven, one of the eleven took the command as captain of the other ten, if he raised the number himself; the society divided itself into different divisions, the divisions were not fixed as to any particular number. There was a division in the Borough, one in Mary-le-Bone, another division in Spital Fields, and a division from Blackwall, and upwards towards the city. The

oldest captain of fifty was to have the command of fifty; he was called colonel of that sub-division. John Francis and Macnamara told me they should appoint me as colonel of the Borough division; they called themselves colonels under the head colonel, or commander in chief. The Spread Eagle, in Mill Lane, is a house for a meeting of one of the sub-divisions. I know James Sedgwick Wratten, who is indicted: the persons who composed the society in Mill Lane, were chiefly persons discharged from the navy, or people used to the great gun exercise; Wratten called himself colonel; the Hoop and Ram, in the Mint, in the Borough, is the house where Wratten held his division, and assembled his people. I know the Oakley Arms; I attended there on Broughton's summons; it was on a Sunday, about seven or eight weeks before I gave my evidence; there were Arthur Graham, and William Lander there, and to the amount of about half a dozen more; nothing particular was done there; Broughton and I went to a man of the name of Hutchinson, on Lord Mayor's Day; we were together at the Oakley Arms, and the son of the man went up stairs, and Broughton was called out to the door to me. The room was almost full; I did not go in; there were about thirty there; I had been at a meeting at the Windmill, in Windmill Street, and looked in at this place on my return. Broughton said, on the 9th that they had gathered fifteen shillings and sixpence, and it was to pay for delegates going into the country, and to pay for some more of the affidavits being printed; Broughton

Broughton produced some of these affidavits; I took one; I gave him a shilling for it; there were about sixteen at the Windmill, in Windmill Street, and thirty at the Oakley Arms; the business transacted was the same as at the other meetings—encouraging people to get as many recruits as they could, asking whether any members would take a card and bring men, and cards were produced for the purpose of furnishing those who were disposed to take them. John Macnamara was at the meeting in Windmill Street; when the cards were printed, they were to be distributed in the country by the delegates, who were appointed for that purpose. Broughton said every person must pay a shilling for his affidavit, and what was more than was expended in printing was to be paid to the delegates. I was at a meeting at the Hoop and Ram, in the Mint, a fortnight or more before the meeting on Lord Mayor's day. The same plan and the same object was pursued at all these meetings, there was no difference; Broughton was present there; Wratten was in the chair; John Wood, a soldier of the first regiment, was there; Magrah, Newman, and John Blades were present, and several other persons. A meeting was held at the Bleeding Heart, about six weeks before the meeting at the Hoop and Ram, in the Mint, that was on a Sunday evening. There was a meeting appointed at the Bell, in Tower Street; I was ordered to attend; but it being in the time of the evening service the landlord of the Bell would not let us in; we went to the Canteen, the suttlings-house in the Tower, they call it the

Stone Kitchen; this was on a Sunday, about three weeks or a month before Lord Mayor's day; there might be about twenty or twenty-five met in Tower Street; when they found they could not get into the Bell, in Tower Street, about thirteen or fourteen went to the Tower, the rest dispersed; they were planning that some of them should go down to Woolwich, to the Warren, to try to get some people belonging to the Warren to unite with them. On the 12th of November I was at work at No. 16, in West Street, West Square, setting up a copper; Broughton called upon me there, he said, 'Windfor, come with me to the Flying Horse, in Newington, I will introduce you to good company.' The Flying Horse was a house I used, where I had my regular beer from; I told him I could not neglect my business, that I had a wife and family to maintain; he said, 'Damn you, you must neglect your business, I neglect mine.' I went with him there; I went into the tap-room; Broughton said, 'Don't stop there, come along.' Then I followed him into the parlour; I found a gentleman there who called himself Colonel Despard; the prisoner is the person. He was then a stranger to me; Broughton said, 'That is Colonel Despard.' I made my obeisance to the colonel, and took my seat. Emblin was there at the same time, a person of the name of Samuel Smith, and Arthur Graham. Broughton told Graham that was Colonel Despard. Graham and Colonel Despard fell into conversation for some minutes, and then Emblin entered into conversation with Colonel Despard.

I did

I did not hear the conversation ; I saw Graham offer a piece of money to Colonel Despard, which he refused : then Graham said, ' You shall have something to drink then,' and he ordered a shillings-worth of brandy and water. I heard Emblin recommend to Despard, that there ought to be a regular organization in London : Despard said ' No ; a regular organization in London was dangerous, as it was under the eye of government. He said, a regular organization in the country was necessary, and he believed was already general. He said the people were every where ripe, and anxious for the moment of attack ; and I believe this to be the moment. They are ripe, particularly in Leeds, in Sheffield, in Birmingham, and every capital town in England ; I have walked twenty miles to-day, and the people are every where ripe where I have been. He said, the attack was to be made on the day his Majesty should go to the House, and his Majesty must be put to death ; that the mail coaches were to be stopped as a signal to the people in the country, that they had revolted in town.' In the course of the evening he afterwards said, ' Windsor, Wood has mentioned you to me. Broughton frequently called me by the name of Windsor ; he told me he had formerly heard of me from Wood. He also said, I should be glad if you would meet me on Tower Hill on Monday morning, at half past eleven o'clock, and bring with you four or five intelligent men, to consult on the best method of taking the Tower, and securing the arms.' I promised to meet him there. He said afterwards, at the

time he was saying the people were ripe, *I have weighed the matter well, and my heart is callous* ; this was after he said his Majesty must be put to death. Graham paid for the brandy and water ; Emblin gave the girl that came into the room twopence or threepence. On Monday the 15th of November, the witness proceeded, I met Colonel Despard at the Tiger, on Tower Hill ; I took Winterbottom there according to an appointment made the Friday before. I was there at the time appointed, which was half past eleven ; the colonel came about five minutes before twelve. The colonel came alone ; I and Winterbottom were in the tap-room when he came. The colonel beckoned me with his head to go out ; in consequence of this I did go out ; there were four or five soldiers in the tap-room. He said, ' Windsor, do these people belong to us ; he said, bid them come along with me.' I said, only Winterbottom belongs to me ; I said yes first of all, that they did belong to us, but in fact only Winterbottom belonged to us. He said, ' bid them come along with me.' I said, there is but one I can depend upon, that is Winterbottom. Says he, ' do you take one direction, and I another, as you are well known and in your regimentals, and meet me opposite Whitechapel Church.' Winterbottom, I, and the other soldiers, had our regimentals on. I returned, and went with Winterbottom opposite Whitechapel Church ; the colonel walked gently before us till we came to Whitechapel Church ; he bid me go to the opposite house, pointing to a public-house, the Two Bells, and said he

would go and find a man who could give him some information respecting Lynch, who was a soldier, who had been in the third battalion of the first regiment, but was then discharged. I went into the public-house; he asked me if I had money enough to buy a draught of porter. I remained half an hour before the colonel came; he brought one Herron, a discharged soldier of the first regiment of guards. The colonel said, 'he brought this man with him, he could not find any thing of Lynch; he believed Herron had seen Lynch the week before, and he believed him to be still in the regiment.' I was desired by the colonel to enquire after him at the Flying Horse on the Friday evening, and the colonel said I might trust him with any secret I had. He said this to me, having beckoned me out of this house the same as he did at the former house. We walked up and down Brick Lane; Winterbottom, Herron, the colonel, and me. While we were walking there, the colonel said, 'Windfor, we are deceived as to the number of arms in the Bank, there are but six hundred, and they have taken the hammers off to render them useless, as they must have been apprized of our intention. We then went to the Coach and Horses in Whitechapel; Colonel Despard, Winterbottom, Herron, and myself. We had two pots of porter and some bread and cheese; a two-penny loaf and a quarter of a pound of Gloucestershire cheese; the colonel gave the boy money to buy the bread and cheese. The colonel said to me, 'Windfor, do you know the two soldiers.' There were two soldiers in the same box

at the top of the table. I said I did by sight, but not by name. He said, 'I believe they belong to us.' He said afterwards, 'I believe, Windfor, his Majesty must be put to death, and the people will be at liberty.' He did not say this loud enough for the soldiers to hear; he spoke to me privately. He said, 'he would make the attack himself on the day his Majesty went to the House. If he could get no assistance from this side the water, he said he would do it with what forces he could collect from that side of the water, thereby distinguishing it from the Borough division, which was on this side of the water.' The 24th of November was then understood as the day. He made an appointment for Tuesday night, the next night, for me to come with seven or eight intelligent men, to consult on the best method of attacking the Tower and securing the arms; we were to meet at the Oakley Arms, Lambeth; I told him if he shewed himself at different meetings, people would be satisfied when they saw there was such a person as him at the head of them. Colonel Despard paid for some refreshment we had, and then we parted. I parted with the colonel about a quarter before two; I saw Wratten and Wood in the course of that same day. Wood said, 'he would post himself sentry over the great gun in the Park, and load and fire it at his Majesty's carriage as he was passing to the House.' I went to the Oakley Arms to meet the colonel, according to his appointment; I arrived about half past nine, or a quarter before ten; I found they were in custody when I came there. I saw Broughton go away whilst I was

was there; I went into the tap-room and called for some porter; I saw Mr. Stafford, and entered into conversation with him. I began the conversation with him, and communicated to him that I was acquainted with the transaction that related to that night's business. Stafford mentioned an hour for me to be at Union Hall, a quarter before eleven; I kept my appointment. I never saw Emblin till the time I saw him at the Flying Horse; I am not certain whether he was in the room when I first went in, or came in afterwards." The card being shewn him, he said, "a card similar to that is what I delivered to Mr. Bownas."

William Bownas confirmed Windfor in this particular.

William Campbell, Charles Dean, and Joseph Walker, confirmed the testimony of Windfor, with respect to what passed at the Coach and Horses in Whitechapel.

Thomas Blades, a soldier in the foot guards, said, "I know John Francis; I had a conversation with him in the presence of Windfor about the beginning of June. He told me several gentlemen had united themselves; that the gentlemen who had united themselves were determined to risk their lives and fortunes to form a free and independent constitution; for, he said, the present constitution was much broken; he desired me to join them, and to take an oath to join the society. The Sunday following I conversed with John Francis on the subject; Windfor was with me at some part of the second conversation. A card was shewn me by John Francis; I read it; I cannot tell the whole of it,

there was 'the constitution of the united kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland.' I cannot go through what was written on the card; there was something at the bottom of it about swearing in the presence of Almighty God, to get those rights we took the oath to maintain. I was told by John Francis to kiss the oath, and I did: this was the manner of swearing. This was after the parade was over; I was sworn upon the parade. After that I went to the Ham and Windmill, in Windmill Street, at the top of the Haymarket; John Francis and Thomas Windfor went with me. I was there again the latter end of June, that evening the balloon went up from Lord's Cricket Ground; I was fetched by William Francis. John Francis was there; a man called colonel, as William Francis told me, and Macnamara came soon after, and there were some more there, but their names I do not know, who formed part of the same company. Macnamara said, 'he came from the executive power, and exhorted the society to stick together, and arm themselves, so that they might be able to make head against the government. Macnamara said, he had full power from the executive government to appoint a colonel to command the first regiment of the national guards.' He appointed John Francis to that command, and authorized him to appoint three more, and an officer of artillery. John Francis appointed me as one of the three, and Connel another; and a little man another; and he appointed a person there to be captain of artillery, because he was used to gunnery: that was the person he swore in on the Sunday,

when Windsor and I were present. The little man and John Francis went out of the room; when they returned, John Francis had a paper in his hand, and there was written on the top of it 'The first regiment of national guards, and an appointment of colonels to command the regiment.' One of the men, who was a breeches maker, talked about commissions being issued, but Macnamara said, 'the issuing out of commissions would be the signing of their death warrants; that the officers should receive their commissions the night before the attack should be made.' The next time I saw John Francis was the 6th of September, in the Tower; I was then on the main guard at the Tower. On the Monday following I was at the Bleeding Heart, in Charles Street, Hatton Garden; I saw him there, and John Wood, Tyndall, Wratten, Penderell, Macnamara, and Winterbottom, I believe were there. I do not recollect any others, yet several other persons were there, I suppose about a dozen or fourteen. Wratten spoke up, and said to Penderell, 'that he had come with Tyndall from the Borough, to know the determination of the executive, as to when the attack should take place.' Penderell said, 'the attack would have taken place before, if it had not been for two or three cowards, Roach in particular, not bringing up their men; but he said it should lose nothing on his part, he could bring a thousand men into the field at any time; he said, if he saw any man shew symptoms of cowardice, he would blow his brains out.' John Francis, in answer to that said, 'he thought it would

be better to make the attack as soon as possible, at least before the den of thieves; by which, he said, he meant the parliament. He said, if they discovered our proceedings, or were any ways up to them, that they would enact such laws that we should never be able to meet together, or to correspond with each other.' In answer to that, Penderell said, 'there was no danger of discovery, for that he had belonged to it a considerable time, and many persons had been taken up at different times, but had never divulged the secret. He said, if any man should divulge the secret, he should have a dagger in his breast directly.' Wood said, 'in case he should not be there at the grand attack, he would be with a select party of his own, and which would be of as much importance as where the grand attack should take place; ammunition was ordered to be provided for the people by the executive.' Both Macnamara and Penderell used the term executive; but it appeared to me as if Penderell was one of the executive' I met John Francis one Sunday as I was coming along High Street, in the Borough; he asked me to go to the Black Raven, in Tooley Street; Tyndall, Wood, Macnamara, and six or seven Irishmen were there, in a state of intoxication: there were about twelve or thirteen in all. We had a conversation about a form of government. I was at the Oakley Arms on Tuesday, the 9th of November. I was going from East Smithfield, where I work, up to Knightsbridge Barracks, to receive my pay; going along through Cannon Row, I met Broughton; he told me there was

to be a meeting at the Oakley Arms that night, prior to the attack being made on the 16th. Broughton said, 'that the heads of the people would be there to settle it;' and he desired me to call upon him at the Oakley Arms. I went there; I went first into the tap-room, and called for a pint of beer; I went to the bar and asked for Broughton; the landlord called his boy directly, and told him to go up stairs and tell Tom there was one wanted him. Broughton came down to me and took my pint of beer. I went up with Broughton; he said, 'the colonel is here,' as I went up stairs; I went into the room; as soon as I got into the room, a gentleman presented me with a shillings-worth of rum and water to drink round: this gentleman was Colonel Despard. Wood came and whispered into the gentleman's ear that gave me the liquor, and said, 'the gentlemen who are come upon business this night ought to retire into one end of the room, and those that are only come to shew their goodwill, to the other end of the room. Afterwards it was agreed, that those who came to settle business, and who were called the representatives of the different divisions, should have the fire; and the others, who came to shew their goodwill, should retire to the other end of the room, where there was no fire. Colonel Despard sat by the fire by the representatives, at a table, with his right side against the fire; I did not hear what passed among those next the fire. Broughton, in the first place, said, 'there is the colonel,' pointing over to him; 'did you ever see him before?' I said, 'no, I

had not.' Says he, 'he is a very fine man.' I asked Broughton whether he was fluent of tongue? He said, 'yes, he was.' Wood said, 'the properest place to attack his Majesty would be that place in the Mall by his private gate, between that private gate and Buckingham House, because there would be no horse guards there when his Majesty comes out of his private gate, after the levee-day, to go to Buckingham House.' Broughton said, 'at the same time the Parliament House must be attacked; and when that business was done, they should hie away to the Tower directly.' I did not stay till they broke up; I quitted the house about ten o'clock, and left all the persons I mentioned there." Upon his cross examination, he said, "I have been a soldier nine years and four months. I have been punished twice. I have been tried by three or four courts-martial for absenting myself from the regiment. I never have been charged with any theft. I have been charged with beating a watchman. I was never brought to any bar. I was never charged with any theft in my life, nor brought before any bar. I know a person of the name of Tibbetts. I had some leather by me, and some of it was lost; he did not charge me with stealing it; he said, I had made away with it. That was the winter before we went to Holland. I never, on any other occasion, had any charge against me; and, with regard to that leather, I paid Mr. Tibbetts for it, and he never brought me before any Justice for it." Being re-examined, he said, "When I absented myself from the regiment, I got off about two hundred miles;

I was tried for it; I was forgiven by my commanding officer. I have served ever since. I have been on the Continent twice; and have been at Chatham. I served in the expedition to Holland. I went to the Continent the 5th of July, to the best of my recollection, in the year 1794, and joined his Royal Highness the Duke of York at Antwerp."

William Francis, John Bird, John Pike, Robert Tomlinson, Job Roberts, and Peter Pollard, all soldiers, stated the circumstances of their being sworn into this confederacy, and other facts and conversations. One witness was called by the name of *John Connel*, but it appearing that his real name was *Patrick*, Mr. Serjeant Best objected to him as not duly described in the list of witnesses delivered to the prisoner; and although it appeared that he had changed his name at Colonel Despard's own request, the Attorney General declined examining him as a witness.

John Emblin said, "I am a watch-maker by business, residing at Vauxhall. I was at the Oakley Arms on the 16th of November. The first person that told me of the meetings there was Lander; he told me of them about four weeks before I was apprehended. He asked me, 'if I heard any news?' I said, 'no.' He said, 'that something very particular was on the carpet.' He asked me, 'whether I had heard of any society forming?' I said, 'no; I thought they were all done with.' He said, 'no; that a party was forming stronger than had ever been yet, and that they looked up to Colonel Despard as their head.' I saw Broughton and Lander frequently. The first meeting I had

with Broughton was after this intimation from Lander; to the best of my recollection it was on a Sunday; I and Lander were talking together, Broughton came up; I objected to the plan for overturning the government, which Broughton called the system of man-eaters; calling the government a set of man-eaters. Broughton frequently invited me to attend the meetings of the society; I told him at first I could not attend the meetings of the society, my family called for all my attention: I told him so on repeated applications. He produced to me some papers; they were on about a sixth part of a sheet of paper; he said, 'they gave them out for them to know their friends by, and that when the attack was made, all that were not of their principles would be put to death:' this is the language of the paper I had. I remember on Friday, the 12th of November, being at the Queen's Arms, Vauxhall, with John Hayes and Graham; whilst he and I were together Broughton came in; he tapped Graham on the shoulder, and asked him 'how he did?' He then saw me, and came and drank with me; he asked me 'to go to the Flying Horse, there would be such a nice man there, he was sure I should like his company.' I asked him 'who the nice man he talked of was?' He said, 'Colonel Despard. He said the king was to be stopped when he went to the Parliament House, and the business was to be settled.' I believe Broughton said, 'the Tower was to be taken that day,' but I cannot charge my memory. Broughton said, 'he must go, because the colonel was punctual to his time, as

he had already exceeded his time; and he went out, and took Graham out with him. I made an excuse to go out, and overheard Broughton persuading Graham to go; they seemed to turn towards the house again. I met them returning towards the house; I said, 'Mr. Graham, if you will go, I will.' Graham agreed to go, and said he would be there in an hour. Graham said, 'I did not know you were of those sentiments.' I said, 'no more I am, but I have a mind to go and see the humour of it.' I went with Graham to the Flying Horse; I found Colonel Despard there, and Broughton, Windsor, and Smith; they were all sitting in a back parlour below stairs. Windsor was there before we came. When we went in they were engaged in conversation. When we went in Broughton desired us to come and sit down; Graham took a chair and sat by Colonel Despard; I took another and sat by Graham. This was the first time I ever saw Colonel Despard. Windsor was speaking about the form at the Tower of the keys being passed to the sentinel; and he said, 'that the ceremony of saying God bless the king, and Amen, was an ancient ceremony, which had been laid aside for some weeks, except in one instance, and the man had then been scouted for using it. I asked Broughton 'who Colonel Despard was?' He told me who he was. I thought the colonel heard me, and I apologized to him, saying, 'that I did not know him before, but that I had read of him in the Cambridge paper.' The conversation turned on the wet docks, and on the circumstance of soldiers being employed to guard

them. I asked Colonel Despard, 'whether there was any particular business in hand, and what he thought of it.' He said, 'nothing in particular, only it seems to be the wish of a great many people, that an effort should be made to recover some of those liberties which we have lost, and the day is fixed for Tuesday week next.' I asked him 'if he had any ground or sufficient force to go upon.' He said, 'yes; a considerable force indeed, if the people come forward in the way I have been given to understand they will; we have a great number of the army, and there are a great number in all parts of the kingdom, in Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Yorkshire.' I do not say that I enumerate the places exactly as they were enumerated to me, but he mentioned all these places. 'And here, in and about London, the people are every where ripe,' I think he said. Chatham was mentioned as another place. He said, 'he had been engaged in this business two years, or more than two years. I have travelled; he said, twenty miles to-day, and the people, wherever I have been, are every where ripe, and anxious for the moment of the attack. I asked him, 'if he had any regular organization;' he said, 'regular organization would be a moral impossibility:' he did not exactly state the reason why, but that it would be so near, and so much under the eye of government; but in the country it would be more general. I asked him, 'whether the attack was to be made in London and the country on one and the same day; the form of my question I am not quite sure of.

He said, 'no, by no means, that would be highly improper, but that the stopping the mail and stage-coaches would be a signal to the country.' During the evening, Graham, the prisoner, clenched his right hand, and swore, with an oath, 'you will do no good except you secure the whole of the family.' Broughton shook his head, and said, 'that is easy enough done; that is already settled.' I asked him 'how?' He said, 'take and shoot two of the horses, and then the carriage must stop:—the king's carriage I understood him—and then seize him immediately.' This was to be done as the king should return from the Parliament House. I replied, 'do you consider that there are horsemen that ride close to the carriage, with their horses' heads almost in the window, and any person attempting such a thing would be cut to pieces; then, says I, who would do it?' Says the colonel, 'I would do it with my own hand.' I cannot recollect any more expressions of Colonel Despard's at that meeting; but I recollect the colonel saying, '*I have weighed the matter well, and my heart is callous.*' I rather think this was after saying 'he would do it with his own hand.' There was a conversation respecting seizing the Bank, but the exact words I cannot tell. It was agreed the Bank should be seized, and the Tower should be taken. The Bank I particularly recollect, they said the arms there, about six hundred in number, had been rendered useless, by some part being taken off, but I cannot say what part: whatever was said was all distinctly heard by the colonel. I principally engrossed the conver-

sation; my curiosity is the main occasion of my standing here to-day. I remember the seizing the Tower was treated as a matter of confident expectation, and certain success. I recollect one person, Windsor, said, 'give me a hundred men, and I will take it myself.' The colonel went away and left us there; we continued there sometime afterwards, and then went away. I gave the maid something; they would not let me pay at the bar. I gave the girl three-pence; the girl seemed awkward at taking it; I said, 'I will take a kiss the next time.' I did not see Colonel Despard again till I saw him at the Oakley Arms on the evening we were apprehended at about eight o'clock. I did not expect to meet any body there scarce. Lander, in the day-time, had been talking of the attack on the Tower, and wished to know whether it would be prudent to have a division to march from the Tower to New Street, Bishopsgate, and there take the arms of the India Company; from thence to the Artillery-ground, where they could get more arms and artillery; and from thence proceed forward, and assist the attack at St. James's: and if they had a sufficient force at the taking of the Tower, he also proposed another detachment should go another way, through the Borough, and through the New Cut to the Parliament House, to assist those who would be there; and, he said, that he thought it might be proper to have couriers to ride backwards and forwards, and give accounts of the success of the army.' And, if I understood him right, he had been on the Sunday previous to that to engage a house, where,

where, I understood him, he was to sit and receive the reports of those couriers, or aid-de-camp, or whatever they might be termed, which house, to the best of my recollection, was the sign of the Angel, in Cecil Court, St. Martin's Lane; and then he asked me 'to write down the plan;' which I refused. He seemed to look at me with astonishment. I was never sworn into the society, and was therefore looked upon with a jealous eye. I then said, 'if you please, I will go with you to the colonel, if you can introduce me to him, and see what he will say to it.' I had had a conversation on Monday with Graham. I understood Lander that he would introduce me to the colonel that evening. That evening, as I was carrying home a clock, I met Broughton near the turnpike; he said, 'I understand you are coming down this night: do, he said, but don't be long first.' I said, 'I cannot come till I have put my clock up.' He and I parted. Going on, I saw Lander shutting up his shop. I went past his house, where I was going with the clock. He asked me 'if I was ready?' I told him 'no, I was obliged to go home with that clock.' He said, 'how long should I be?' I said, 'about a quarter of an hour.' He said, 'if I would not be longer he would wait for me; but he was in a hurry, as he had to go to town.' When I returned he was gone; and I went to the Oakley Arms by myself. Broughton and Lander had both told me the meeting was to be there. I believe I had been in there about twenty minutes when the officers came in; I went into the parlour on the left hand, at

the Oakley Arms; I saw some persons who appeared to be strangers; they asked, 'who do you want?' I said, 'Broughton, or Ruffel.' They said, 'you will find them up stairs.' I went up; Broughton desired me to sit by them. I judged there must have been about twenty persons there then; there were two came in after me, Smith, and his journeyman. Colonel Despard was there. On Broughton seeing me, he asked me to sit by him. The company were engaged in conversation in different parties. Colonel Despard was standing and speaking to John Francis. Broughton said, 'my boy, my cock, we have got the completest plan in the world, to do the business without any trouble: we load the great gun in the Park with four balls, or chain-shot, and fire it at his Majesty as he returns from the House; then, with a sort of sneer, he said, he would be damned if that did not send him to hell.' The expressions shocked me very much, and I exclaimed, 'good God! do you consider how many people will be in the Park that day, and how many lives you will take away!' He then said, 'damn them, let them get out of the way: he said, it would play hell with the Treasury, and round about there.' Some person in company said, 'that the cannon might be too low;' another person said, 'it might be easily raised an inch.' Some person said, 'but if it misses his Majesty.' Broughton replied, 'then damn him we must man-handle him.' I cannot exactly say, whether I had conversed with the colonel before this, I rather think I had; the colonel was as near as you and I
are

are now. The conversation I had with the colonel was : I asked Broughton whether I might speak to the colonel. I said, 'Sir, you was speaking of taking the Tower, alluding to the conversation at the Flying Horse, and that Lander had said, would it not be proper to have a division to go from there.' I repeated the plan which Lander wished me to write down. The colonel said, 'he did not approve of it, for he believed that one half of the East India Company's men in their warehouses were our friends already. But, the colonel said, we are not sure that we can have the Tower; but, if we have the Tower, we have every thing; there are arms sufficient to arm a great number of men; he named the number, but I do not recollect it, but more than was wanted for the purpose: and to go to the Artillery Ground would be useless, for what purpose would it answer?' I replied, 'it was to form a sort of garrison to annoy the associations.' The colonel said, 'no; St. Paul's would be a great deal better place.' I cannot tell you exactly the terms; but it was in that conversation the colonel said, 'if we have the Tower and the Bank, we have every thing.' I said, 'Sir, do you think it would be proper to meddle with the Bank?' He said, 'surely the Bank ought to be almost the first consideration; for, if we have the Bank and the Tower, we have every thing necessary, and that from the Tower he could burn the town, and batter it to pieces. Somebody talked about destroying the telegraph. I said, 'Sir, do you think that would be necessary?' He replied, 'surely, for it is a thing

that would be of no service to us, but of vast importance to our enemies. He said that Windsor was a total stranger to him, that he saw him for the first time on the 12th of November, at the Flying Horse."

Mary Plowman, the landlady of the Flying Horse, at Newington, said, "I remember hearing of the people being apprehended at the Oakley Arms. Some gentlemen came to my house a few days before; there were, I think, about six of them: the first persons that came, came in a little before eight o'clock, at the street door, and went through the passage into the parlour. I was working in the back room. When they came in they called for a pot of porter; they said, 'they hoped they did not disturb me.' There were two of them then: one was dressed in a dark brown great coat, and had a silk umbrella in his hand; they went into the back room, which is called the kitchen, which we call a parlour; the door was shut and the curtain drawn; they drew it themselves; they appeared much in private. I heard one man say, *he had weighed every thing well within him, and his heart was callous.*' The person who said this was speaking slow, but not very loud. I know Windsor; he was at my house that evening. I remember there were two men there before Windsor's arrival. He asked 'if any body had inquired for him?' Seeing somebody backward, he joined them. My husband was out with his beer that evening. I cannot say how the reckoning was paid, as to what was had in the parlour; the servant-maid went in and took the money. They went away

away a little after eleven o'clock. When five men went away they came to the bar; they had four glasses of gin, and a glass of rum, which came to nine-pence. I gave three-pence change to a little man, who turned and gave the three-pence to the bar-maid."

Sir Richard Ford took down the examination of Windfor at the Secretary of State's Office, in consequence of which, Blades and Francis, and some other soldiers, were sent for and examined.

This was all the evidence given on the part of the prosecution.

Mr. Serjeant Best then addressed the Jury, in a speech replete with ingenious argument, clothed in elegant diction, and delivered with persuasive energy.—After a just encomium on the beauty of British jurisprudence, and the probity and independence of British Judges and Juries, he contended that the overt acts were not sufficiently proved to convict the prisoner; and that the characters of the witnesses were too infamous to entitle them to credit.—He asked, how it was possible that fourteen or fifteen men, at a common tap-room, with no fire-arms but their tobacco-pipes, men of the lowest order of society, without mind or intelligence, were to seize the King, the Bank, the Tower, and the Members of both Houses of Parliament? It was indeed talked of, but it was not true; not a single *iota* of proof was there of any such thing in the case.—The learned Serjeant next went into an investigation of the contradictory parts of the evidence of the accomplices, which he pointed with great force, and concluded with calling evidence to establish

Colonel Despard's character for honour and loyalty.

Lord Nelson said, "he became acquainted with the prisoner in the year 1779. He was then a Lieutenant in the Liverpool Blues, and his Lordship then commanded a man of war—they were on the Spanish main together—they served together—they were both together in the enemy's trenches—they slept in the same tent, and he had an opportunity of knowing all his sentiments. He was a loyal man, and a brave officer. If he had been asked his opinion of Colonel Despard, he would have said, 'If he is still alive, he is an ornament to the English army.'" On cross-examination, his Lordship said, "he had not seen him since the year 1780."

Sir Alured Clarke said, "he had known Colonel Despard for thirty years; he knew that he was much beloved by his brother officers, and the whole corps to which he belonged. While he was in the government of Jamaica, Colonel Despard was employed on the Spanish main. He always considered him as a loyal subject, and a zealous officer." On his cross-examination he said, "it was thirteen years since he had seen him. He never heard that he kept company with the common soldiers."

Sir Evan Nepean also spoke in favour of the prisoner's character.

Mr. Gurney then addressed the Jury on behalf of the prisoner. After some introductory observations, he contended, "that the witnesses on whose testimony a man could be convicted of high treason, should be not only *competent*, but *credible*. Give me leave, he said,

to

to call your attention for a single moment, to the matter of *probability*. The study of probabilities has been called, 'the science of Judges.' Whatever witnesses may swear, *probability* is the test by which we try their evidence. If a man comes into a court of justice, and tells you that another has committed an assault upon him, you will require but a slight degree of evidence to convince you of that, because every day's experience teaches you that nothing is more probable than that such a thing should happen. If a man comes and accuses a poor miserable ragged wretch of committing a felony, you do not require uncommonly strong evidence, (though even of that you would not convict the most miserable creature that exists merely upon the evidence of an accomplice,) because every day's experience teaches you it is not at all improbable. If the charge be forgery, or murder, you require stronger evidence. How much more evidence then still would you require to convince you that any man, who is not a fit inhabitant for Bethlem, could be a party to such a plot as you have heard commented upon with so much ability and eloquence by my learned leader, in which a few low and obscure individuals are supposed to have met at an ale-house, to concert measures for destroying a government, mighty in its physical, mightier in its moral energies; strong in its civil and military establishments, infinitely stronger in the affections of the people; a plot so ridiculous and absurd, that, as my friend has observed, fifteen men are stated to have contrived the overthrow of

a government supported by the unshaken loyalty of fifteen millions. Then, after analysing the evidence for the crown and the prisoner, Mr. Gurney concluded by cautioning the Jury not to renew the error which was so fatally committed in the reign of Charles II., when, in consequence of a general belief in the popish plot, so many innocent men suffered unjustly. In a short time, he said, the veil was torn off; the perjury which had triumphed was discovered to be perjury; but it was too late; the dead could not be recalled from the grave; and the jurors who had sent them there, were left to the bitter reflections of their consciences—to the unavailing lamentation of their credulity. But though those persons died unjustly, I trust they did not die in vain. Their innocent blood speaks aloud to you not to follow the fatal example of your predecessors, and to lend, as they did, too easy faith to the testimony of wicked men. May you attend to the warning voice, and pronounce a verdict of acquittal, of which, I trust, you never will have reason to repent."

The *Solicitor General* replied on behalf of the crown; and, in a most able manner, shewed that the case of the prisoner was satisfactorily proved, no fact having been stated by any witness of suspicious credit, which was not supported by others of unexceptionable character, or by strong concomitant circumstances. He also entered very copiously into the law of treason, shewing that the evidence was fully sufficient to enable the Jury to form a decision.

On the testimony given to the prisoner's character, and with respect

spect to an argument used by Serjeant Best, on Colonel Despard's long confinement in the prison in Cold Bath Fields, the Solicitor General expressed himself in these terms. There is one circumstance more I would not pass over in silence, and that is the evidence produced by Colonel Despard to his character; he has brought two of the most gallant men in the world in support of that character—Good God, what a falling off is here! That he who had the society and friendship of Lord Nelson, Sir Alured Clarke, and the good opinion of Sir Evan Nepean, three as valuable and as respectable men as live; that he should quit them, and associate himself with some of the worst traitors (if the evidence be true) that exist; that he should quit the society and pursuits of men of honour, to seek those of low persons at obscure ale-houses, living with private soldiers, and the most depraved and the worst of mankind, is a part of the case that excites one's regret and pity. There is another part of the case that I would not have ventured to have spoken to, if the learned Serjeant had not made it necessary. He has told you, that Colonel Despard has been confined three years in a prison under a suspicion of treason or sedition; whether that has made him more or less apt to be engaged in this conspiracy, and in the execution of it, you will best judge. I cannot help thinking, that the learned Serjeant has described his client as

Have so incens'd, that he is reckless
what
He does to spite the world."

I submit to you, Gentlemen, that all the evidence that has been given in support of the character of Colonel Despard, only proves him, at one part of his life, to have been a respectable man; always, to have been a bold and enterprising man; and the rest may be accounted for perhaps by the habits he had contracted during an imprisonment of three years; whether that might not produce feelings of resentment and disappointment, which might work him up to this dreadful resolution, you will best judge; but I do not rely upon it; I only state what I have said, in reply to the observations of the learned Serjeant: I rely upon the facts which have been proved, and which stand uncontradicted.

Lord Ellenborough having stated the law, and summed up the evidence with great accuracy, the Jury withdrew at about twenty minutes after two o'clock on the Tuesday morning, to consider of their verdict. They returned into court in about twenty-five minutes, with a verdict finding the prisoner—GUILTY.

The Foreman added, "*My Lord, we do most earnestly recommend the Prisoner to mercy, on account of the high testimonials to his former good character, and eminent services.*"

On Wednesday the 9th, the Court met pursuant to adjournment, when the trial of John Wood, Thomas Broughton, John Francis, Thomas Phillips, Thomas Newman, Daniel Tyndall, John Doyle, James Sedgwick, Wratten,

— "A man
Whom the vile blows and buffets of the
world

Wratten, William Lander, Arthur Graham, Samuel Smith, and John Macnamara, commenced, which lasted till near eight o'clock the next morning; when the Jury found *John Wood, Thomas Broughton, John Francis, Thomas Newman, Daniel Tyndall, James Sedgwick Wratten, William Lander, Arthur Graham, and John Macnamara, Guilty.*

Account of the Execution of Colonel Despard, and his Associates, convicted of High Treason.

At six o'clock on Saturday evening, February 19, his Majesty's warrant for the execution of Colonel Despard, and six of his associates, and also an order from Lord Pelham, for the respite of the three others under sentence of death, reached the New Gaol in the Borough. It contained also a respite of that part of the sentence of the law, which directs the bowels of the victims to be taken out, and their bodies cut to pieces; confining the execution to drawing, hanging, and beheading.

At eight o'clock on Sunday morning, Colonel Despard and his fellow-prisoners were sent for, by Mr. Ives, to attend the Chapel. They all cheerfully obeyed the summons, except Colonel Despard and Macnamara; the former assigned no reason for his refusal; but the latter said he was a Roman Catholic, and it would not be consistent with his faith. The Rev. Mr. Winkworth read prayers, after which he delivered a very impressive sermon. The unhappy men joined in prayer with great devotion.

At this time none of the pri-

soners were apprised of the warrant for their execution being received. Colonel Despard seemed more surprised than affected. The wives and relatives of the prisoners were permitted to stay with them about two hours; and nothing could be more distressing than their farewell on quitting the prison.

Soon after the warrant was received, all papers, and every thing that he possessed, were immediately taken from Colonel Despard. He was strictly searched, to discover whether he had any knife, or means of self destruction, about him; and every thing that it was thought might enable him to put an end to his existence, was conveyed out of his reach.

Mrs. Despard, after having taken leave of her husband at three o'clock on Sunday afternoon, came again about five o'clock; but it was thought advisable to spare the colonel the pangs of a second parting, and she was therefore not admitted into the prison. She evinced some indignation at the refusal; and expressed a *strong* opinion with respect to the cause for which her husband was to suffer. After Mrs. Despard had left the colonel on Sunday afternoon, he walked up and down his cell for some time, seemingly more agitated than he had been at the period of taking leave of his wife. Between six and seven in the evening, he threw himself on the bed, and fell into a short sleep. At eight o'clock he awoke, and addressed one of the officers of the prison, who was with him, in these words:—"Me—they shall receive no information from me—no—not for all the gifts, the gold, and jewels, in the possession of the crown." He then composed

composed himself, and remained silent.

The clergyman of the prison, Mr. Winkworth, had several times made overtures to the colonel to commune with him. But the colonel always declined the clergyman's offer; politely, however, thanking him. Mr. Winkworth on Sunday repeated his request, but received the same answer. Mr. Winkworth wished him to accept a book from him, which he also declined. He said, 'he had been in all parts of the world; that he was not particularly attached to any form of religion; and that his mind was entirely made up upon religious matters.' Most of the other prisoners, however, passed much of their time in prayer, and with the clergyman. Macnamara being a Roman Catholic, was attended by a Roman Catholic priest. Colonel Despard slept from three to half-past four; the remainder of the night he passed in walking up and down his cell. The rest of the prisoners slept about two hours.

All the arrangements for the execution were settled on Sunday by Sir Richard Ford, and the Sheriff of Surrey, with the Government and the magistrates. Sir Richard Ford slept on Sunday night at Mr. Carpenter Smith's, in order to be near the prison.

Monday morning at four o'clock, the drum beat at the Horse Guards, as a signal for the cavalry to assemble, and no less than four regiments of different descriptions, are stated to have, shortly after assembled. As soon as day-light appeared, the military took their different stations. Two troops of horse were stationed at the Obelisk. Others patrolled the roads from the

Obelisk to the Elephant and Castle, and down the Borough road. About five o'clock the populace began to pour in numbers along the Westminster and City road; and by six the lane was completely crowded. There are few houses in front of the prison; all of them, however, were filled with spectators. The Dyer's Grounds, to the left of the prison, were gradually filled; till, at last, all the parts that had a view of the scaffold were completely crammed. It is supposed that 20,000 persons might be assembled. At five o'clock St. George's bell began to toll, and continued for about an hour. At half-past six the prison bell rang—a signal for the unlocking of the cells. Mr. Winkworth, the clergyman of the prison, and Mr. Griffith, the Roman Catholic priest, the same gentleman who attended Quigley when he was executed, came to the prison, and were immediately admitted to the prisoners. At seven o'clock five of the prisoners, Broughton, Francis, Graham, Wood, and Wratten, went into the chapel; Colonel Despard refused to attend, remaining in his cell; and Macnamara, being a Roman Catholic, prayed in his cell with the priest. The five former conducted themselves with much decorum in the chapel. They attended to the prayers with great earnestness; but, at the same time, without seeming to lose that firmness which they had displayed since their trial. Before they received the sacrament, four of them confessed that they had done wrong, but not to the extent charged against them by the evidence. The fifth, Graham, said, 'he was innocent of the charges brought against him;

him; but that he had attended two meetings, the second at the instigation of Francis. It was Emblin, he added, who called on him to take him to the meeting, by Francis's desire. The sacrament was administered to them. The service in the chapel lasted three quarters of an hour. Before it was over, Colonel Despard and Macnamara were brought down from their cells. Their irons were knocked off, and their arms and hands bound with ropes. After the others had received the sacrament, they were brought out of the chapel, and their irons were knocked off. The executioner then tied their arms and hands in the same manner as he had before bound Colonel Despard and Macnamara.

Notice was then given to the Sheriff that they were ready. Colonel Despard, who stood the first, retired behind, and made a motion to Francis, who was making way for him, to go before him. The hurdle had been previously prepared in the outer court-yard. It is the body of a small cart, on which two trusses of clean straw are laid. It was drawn by two horses. The procession moved in the following order:

The Sheriff of Surrey.

The Clergyman in his robes.

Mr. Ives, the Keeper, with a white wand.

High Constable.

Other Constables.

The Executioner, with a drawn sword.

Macnamara and Graham were first put into the hurdle, and drawn to the Lodge, where the inner

gates were opened, and they were conveyed to the stair-case that leads up to the scaffold. The hurdle then returned, and brought

Broughton and Wratten;
then

Wood and Francis;
Last of all Colonel Despard was
put into it alone.

Macnamara seemed intent upon the book in his hand. Graham remained silent. Broughton *jumped* into the hurdle, smiled, and looked up to the scaffold. Wood and Francis both smiled; and all of them surveyed the awful scene with much composure. Despard shook hands with a gentleman as he got into the hurdle, and looked up to the scaffold with a smile. As soon as they had all been conveyed in the hurdle to the stair-case that leads to the scaffold, they were escorted up, one by one, in the order before mentioned: the Sheriff, Sir Richard Ford, the clergyman, Mr. Winkworth, the Roman Catholic clergyman, Mr. Griffith, preceding them. Seven coffins, or shells, which had been previously placed in a room under the scaffold, were brought up, and placed on the platform on which the drop is erected. A bag of saw-dust, to catch the blood when the heads were severed from their bodies, was placed beside them. The block was near the scaffold. There were nearly one hundred persons on the platform, including the magistrates and officers. The greatest order and silence were observed.

As soon as the prisoners were placed on the hurdle, St. George's bell tolled for some time. It was nearly three quarters past eight when

when the first prisoner was brought up to the scaffold. The rest followed singly. When the cord was fastened round the first, the second was brought up, and so on till the cords were fastened round the necks of all the seven.

The ceremony of fastening the cords round the necks of the prisoners being finished, the colonel advanced as near as he could to the edge of the scaffold, and addressed the multitude in precisely the following words:

“Fellow Citizens—I am come here, as you see, after having served my country faithfully, honourably, and, I trust, usefully, for thirty years and upwards, to suffer death upon a scaffold, for a crime which I am no more guilty of than any who is now looking at me—I do solemnly declare, that I am no more guilty of it than any of you who may now be listening to me. But though his Majesty’s ministers know I am not guilty, they avail themselves of the opportunity, which they have, of destroying a man, because they think he is a friend to truth, to liberty, and to justice; and because he has been a friend to the poor and to the oppressed. But, Fellow Citizens, I hope and trust, notwithstanding my fate, and perhaps the fate of many others who may follow me, that still the principles of liberty, justice, and humanity, will triumph over falsehood, despotism, and delusion, and every thing else hostile to the interests of the human race. And now, having said this, I have nothing more to add, but to wish you all that health, that happiness, and that freedom, which I have ever made it my endeavour, as far

as it lay in my power, to procure for every one of you, and for mankind in general.”

The last and most dreadful part of the ceremony was now to be performed. The most awful silence prevailed, and many of the thousands present stood uncovered. At seven minutes before nine o’clock the signal was given, the platform dropped, and they were all launched into eternity.

Colonel Despard had not one struggle: twice he opened and clenched his hands together convulsively; he stirred no more. Macnamara, Graham, Francis, and Wratten, were motionless after a few struggles. Broughton and Wood struggled violently for some moments after all the rest were without motion. The executioner pulled their legs, to put an end to their pain more speedily.

After hanging about half an hour, they were cut down; Colonel Despard first: his body placed on saw-dust, and his head on a block. After his coat had been taken off, his head was severed from his body, by persons engaged on purpose to perform that ceremony. The executioner then took the head by the hair, and carrying it to the edge of the parapet, on the right hand, held it up to the view of the populace, and exclaimed, “*This is the head of a traitor—Edward Marcus Despard!*” The same ceremony was performed at the parapet on the left hand. There was some hooting and hissing when the colonel’s head was exhibited. His body was now put into the shell that had been prepared for it.

The other prisoners were then cut down, their heads severed from

their bodies, and exhibited to the populace, with the same exclamation of—"This is the head of another traitor!" The bodies were then put into their different shells, to be delivered to their friends for interment.

The execution was over shortly after ten o'clock, and the populace soon afterwards dispersed quietly. There was not the least tendency to riot or disturbance.

Macnamara was 50 years of age, born in Ireland; by trade a carpenter.

Wood, 26 years of age, born in Derbyshire; a soldier.

Francis, 23 years of age, born in Shropshire; a soldier and shoemaker.

Broughton, 26 years of age, born in London; a carpenter.

Graham, 53 years of age, born in London; a slater.

Wratten, 35 years of age, place of birth not known; a shoemaker.

They were all married men.

Macnamara hung at the left extremity, and Colonel *Despard* at the right, the soldiers next to him. This was the order :

Despard.	Francis.	Wood.	Broughton.	Wratten.	Graham.	Macnamara.
1.	6.	5.	4.	3.	2.	1.

TRIAL OF JEAN PELTIER FOR A
LIBEL AGAINST BONAPARTE.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH, Feb. 21.

Sittings before Lord ELLENBOROUGH, and a Special Jury, at Westminster Hall.

This trial excited an uncommon

degree of interest and curiosity. A considerable number of persons, and some of the first distinction, were down at Westminster-hall long before the doors were opened; and some of them had great difficulty in procuring admission, on account of the great crowd that early filled the court.

Mr. Abbot opened the pleadings on the part of the prosecution in the following manner :

"Gentlemen of the Jury, this is an information against the prisoner, Jean Peltier, for publishing in a paper, called *l'Ambigu*, several libels against Napoleon Bonaparte, who was at the time of the said publication, and is now, First Consul and Chief Magistrate of the French Republic. The information states, that there subsisted at the time of such publication, and does now subsist, peace and harmony between this United Kingdom and the Republic of France; and that the said libels tend not only to disturb this peace and harmony so happily subsisting between the said countries, by exciting animosities, jealousies, and resentments, but directly tend to degrade and villify the said Napoleon Bonaparte, First Consul and Chief Magistrate of the French Republic, in the eyes of the French nation, and to stir up and excite persons in France, to assassinate and murder the said First Consul. The Learned Counsel then read the translations of the different libels which were the subject of this prosecution. The first was in the form of an Ode on the 18th Brumaire; the second was also in verse, and entitled, "The Prayer of a Good Patriot on the 14th of July, 1802;" the third was a long speech,

speech, supposed to have been delivered by Lepidus to the Romans on the dictatorship of Sylla: these pieces were extremely long. The first ode contained, among many other strong passages, the following—"O eternal disgrace of France! When Cæsar was on the rubicon, he was opposed by the senate, by Pompey, and by Cato; and, though victor on the plains of Pharsalia, a *dagger* yet remained in the hands of the last of the Romans; but Frenchmen receive their chains without a murmur." It also contained many other strong passages, calling to the French nation to arm, to march; for the times admitted no delay. The second libel, entitled, "The Prayer of a good Patriot on the 14th of July, 1802," was also in verse; and, after affecting to admire the fortune of Bonaparte, whom it describes under the name of the *Son of Letitia*, concludes, "I do not envy his fortunes; let him be named First Consul for life. There is nothing now wanting to him but the sceptre and the crown; let him have them, let him be elected Emperor. The story of Romulus reminds us of this; and I wish his *apotheosis* may follow on the morrow." The third libel was stated to be a speech delivered by Lepidus to the Romans, and now addressed to the French, on the subject of the dictatorship. In this long oration, all the mischief which happened in the cruel dictatorship of Sylla, are applied to the present times of France. It begins in this manner:—"I hardly conceive that the mildness of your nature and character will permit you to give credit to the various atrocities com-

mitted by the present dictator; it is not only you who suffer, but your children yet unborn are proscribed, perhaps before they have seen the light. And was it for this that France has combated Prussia, Russia, Austria, and all Europe, to surrender her sovereignty and her liberty to a Corsican rebel?"

The libels were of prodigious length, and were read throughout by Mr. Abbot. Perhaps the few passages that we have now selected may give a sufficient idea of the complexion of the whole, to understand the nature and object of the prosecution. To translate more of the offensive passages cannot be necessary, and might not be prudent.

Mr. Attorney-General opened the prosecution nearly as follows:

"Gentlemen of the Jury, You are now, by the indictment that has been read, put distinctly, openly, and fully, in possession of every information on the subject on which you have been brought here to decide. The case is simple, and the question, in my mind, by no means difficult to be tried. It will be for you to examine, whether or not the defendant be the author of these publications, and whether or not the prosecution be rightly brought forward before a British Jury, and in a British Court of Justice. It is impossible not to know, that considerable interest and curiosity are attached to this trial; and when I cast my eye about the court, and observe an attendance so different from what usually graces trials in courts of justice, I feel that such motives must have operated in a more than ordinary degree. Many, no doubt, have been curious to hear the ob-

servations that may fail from me, in conducting the present prosecution. Yet, ~~for~~ as I should be to disappoint such an assembly, the course which duty and inclination point out to me will not be likely to gratify such expectation. This duty and inclination confine me to the dry and dull trial of the intention; for the law will determine by what takes place in Court, by reason, by Justice, whether a publication of this kind can be defended as innocent, or tolerated as inoffensive. In discussing these questions, so notorious and so recent, there can neither be much instruction nor amusement; and if any one could suppose that on this, or any other occasion, I should derogate from the dignity of my public duty, or shrink from the faithful discharge of it, he will be disappointed. Though no person can entertain a higher opinion than I do of the abilities and acquirements of the learned Gentleman who is to lead the defence; though no person be more unaffectedly convinced of his splendid talents, his brilliant imagination, his cultivated mind, and his enlightened reason; yet I doubt if even he can satisfy much curiosity on this occasion. The points to be considered are, Whether the defendant be the author of the publication or not? What was the intention of publishing? What is the legal character of guilt or innocence belonging to it? These questions are the only points at issue between us; and these will afford no opportunity of displaying the powers of imagination and reasoning, to excite interest or gratify curiosity; for I cannot bring myself to suppose that the learned

Gentleman would so far adopt the spirit of the libel as to make his defence a republication of the slanderous matter that it contains; neither can I be persuaded, that he could have been instructed by his client to come into Court for the purpose of making the proceedings here a vehicle for the wider dissemination of the libel. If such were his intentions, he would have a wide and abundant field to expatiate on. Of all the extraordinary and eventful facts that arose out of the late extraordinary revolution, that which originated the present Government is most surprising. Yet if no other considerations than those of an ordinary discretion were to influence his management of the defence, he will abstain from that course which may exasperate justice, without serving the cause of his client. Discretion alone must guard against that. What is it brings me here in the discharge of a public duty? I prosecute this libel because it endangers the tranquillity of this country. When the question shall arise for consideration of the punishment, I appeal to my learned Friends, if I should not ill discharge my duty to the public, to the honour and character of the law, if I should not earnestly press the consideration, that proceedings, which had been made the vehicle of defamation and slander, should not escape in a British Court with impunity. The disappointment of curiosity is no part of the business. The present prosecution is to satisfy justice, and to see that the law be not disappointed. Without previously troubling you with stating what the prosecution is, I shall state

state to you what it is not. It is not a work containing an impartial account of the transactions of any given period ;—it is not an historical narration of events in a neighbouring country, accompanied with philosophical reflections on their causes and consequences ;—it is not a publication whose author, even approaching to licentiousness, had dealt in simple defamation in any particular instance. But the case which the present prosecution brings to notice was conceived originally in libel and in defamation. Defamation is its best object. Its further object is, to excite the subjects of the first Magistrate of the French Republic, at peace with this country, to deprive him of his authority, and to assassinate him. It was published with the intention of traducing and defaming Napoleon Bonaparte, First Consul of France, and of exciting the hatred of the subjects of this country and of his own against him. It tended to excite assassins against his life, and to disturb the peace existing between the Republic and this country. Such is the tendency by which it is characterised and was published. Gentlemen, I shall now say a few words on the subject of law : I do not feel myself called upon to define to what extent the subjects of one country may carry their observations or strictures on the administration of affairs in another. But I have no difficulty in asserting, that a publication like the present, tending to embroil the tranquillity of nations, and encouraging the assassination of one who is, *de facto*, First Magistrate of France, is not

more opposite to the feelings and sentiments of Englishmen, than it is libellous and illegal. The fair detail of history, the impartial recital of events, the unprejudiced account of transactions, not rendered the vehicle of defamation, is not the subject of information. Defamation constitutes the whole of this publication ; and I am confident no Lawyer will maintain that it is not an offence of the deepest die, and meriting the severest reprehension. It is not possible that there can be any difficulty in supporting the proposition, that such an offence against the laws of the country ought to be severely punished. The prosecution is not unprecedented. Instances of the same kind occur in the history of the country. I shall cite you two : Lord George Gordon was prosecuted for a libel against the Queen of France. J. Vint was accused and convicted of a libel against the Emperor of Russia, though defended by my Honourable Friend not now present ; yet the libel with which he was charged was not marked by any such foul and hideous features as the subject of the present prosecution. It stated only, “ that the Emperor was rendering himself obnoxious to his subjects, and ridiculous in the eyes of Europe ; that he had lately passed an edict, prohibiting the exportation of timber, &c. in consequence of which one hundred vessels returned to this country without a freight.” This had no tendency to excite rebellion, to provoke assassination, or to interrupt the relations of amity subsisting between the two countries : yet, being charged as



traducing his Imperial Majesty, and creating danger, the publication was found libellous, and the author convicted. If you find, then, that upon that principle and this authority that crime was punished by a British Court of Justice, it will only be necessary for me to call your attention to the libel that is the subject of the present prosecution. It is not immaterial to observe, that two of those charged are in the first number of the "*Ambigu*." And here it may not be amiss to recommend to your notice the frontispiece of this work. It bears a Sphynx, as you may perceive, with a variety of enigmatical Egyptian Figures, of which it would neither be easy nor of consequence to discover the meaning. There is one circumstance, however, which is decisive of the object of the publication. The face of the animal resembles that of the prints which are publicly known in this country to be intended as likenesses of Bonaparte. Having never seen the First Consul, I cannot positively affirm that it is a *fac simile* of his countenance; but, as it bears a striking resemblance to the prints that are said to be like him, this circumstance, coupled with the matter of publication, can leave little room to doubt, that its object was to defame, and render him vile in the eyes of the world in general. Two numbers, the first and third of the "*Ambigu*," are subjects of prosecution. I shall direct your attention first to the matter of the third. The title of it is, an Harangue of Lepidus against Sylla,

originally Latin, but translated and altered so as to render it applicable, in all the circumstances, to Bonaparte. It begins with stating, that from the mild character of his countrymen, the writer would find much difficulty; that he was fearful they would be more inclined to obey the sentiment that reconciled them to tranquillity, than that which would lead them to revenge. Here the learned Attorney stated, that as he had, to save himself the pain of going through the whole libel, procured a learned Friend to read it through, he would not follow him, but observe upon the material parts as he proceeded. This libel asserts, that they had in vain maintained a glorious contest against Austria, Russia, and the Powers of Europe, if their liberties were to be sacrificed to the Corsican. It goes on—"and now the tyger dares to call himself the founder and regenerator of France, possessing himself of the fruit of their labours, as of a spoil taken in war. There have been lists of proscription, banishment without trial, by which, even children unborn are oppressed. It excites them to rise, to march, to regain their liberty, and seek revenge. Bonaparte has no longer any object of ambition, but security. His Mamelukes, having no contact with the army, nor speaking the language of France, are ready to act as mutes, cut-throats, and hangmen. Every thing—justice, the law, the finances, is in the possession of the Despot. It then calls upon them to avenge their wrongs or perish with glory." After having read these

these passages, the learned Attorney called the attention of the Jury to the two libels contained in the first number of the "*Ambigu*." The libellous matter was there contained in an Ode, or Poetical Composition. It sets out with representing all nature agitated by a dreadful tempest, and the elements themselves confounded. It then avows an expectation, that the Heavens were at length determined to avenge the ambitious attempt of a soldier. Having made the exclamation, "O too vain hope of vengeance!" it represents the Heavens as blind or cruel, declaring, that "whatever ravages the thunder may commit, it always spares tyrants; which remark it illustrates, by the destruction of the merchants' vessels, while the Corsican's bark bearing the fortune and designs of Cæsar, escapes." This appeared an evident allusion to the Roman Republic, in which Cæsar had found Pompey, Cato, and the Senate, against him. The libel then proceeds: "But oh! eternal disgrace, after the victory of Pharsalia there still remained a poniard among the last of the Romans!" In this bombastic rhapsody the learned Gentleman contended, that no other view could be discovered than that of holding out an example of assassination. The second part contains the wish or prayer of a good Patriot. This wish describes the fortune of Bonaparte, from his leaving Corsica, follows him flying from victory to victory in Italy, in Egypt, then back to France, where he overthrows

the five Tyrants, is chosen Consul, makes and unmakes Kings, dictates peace, and has crowned heads at his feet. Far from envying his lot, it wishes him a successor, and that he may have his Apotheosis to-morrow. This is an allusion to the fate of Romulus, who was assassinated, and afterwards deified, to extinguish the infamy of his murderers. Upon what principle, I will ask, said the Attorney General, are those examples of assassination recalled, if not for the purpose of exciting the subjects of that Chief Magistrate to rebellion and assassination? Let me not be told that I am an enemy to the English press, when I prosecute the abuse of it; a licentiousness that would bring it into discredit, infamy, and disgrace. I will put to your breasts, whether such a publication would constitute a crime in this country; a publication so base, so disgraceful, that even in a time of war I should not hesitate to pronounce it unjustifiable. We were then, and are happily now, at peace; and the conduct that a state of war cannot sanction, must be criminal, in a high degree, in peace. Let me not be told of character. The First magistrate of a great nation, no matter whether descended from a long line of royal ancestors, or lately raised from the abyss of obscurity, is entitled to respect, and should be treated with decorum. We may be told, Gentlemen, of abusive articles in the *Moniteur*: I am not here to vindicate the conduct or the publications of the French Government, or its Journalists. If

there be any feelings in another country that can reconcile such vile calumnies, let them have the benefit, but let us not have the disgrace."

The evidence was then called in support of the prosecution; which consisted merely of proving the publication of the two papers, at the desire, and by the request, of the defendant Mr. Peltier, by Mr. De Boffe, against whom an information was also filed; but he suffered judgment to pass by default.

An Interpreter read the whole of the original, and then verified an English translation; and also, at the request of the defendant's Counsel, read a number of extracts out of the "*Ambigu*," that were not included in the information; which they said was necessary, in order to give to the Jury the whole context of the publication.

All the readings, both French and English, being concluded, the case for the prosecution closed.

Mr. Mackintosh then rose, and addressed the Jury on the part of the defendant; for nearly three hours; but the substance of his speech was as follows:

"My Lord, and Gentlemen of the Jury, the time is now come for me to address you; but I must confess I feel myself unworthy of those high eulogiums which the kindness of my learned Friend has been pleased to bestow upon me; but he has done me but justice, when he supposed that I would not prostitute whatever small talents I may possess, so far as to lend myself out to answer the ends of a faction, or to defend my client on any principles that are inconsistent with the ho-

nour of the profession to which I belong: I do not mean to justify him from the example of the *Moniteur*, or any other foreign Journal; I do not mean to contend, that an indefinite liberty is to be allowed even with respect to political discussion, much less would I pretend to justify any expressions which could be fairly construed as tending to provoke *assassination*. In professing this, I cannot claim the least merit to myself; my feelings are the same with those of all who hear me; and I believe there is no one who wears the gown of our profession that would so disgrace it as to defend the principle of any libel provoking to assassination. If there are any libels in foreign Journals which more than others call forth the indignation of every British reader, it is those libels which do not hesitate to charge the British Nation with feelings that cannot enter into a British bosom. Such a libel, for instance, as in a very recent *Moniteur* charged a distinguished British Officer (General Stuart) with provoking to assassination. Such libels as have been thrown out against our gracious Sovereign, a Prince who, through a long and tumultuous reign of forty-three years, has ever preserved a blameless and amiable career of private life; when against a Prince so respected and so beloved, we read in the *Moniteur*, that if the assassination of Bonaparte had taken place in France, the assassin would have been rewarded with the *Order of the Garter*, what British bosom does not feel indignant at so foul a calumny, so atrocious a libel? What! can that illustrious Order,

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instituted by our first Edwards, in the days of the battles of Cressy and Poitiers, be polluted by an association with murderers? Shall that unsullied Garter, which has been hitherto the proud distinction of what is most noble and most valued in our nation, serve to adorn the person of an assassin? And is it our amiable and virtuous Sovereign that is to give the Ribbon of this Order to a cut-throat and an assassin, and affix the star of honour on the breast of infamy? Were I to pursue these observations, it might lead our minds somewhat from that even temper in which we should weigh the defence against the accusation; I shall therefore proceed directly, and as shortly as the nature of the case will allow me, to state for my client that defence which seems to grow out of the circumstances of the case. The real prosecutor in this case is the Master of the greatest Empire the world ever saw. We cannot believe but it was from his suggestions that this prosecution originated. The defendant, John Peltier, is a poor, proscribed exile, a French Royalist, one of those unfortunate men who have survived the shipwreck of their fortunes and of their country, but who still cannot be persuaded to give up all principles which they had learned in early life. It is true, that many of these unfortunate emigrants have been allowed to return to their native land, on the condition of paying an implicit allegiance to the First Consul. There still remain a handful, which, whether rightly or foolishly cannot bring themselves to

pay this allegiance that their hearts disclaim. Among this number is John Peltier. He had cultivated literature much in his youth, and in his exile; after the loss of his fortune he made it his profession, and his means of livelihood. He had set up a little obscure Journal in London, which served to solace the miseries of his fellow-exiles, by affording a variety of miscellaneous reading, and, among other things, political miscellanies, which were peculiarly interesting to that ill-fated class; but in this avocation he had the misfortune to offend the Master of the Continent of Europe, and he is now under prosecution. Gentlemen of the Jury, he stands now on the only spot in this earth where, by the justice of our laws, he can be on an equality with his powerful prosecutor; he sees that fight which is the most pleasing to accused innocence, the honest countenance of a British Jury. Here then, in this only asylum which remains for persecuted innocence, I do not fear to defend him; and if I can succeed in convincing you that the publications were not written in the spirit in which they have been alledged to have been written, and that they have not that tendency, I am convinced you will, without considering the rank or power of the prosecutor, find my client not guilty. I shall now, Gentlemen, submit to your attention some observations on the publications in question, which I trust will induce you to consider them in a light very different from what they might appear to you without the context. As to the *Prospectus*, I think the last part of it, which has been read as

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explaining the intentions of the author, is by no means so full and explicit as in the beginning of the *Prospectus*, which declares the object of this new work to be merely a collection of miscellanies of every sort; and the work itself seems to confirm the statement of this *Prospectus*; for, excepting those three political pieces which are the subject of this prosecution, all the rest of the work was purely miscellaneous. And as to these works themselves, I mean to justify them on this principle, that they were not the compositions of Peltier, but merely the republications of what had circulation before, and of which he only made a selection for his readers. I am convinced that the Attorney-General will see and confess the wide difference there is between an original publication and a republication of what was before in circulation. For instance, the English papers copied the grossest libels from the French papers; but they were never prosecuted on that account, because there was no libellous intention in those who republished them; but rather, on the contrary, it was their wish, by exposing the malignity of our then enemy, to unite the people of this country the closer, to resist any foreign aggression: if, therefore, he could prove that this was merely a republication, it would come within that principle. To prove this there was pretty strong internal evidence. Peltier was known to be a Royalist. Were those pieces of a Royalist stamp? Nothing like it. As to the Ode which was introduced in his Journal as the reputed work of Chenier, had it not every appearance of his Ja-

cobin pen? Was there a sentiment of a Royalist from the beginning to the end of it? As to the second copy of verses, which were inserted as coming from the pen of a Dutchman, what was more likely than that a Dutchman should feel indignant at the oppression of his country, and write verses against him whom he considered as the principal cause of it? As to the construction on the word *apothecosis* he thought it was overstrained when supposed to imply assassination; for it was well known, that though the *apothecosis* of Romulus might have taken place after his death, yet that Augustus, Tiberius, and even Nero and Caligula, were worshipped as gods during their lives. On this subject he could remind them of the remarkable passage—

Præfens divus Cæsar habebitur
Adjunctis Britannis imperio.

He trusted, however, that no modern Cæsar would ever elevate himself to divine honours by adding *Britain* to his empire. The labours of Hercules would be light compared to such a task. As to the long paper given as the harangue of Lepidus to the Romans, he did not see that it was, in itself, so criminal as it had been represented. It is not every one who talks of Brutus with applause, that is, on that account, to be supposed to provoke assassination. But he must recal to the Jury the manner in which this article was inserted in Peltier's Journal: it was stated as the paper upon which *Camille Fourdan* (one of the most enlightened and best men in Europe) was arrested. This paper, it was mentioned, was thrown by
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one of Fouche's spies among *Camille's* papers, in order for a pretext to throw him into prison. Is that improbable? Gentlemen of the Jury, we are not now trying the character of Fouche; but if we were, I should shew you that it was not improbable that he should so act. I have in my hand letters of Citizen Fouche; one of them is from Lyons, in which he laments that the destruction of that city went on so slowly. He said, "Kings punished slowly, because they were feeble; but the anger of Republicans should be as prompt as their will; they should *annihilate* their enemies, and never spare the tears of repentance." He concluded by mentioning, "that he would spring a mine which should at once destroy that guilty city:" and yet this man had afterwards the effrontery to lay to the English the charge of having destroyed Lyons. Is it then improbable that such a person as Fouche should have practised this infamous trick, and got such a paper as this slipped among the papers of Camille Jordan, for the purpose of having him arrested and thrown into prison? As to the internal evidence, Gentlemen of the Jury, I have already told you, that there is not a line in all these publications which contains a Royalist sentiment; but, on the contrary, they are furiously Jacobinical. Does any body suspect Peltier of being a Jacobin? Certainly not. Whenever anger is expressed in these pieces against Bonaparte, it is for overturning the Directory. Is that like the rage of a Royalist or a Jacobin? And is it not, then, more likely that these articles were really the productions of those they are at-

tributed to, Chenier, Fouche, &c.? In that case, Peltier is not to be considered as the author, but as a person who, with innocent motives, reprinted them in a miscellaneous work, for the amusement of the small circle of his readers. The circulation of the "*Ambigu*" could not be intended to be among Englishmen, as it is written in French, nor in France, for Bonaparte knows effectually how to prohibit the entry of such articles into his dominions. Having now endeavoured to prove to you, that it is not probable that Peltier was the author or original publisher of those works, or that he at all wished to inculcate the Jacobin principles they contain, I must warn you of the immense importance of the free discussion of political events. If at all times the liberty of the press was dear to Englishmen, it should be more peculiarly dear now that it is the only free press in the world. Gentlemen, I consider this as the first contest between the greatest Power on earth and the British free press; the only one now remaining. That it is so is a melancholy reflection to the friends of human nature. Till that great earthquake, occasioned by the French revolution, had swallowed up the presses of the Continent, there had, by the indulgence of the larger Powers, existed many States in which a free press had been tolerated. This was the case in Holland, Switzerland, and the free towns of Germany. Holland, and Switzerland, are no more, and fifty of the Germanic free States have been erased from the map by a dash of the pen. These States I consider as a very in-

interesting part of the ancient system. Great nations cannot exist without considering their military system, but small States are obliged to devote themselves to industry and the arts of peace; and they form a kind of controul over the superior ones; for no depravity can so sink any man in his own esteem, as to render him regardless of the opinion of the world. The undisturbed repose which the States I have referred to were suffered to enjoy, enabled them to become models attesting the civilization to which Christian Europe had reached. Nothing so much proved the civilization of the Continent at the period I refer to, as the freedom enjoyed by the little republic of Genoa. It was suffered to remain undisturbed and unthreatened, while surrounded by myriads of the armies of France. All this is now past and gone. What the new system is to be is not for me to conjecture; but I am perfectly convinced that the arbitrary violence of ambitious monarchs has been checked by the dread of the opinion of the impartial audience formed among the smaller States, and in which no sooner were any acts of oppression known than a thousand presses were set to work to communicate them to the world. At present there is not such a thing as a free press from Palermo to Hamburgh: not one asylum for the liberty of discussion remains—no public voice, the expression of which can controul the despotic attempts of arbitrary tyrants. Happily, however, those presses are still secure which are protected by the British Government, and by the valour of Englishmen. The ancient fabric, raised by our an-

cestors, still endures; though surrounded with ruins, it stands solid and unshaken. Gentlemen of the Jury, to shew you of what importance our ancestors always held this privilege, I shall trace a little the origin of it. Queen Elizabeth was the first who established a newspaper in England; she did so at the time of the Spanish Armada, when it was necessary to preserve high the tone and spirit of the people. In Cromwell's Usurpation, the freedom of the press was protected by British Juries, and Cromwell's Attorney-General was twice defeated in this Court. In Charles the Second's days, though the times were corrupt and profligate yet the press was safe; and in the days of the Revolution, and ever since, it has been held one of the dearest privileges of Englishmen. In latter times we can speak more positively, from our own experience, on this very point. In that first grand breach of the social system of Europe, that national robbery, called the first partition of Poland, did not the English papers vent the strongest feelings of indignation? Catherine and Frederic were not treated according to their rank, but according to the crime in which they had partaken. We were then at peace and amity with Russia and Prussia; and yet the Attorney-General of the day never thought of prosecuting the Editors and Publishers of those papers. In the second partition of Poland, too, the British press expressed the honest indignation of the country; and it is well, not only for this country, but for the social order of Europe in general, that it should be so. However formidable a Sovereign's

Sovereign's military establishment may be; however great his power and extensive his sway; still the feelings of human nature compel him to wish for the approbation of his fellow-men, and bring him to the bar of the tribunal of public opinion. Newspapers, I am aware, are not very popular in this place, nor is it very surprising, because they appear in this place only to be checked for their faults. With all their faults, however, their increased circulation is a proof of the increasing curiosity and desire of knowledge in this country, of which they are at once the cause and effect. Perhaps it would be better to treat those engaged in this difficult employment with a little more indulgence, in order to teach them that self-respect which is the best way to lead men to cultivate that of others. Be this as it may, however, every thing that increases the number of those who take an interest, and exercise a judgment, in public affairs, is, in effect, to increase the real democracy of a country, much more than those forms to which some people are so much attached. If it be important that the public mind should be fortified against the design of foreign power, it is fit that the discussion most calculated to disseminate a public spirit should be encouraged. Upon every occasion in which the public opinion of this country could be displayed respecting foreign affairs, it has been uniformly given, and no attempt has been made to repress it. From the seizure of Corsica down to the different partitions of Poland, the public sentiment of England has most strongly been expressed against such un-

warrantable robberies. Next followed an event, in comparison of which the atrocity of preceding spoiliations become trivial. Switzerland, a country for three hundred years the abode of peace; a country, as it were, raised above the storms of political events; a country boasting of a gallant and disciplined army, without ever attacking its neighbours, rich without imposing taxes, till its riches tempt the spoiler, and become a cause of its ruin. Switzerland is doomed to fall under the imposing ravages of the French revolution. Had such an event taken place in times of peace, would it have been necessary for the public of this country to stifle the voice of sympathy and sorrow, for fear of giving offence to the ruthless tyrants? Had Alois Reding, a name worthy to compare with the first of names, for true simplicity of virtue and unaffected magnanimity of character? had Alois Reding, who, with a handful of peasants, defeated the conquerors of Europe on the soil where, three hundred years before, their ancestors fought the oppressors of their liberty, sought an asylum in England, attracted by the renown of this mighty Empire; would my learned Friend have told him, that he must conceal his tears, and breathe low his sighs, for the ruin of his country, lest his potent enemy should drive him from his asylum, or lead him into Court, the victim of prosecution?" I am sure that no Englishman could think with patience of such an ignominy; and sure I am that my learned Friend has a heart too thoroughly English to brook such disgrace. Had we

we been at peace between 1792 and 1794, could an English Court or an English Jury have been called upon to protect the reputation of a Robespierre, President of the Committee of Safety; of his friend Marat; of a Carrier, his agent, who drowned 2,000 Priests in the Loire, and caused 600 children, under fourteen, to be shot by the soldiery? Could the laws of the land have been called upon to protect, because they were in place, those butchers who perpetrated, within that period of two years, atrocities which, contrary to the practice of mankind, are generally under-rated, not exaggerated? Atrocities so prodigious as to compel the mind to seek refuge in scepticism; and which, but half believed, are now but half remembered. But I cannot, with regard to my own feelings, or the respect I bear my learned Friend, pursue this train of interrogation. Had such things taken place, the courage of our Courts, and the integrity of our Juries, had been our only resource. All would have been lost, but the unextinguishable spirit of an English Jury. To conclude—I trust that on this, as on all former occasions, the subdued spirit of the country will appear. All I ask is, a favourable construction for what may appear ambiguous.”

The Attorney-General.—“Gentlemen, you have heard a speech full of most splendid eloquence, and most wonderful ingenuity. Nothing, of which the subject is capable, has been neglected by my learned Friend, to give weight to his argument. It is now my duty, with far feeblere powers, to make some remarks upon that torrent of

almost irresistible eloquence. My learned Friend has said, the Chief Magistrate of the French Republic is the prosecutor in the present libel. This I am authorised to deny. It is not the Chief Magistrate of France that now comes forwards in order to vindicate his character, and to claim the protection of a British Jury, against those papers which seem to be published with a view to endanger his person, and to procure his assassination.—No! It is the Chief Magistrate of this country, feebly represented by the person now before you, who appears, to enforce the laws of the realm against a publication, the obvious tendency of which is to encourage assassination, and disturb the good understanding that at this moment exists between this and a neighbouring country. My learned Friend, has in the course of his address, put several questions to me, which I feel no difficulty in answering. In stating the freedom and boldness of discussion which in every period of its history has distinguished this country, he asks me, what I would have done with respect to the undaunted spirit and fearless intrepidity with which the British Press has never failed to exhibit, in their proper colours, the actions of tyrants and villains, whether foreign or domestic? My learned Friend has done me but justice, when he has assumed, that my sentiments upon this subject are those which he, and every honourable man, will feel with respect to matters of that description. No man is more a friend to freedom of discussion, and the real liberty of the press, than I am. My learned Friend proceeds to ask, what I would have

have done with regard to the terms in which the first English newspaper that was published in the reign of the glorious Queen Elizabeth, censured the tyrant who at that time threatened the liberties of Europe? what I would have done in regard to the strong and manly language in which the British prints attacked the ambitious and vain Louis the Fourteenth? In fine, what I would do, with regard to that feeling and energetic manner in which the atrocious crimes of the frantic Democrats of France were represented in public, and submitted to the sympathetic feelings of our countrymen; the glowing expressions in which the massacre of Toulon and Lyons; the invasion of the unoffending, and formerly happy Switzerland, and a long series of crimes were held up to the indignation and abhorrence of generous Britons? By way of answer to these questions, I ask, what did I do? Did I seem eager to come forward to solicit your verdict against the authors of free and bold declamation? No. Even though the prints of this country were not, perhaps, always distinguished for candour and impartiality; though the bounds of prudence and moderation might have been sometimes overleapt; yet I reflected that the passions of mankind were aroused by strange, and almost unparalleled crimes, and therefore that inflammatory language was palliated, if not excused in discussing those subjects. I was aware of the delicacy with which the liberty of the press ought to be touched; and therefore, unless in cases where this liberty has been scandalously abused, as in the pre-

sent instance, I have never been anxious to discover libellous matter in any publication. I refer my learned Friend to the fact; and this, I apprehend, is the best answer to his interrogatories that can possibly be given. You have heard, Gentlemen, a great deal about the independence and intrepidity that has always distinguished British Juries. Juries, the bulwark of the Constitution; the glorious and immovable *palladium* of our liberties! My learned friend here gave full scope to the energy of his eloquence, and ingeniously endeavoured to impress upon your minds, that he was combating the principles and arguments which I advanced. But, Gentlemen, I aver, that the principles and sentiments which he, in the highest strain of impressive eloquence, has now delivered, are with very little variation, the same with those which I in humbler dress, had before uttered. I agree with him in his account of the independent spirit of our ancestors, the rigid caution of former Juries, in matters relating to the freedom of the press, and the liberty of the subject. I agree with him in the propriety of rousing the abhorrence and resentment of the people against crime by means of periodical publications. But still there exists no little danger that this liberty will be abused in the present instance: and it is my duty to check such abuse whenever it appears. I agree with my learned friend, that the newspapers have been a powerful instrument in disseminating knowledge, and diffusing civilization; but he has, with the same breath, justly stated, that these are, at the same time, ex-

remely

tremely liable to become the source of much mischief and disorder in the community ; and, therefore, here again our sentiments exactly correspond. You have not only, then, Gentlemen, my assertion respecting the danger and impolicy of passing over in silence publications of a libellous tendency, but that assertion is corroborated by the powerful eloquence of my antagonist. Having thus shortly turned your attention, Gentlemen, to the observations of my learned Friend, respecting myself and my sentiments, I beg leave to trespass upon your patience for a few minutes, while I advert to the construction which he has endeavoured to affix to some of the passages which form the grounds of the present prosecution. In one of these the Author says, that “ he was to erect an edifice to the *glory* of Bonaparte, and that he would take care to select such materials as should be worthy of the Temple.” I submit to the candid and impartial judgment of the Jury, whether these are not to be considered as an ironical attack upon the First Consul, notwithstanding the ingenious gloss intended to be put upon them by the learned Counsel? But mark another passage: “ I have no particular resentment against Bonaparte! let him be declared Emperor of the Gauls, and *let his Apotheosis* follow on the ensuing morning.” Though the ingenuity of my learned Friend has endeavoured to make those expressions refer to the Roman Emperors who were deified while still alive, yet it is hardly necessary for me to observe, that they are evidently intended to apply to the case of Romulus, whose deification, every one acquainted

with the Roman History knows, immediately followed upon his assassination. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the Author intended to excite his countrymen to the assassination of the First Consul of France. The learned Counsel has endeavoured to persuade us, that the Ode, which also forms part of the grounds of the present prosecution, is a mighty harmless composition. The sentiments it contains, he avers, are intended not to apply to the First Consul of France, but to the infamous Jacobins whose crimes deluged their country with blood. But when a parallel is instituted between the state of France under Bonaparte, and the state of Rome under Julius Cæsar, and when the *poniard* of Brutus is described as the last resource of the Romans against the usurpation of the latter, can any man who exercises his judgment with impartiality, entertain a doubt respecting the tendency of such a passage, which manifestly is to encourage the discontented to dispatch Bonaparte, as Brutus did Cæsar?—In vain does my ingenious friend argue, that no conclusions, detrimental to his client, can be drawn from his allusion to the conduct of Brutus, which has been admired in all ages. The application is clear to every unprejudiced understanding; and this, out of all question, fixes the charge of a libel upon its author. It has been attempted to be proved, that a manifest inconsistency appears, in ascribing such sentiments and views to this determined Royalist. Is it likely, it has been asked, that the resolute and constant enemy of the Jacobins should entertain a particular resent-

resentment against their destroyer? My learned Friend has answered, No. But let us consider the character of the publication, and the situation of the author. That a French Royalist, strongly attached to the late Royal Family of France, should hate the person who, to its exclusion, has occupied that throne, appears to me far from improbable. That the author of the *Ambigu*, therefore, should be disposed to vilify Bonaparte, notwithstanding his being the enemy of Jacobinism, is certainly not so unlikely as he would have us suppose.----Bonaparte, therefore, must, in the opinion of Mr. Peltier, be considered as a vile usurper, and not to be regarded by a firm partizan of the expelled family of Capet with a very favourable eye; in this view, therefore, the probability is rather on my side. Your feelings of compassion, and spirit of patriotism, are assailed, Gentlemen, in favour of this emigrant. The fame of this country for affording shelter and protection to the unfortunate, and the wretched condition of Mr. Peltier, driven by lawless villains from his home, with the barbarous murder of his family, have all been brought forward in the most glowing colours. I acknowledge the justice and propriety of my friend's observations in this respect; and I moreover assert, that this very prosecution is a proof of that justice and propriety. If the generosity and humanity that characterize Englishmen and the English Government had, for a moment, been forgotten, this man might have been delivered up to the person whom he has satirized, instead of standing here to have the decision of an impartial British Jury upon his conduct. But never, I trust, will Britons, while they endeavour to check improper conduct of every description, overleap the barriers of justice, nor forget what is due to the claims of compassion and humanity. Gentlemen, you are to decide upon the evidence before you, without allowing more than their proper weight to the observations on either side. My learned Friend has diverted your attention to the lenity and independence of our ancestors, in deciding upon any thing that might have a tendency to infringe the freedom of the press and the liberty of British subjects. He has also expressed his apprehensions lest the time may come when we shall lose sight of those principles. But if that period should unfortunately arrive, as he seems to dread, pity it is, that his most eloquent, most ingenious, and almost irresistible address, has not been reserved for an occasion when it would be so loudly demanded."

Lord Ellenborough charged the Jury as follows:—"Gentlemen, it remains for me, with as much impartiality as I can, to sum up the evidence here as I do in other cases. It will then be your duty to give a true verdict, according to the evidence, in compliance with the terms of your oath; and the attention you have uniformly exhibited, leaves no doubt that a fair and impartial verdict will be given. With regard, Gentlemen, to the law in cases of libel, it is enacted, first, that any attempt

to disturb the peace of the community in any way, for instance, by vilifying the Government or Religion of the country, is of a libellous nature. Secondly, an attempt to injure any individual in his person, property, or reputation, is considered in the eye of law as libellous; and thirdly, is held to be libellous whatever has a tendency to vilify or injure in any manner persons high in office abroad. Let these principles of law then, Gentlemen, be applied to the case now before us. The first question, that you have to consider respects the publication of the papers on account of which the present prosecution is commenced. From the evidence of the Publisher, who deposes that he had the management of the publication, and accounted to Mr. Veltier for all emoluments derived from it, there can be little doubt as to the Author. I need not state the evidence particularly, as no question appears to be started by either party on this head. The next point, then, for your decision is, whether or not the expressions said to be libellous, are intended to apply to Bonaparte, and whether he is the Chief Magistrate of the French Republic? That the passages considered by the prosecutor as libellous, are directed against Bonaparte, appears to me beyond all doubt; and the latter proposition, viz. that he is the Chief Magistrate of France, is a matter of too much notoriety to require any comment. The third and last question that you are to try then, is whether the passages themselves are of a libellous nature? You have heard

the construction which, in a speech of most astonishing eloquence and ingenuity, has been attempted to be put upon the expressions in question. If, Gentlemen, there was any ambiguity—if the expressions were capable of a favourable interpretation, I would most willingly abide by that construction; and I have no doubt you also would feel every inclination to lean to the side of mercy, if it could be done consistently with justice. But I apprehend, and I am required by law to state my opinion to you on the subject, that the words will not bear any sense, except the obvious one affixed to them by the Counsel for the prosecution. With regard to the expressions, that “an edifice should be erected to the *glory* of Bonaparte, and that materials were to be provided worthy of the Temple,” there can exist no hesitation in an unprejudiced mind, that this was meant as an ironical attack upon the First Consul of France. From whence these materials were to be drawn, appears evidently from the other parts of the publication, where quotations are cited from ancient history, tending to provoke the assassination of Bonaparte. Of this description, the allusion to the *Apotheosis* of Romulus, and the poinard of Brutus, must clearly be considered. Whether this be the first of many prosecutions that are intended to be commenced on account of libellous publications, as has been intimated by the learned counsel for the defendant, is not the question at present. You, Gentlemen are to consider the case as it lies before

before you, without any respect to the past or the future. That the *Ambigu* is printed in French, is only an aggravation of the offence in this instance; as it is the more likely to engage the attention of Frenchmen, and must therefore prove additionally injurious and offensive to the person on whom the attack is made. Two trials for libels upon foreigners have taken place of late years; one for a libel on the Queen of France, and the other for one on the late Emperor of Russia. What were the verdicts

then, is of no consequence in the case before us. The matter rests with you, Gentlemen; and I have no doubt that your verdict will be such, as will give complete satisfaction to every mind that is not biassed by improper prejudices; that you will come to that conclusion which your reason suggests, and your conscience approves."

The Jury, within one minute of the time when his Lordship concluded, returned a verdict of *Guilty*.

The Trial lasted seven hours.

A GENERAL BILL

OF

All the CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 14, 1802, to DECEMBER 13, 1803.

Christened { Males 11014 } Buried { Males 9799 } Increased in Burials
 { Females 9929 } { Females 9783 } this Year 203.

Totals Males and Females Christened 20943.—Total Males and Females Buried 19582.

Died under Two Years	5355	—Forty and Fifty	2265	—Hundred	1
Between Two and Five	2077	Fifty and Sixty	2044	Hundred and One	0
—Five and Ten	790	Sixty and Seventy	1580	Hundred and Two	0
—Ten and Twenty	531	Seventy and Eighty	1038	Hundred and Seven	1
—Twenty and Thirty	1329	Eighty and Ninety	482	Hundred and Eighteen	0
—Thirty and Forty	2025	Ninety and a Hundred	64	Hundred and Twenty	0

DISEASES.		CASUALTIES.	
A Bortive & Still-born	568	B Broken Limbs	3
Abcesses	47	Broken Neck	1
Aged	1714	Bruised	4
Ague	1	Burnt	33
Apoplexy and sud-	401	Choaked	1
den	401	Drowned	115
Asthma and Phthi-	745	Excessive Drinking	8
sis	745	Executed *	13
Bedridden	4	Found dead	21
Bile	2	Fractured	4
Bleeding	16	Frighted	3
Bursten and Rup-	24	Killed by Falls,	
ture	24	&c.	65
Cancer	64	Killed by Fighting	3
Canker	1	Killed themselves	40
Carious Spine	1	Murdered	3
Chicken Pox	2	Poisoned	2
Childbed	250	Scalded	2
Colds	11	Shot	3
Colick, Gripes, twist-	19	Starved	1
ing of the Guts	19	Stifled	1
Consumption	4076	Strained	1
Convulsions	3493	Suffocated	1
Cough and Hooping-	586		
Cough	586	Total	328
Cow Pox	1		
Cramp	3		
Croup	25		
Dropsy	879		
Epilepsy	1		
Evil	1		
All Fevers	2326		
Fistula	2		
Flux	9		
French Pox	53		
Gaol Distemper	2		
Gout	103		
Gravel, Stranguary,	18		
and Stone	18		
Grief	7		
Head-ach	1		
Headmouldshot, Hor-	104		
shoehead, and Wa-	104		
ter in the Head	104		
Imposthume	2		
Jaundice	85		
Jaw Locked	7		
Inflammation	710		
Influenza	52		
Itch	1		
Livergrown	9		
Lunatick	135		
Measles	438		
Miscarriage	3		
Mortification	388		
Palpitation of			
Heart			
Palfy	130		
Piles	1		
Pleurisy	23		
Quinfy	4		
Rheumatism	5		
Scurvy	3		
Small Pox	1202		
Sore Throat	14		
Sores and Ulcers	7		
St. Anthony's Fire	1		
Spasm	15		
Stoppage in Sto-	12		
mach	12		
Teeth	363		
Thrush	78		
Vomiting and Loofe-			
ness	1		
Worms	4		

* There have been executed in Middlesex and Surrey 30; of which number 13 only have been reported to be buried (as such) within the Bills of Mortality.

PRICES

PRICES OF THE STOCKS FOR 1803.

APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE.

* 165

Date.	Bank. Stock.	3 pr Ct. Reduc.	3 pr Ct. Confol.	4 pr Ct. Confol.	5 pr Ct. Navy.	5 pr Ct. 1797.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock.	Excheq. Bills.	Omnium	Irish 5 pr Ct.	Imperial 3 pr Ct.	Lottery Tickets.
January - -	{ 186 187½	72½ 70½	71½ 69½	87½ 85½	100½ 99½	103½ 101½	20½ 20¼	4½ 4¾	215¼ 207	— —	3½ dif. 5½ do.	99½ 99	70½ 69½	17 16 17 15
February - -	{ 190 186	72¼ 70½	71½ 69½	88½ 86½	101½ 100	105 103	20½ 20¾	4½ 4¾	217 208½	Par. 2s. dif.	3½ do. 5½ do.	101½ —	70½ 69½	17 17 17 16
March - - -	{ 193 182	72 71½	71½ 69½	88½ 86½	102 94	104½ 104½	— —	4½ 4¾	222½ 202	Par. 5	3½ do. 16½ do.	— 97	70½ 61½	18 1 17 17
April - - -	{ 173¼ 166½	66¼ 61½	67½ 61½	84½ 77½	96½ 100½	101 94½	19½ 18½	4½ 3¾	211½ 204	— —	16½ do. 9½ do.	92	63 61½	26 0 18 1
May - - -	{ 169 145	65½ 56½	65½ 57½	82½ 72½	92½ 94	99½ 91½	19½ 16½	4½ 3¾	206 180	— —	— —	94½ 84½	62½ 55	— —
June - - -	{ 151½ 145	58½ 55½	— —	74½ 70½	94 93½	93½ 90½	17½ 16½	3¾ 3¾	178 177½	1s. 4 dif.	1½ pr. 4 dis.	82½	56½ 54½	— —
July - - -	{ 143 136½	55½ 51½	55½ 51½	71½ 64½	87 82	90½ 84½	16½ 15½	3½ 3¾	160 156	1 pr. 10 dif.	1½ do. 1½ do.	81	54 50½	17 0 16 16
August - - -	{ 143½ 138	55½ 52½	54½ 52½	70½ 67½	86½ 83½	90½ 87½	16½ 15½	3½ 3¾	164½ 160½	2 do. 3 do.	6½ do. 9½ do.	81½	54½ 54½	17 5 17 2
September -	{ 143½ 142½	— —	54½ 52½	70½ 68½	87½ 85½	90½ 89½	16½ 15½	3½ 3¾	166 162	2 do. 4 do.	6½ do. 10½ do.	—	54 51½	25 10 17 5
October -	{ 142½ 138	53 51½	54½ 52½	68½ 66	87½ 85½	89½ 87½	15½ 15½	3½ 3¾	163½ 160	1 pr. 4 dif.	8½ do. 10½ do.	77½	52 51½	17 2 17 0
November -	{ 144 141½	54½ 52½	55 53½	69½ 67½	89 86½	90 87	15½ 15½	3½ 3¾	168½ 162	— —	6½ do. 9½ do.	78	51½ 50½	17 5 17 2
December -	{ 147 143½	55 53½	— —	71½ 69½	90½ 88½	92½ 90	16½ 15½	3½ 3¾	172 168	— —	4½ do. 7½ do.	81½ 80	53½ 52½	17 9 17 5

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE FOR 1803.

	Six's Thermometer without.			Thermometer without.			Thermometer within.			Barometer.*			Hygrometer.			Rain.
	Greatst. Height.	Leaft. Height.	Mean Height.	Greatst. Height.	Leaft. Height.	Mean Height.	Greatst. Height.	Leaft. Height.	Mean Height.	Greatst. Height.	Leaft. Height.	Mean Height.	Greatst. Height.	Leaft. Height.	Mean Height.	
	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.
1803.																
January	48	19	35,3	48	19	35,7	56	43	49,0	30,18	29,05	29,65	95	73	86,9	1,544
February	53	19	38,3	52	20	38,5	59	42	49,1	30,48	29,27	29,86	95	69	85,1	0,744
March	66	25	44,4	66	26	44,5	64	48	55,1	30,39	29,38	30,03	94	65	80,5	0,449
April	72	36	50,4	70	39	51,0	65	56	60,3	30,50	29,18	29,89	90	61	76,2	1,094
May	69	38	53,0	68	44	53,8	62	55	59,4	30,35	29,34	29,95	92	64	76,3	1,685
June	74	49	59,0	73	50	59,8	65	60	62,2	30,46	29,63	30,02	91	61	78,2	3,359
July	86	51	66,3	85	54	67,2	73	64	68,8	30,45	29,93	30,13	91	62	72,7	1,368
August	81	47	64,6	80	51	65,4	74	63	68,7	30,31	29,81	30,06	93	58	71,3	0,755
September	75	38	55,1	74	40	55,5	67	56	62,4	30,42	29,25	30,12	92	62	74,3	0,919
October	67	38	51,1	67	39	51,3	65	57	60,6	30,48	29,73	30,07	91	63	79,4	0,474
November	57	31	43,7	56	31	44,0	59	52	55,3	30,33	28,67	29,50	96	68	84,8	2,441
December	55	21	44,7	56	21	43,3	58	46	52,6	30,53	28,98	29,61	99	75	92,1	3,090
Whole Year.			50,5			50,9			58,6			29,91			79,8	17,922

* The Quickfilver in the bafon of the Barometer is 31 feet above the level of low water spring tides at Somerset Houfe.

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Register, are taken from Accounts collected from the Custom-House Books, and delivered to John James Catherwood, Esq. Receiver of Corn Returns, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into England and Scotland, with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for the Year ended the 5th of January, 1804.

E X P O R T E D.

1803. ENGLAND.	BRITISH. Quarters.	FOREIGN. Quarters.	£. s. d.
Wheat - - - - -	441	44,255	419 12 0 Bounties. 0 0 0 Drawbacks.
Rye - - - - -	2	1,028	
Barley - - - - -	22,869	335	
Malt - - - - -	8,654		
Oats - - - - -	19,446	1,675	
Beans - - - - -	4,618		
Pease - - - - -	2,558	57	
	cwt. qrs. lbs.	cwt. qrs. lbs.	
Wheat Flour - - -	71,773 3 12	25,892 0 10	
Oatmeal - - - - -	2,998 1 27		
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat - - - - -		2,933	348 3 1½ Bounties. 0 0 0 Drawbacks.
Barley - - - - -	3,509		
Bear or Big - - -	6,043		
Bear Meal - - - -	34		
Malt - - - - -	2,377		
Oats - - - - -	1,605	74	
Groats - - - - -	6		
Beans - - - - -	193	74	
Pease - - - - -	11		
	cwt. qrs. lbs.	cwt. qrs. lbs.	
Wheat Flour - - -	1,701 0 0	1,859 1 0	
Biscuit - - - - -	825 0 0		
Barley Milled - -	154 0 0		
Bear Meal - - - -	2,596 0 0		
Oatmeal - - - - -	908 3 0		

IMPORTED.

I M P O R T E D.

ENGLAND.				Quarters.	£.	s.	d.
Wheat	-	-	-	210,539	12,512	18	10
Rye	-	-	-	4,078			
Barley	-	-	-	8,913			
Malt	-	-	-	25			
Oats	-	-	-	423,954			
Beans	-	-	-	1,650			
Pease	-	-	-	22,626	41,082	14	8
Indian Corn	-	-	-	660			
				cwt. qrs. lbs.			
Wheat Flour	-	-	-	323,250	}		
Indian Meal	-	-	-	98 0			
				olls.			
Oatmeal	-	-	-	3,270 0			

12	5	12	18	10	Duties.
41	0	82	14	8	Bounties on Corn
					and Rice outstanding.

Duties.

Bounties on Corn and Rice outstanding.

I M P O R T E D.

SCOTLAND.				Quarters.					
Wheat	-	-	-	61,421	}	2,502	13	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	Duties.
Rye	-	-	-	21					
Barley	-	-	-	4,437					
Oats	-	-	-	61,760					
Beans	-	-	-	87					
Pease	-	-	-	1,352					
Indian Corn	-	-	-	9	}	2,894	15	2	Bounties out- standing.
				cwt. qrs. lbs.					
Wheat Flour	-	-	-	30,287 1 3					
Indian Meal	-	-	-	46 0 13	}				
				bolts.					
Oatmeal	-	-	-	41,297	}				

Duties.

Bounties outstanding.

The following is an Account of the Average Prices of Corn in England and Wales, by the standard Winchester Bushel, for the year 1803.

Per Bushel	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Pease.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
	7 0 $\frac{3}{4}$	4 7 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	2 7 $\frac{3}{4}$	4 4	4 9 $\frac{3}{4}$

A List of Public Acts passed in the Third Session of the Second Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

DECEMBER 17, 1802.

For continuing and granting to his Majesty certain duties upon malt, mum, cyder, and perry, for the service of the year 1803.

For continuing and granting to his Majesty a duty on pensions, offices, and personal estates, in England, Wales, and Berwick upon Tweed; and certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco, and snuff, for the service of the year 1803.

For raising the sum of 5,000,000*l.* by loans or exchequer bills.

For further suspending, until the expiration of six weeks after the commencement of the next session of Parliament, the operation of two acts, made in the 15th and seventeenth years of the reign of his present Majesty, for restraining the negotiation of promissory notes and bills of exchange, under a limited sum, within that part of Great Britain called England.

To indemnify such persons as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments, &c.

For the more speedy and effectual enrollment of the militia of Ireland, and for filling up vacancies therein.

DECEMBER 29, 1802.

For discontinuing certain drawbacks and bounties on the exportation of sugar from Great Britain, and for allowing other drawbacks and bounties in lieu thereof, until the 15th of January, 1804.

For discontinuing certain drawbacks and bounties on the exportation of sugar from Ireland, and

for allowing, until the 15th of January, 1804, other drawbacks and bounties in lieu thereof.

To amend an act made in the 37th year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act to provide for the more speedy payment of all navy, victualling, and transport bills, that shall be issued in future."

For appointing commissioners to inquire into any irregularities, frauds, or abuses, which are, or have been, practised by persons employed in the several naval departments therein mentioned, and in the business of prize agency, and to report such observations as shall occur to them; for preventing such irregularities, frauds, and abuses; and for the better conducting and managing the business of the said departments, and of prize agency, in future.

To amend so much of an act, made in the 42d year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act for amending the laws relating to the militia in England, and for augmenting the militia," as relates to the exemption of licensed teachers of any separate congregation from serving in the militia.

To rectify a mistake made in an act the 42d year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act for defraying the charge of the pay of the militia of Ireland."

For continuing, until the 1st of July, 1803, "An act for regulating the prices at which grain, meal, and flour, may be exported from Great Britain to Ireland, and from Ireland to Great Britain," and for permitting, from and after the passing thereof, until the 1st of July,

July, 1803, the exportation of seed-corn from Great Britain to Ireland, and the importation of malt into Great Britain from Ireland.

To continue, until the 1st of January, 1804, so much of an act made in the 41st year of the reign of his present Majesty, as relates to the prohibiting the exportation from Ireland of corn or potatoes, or other provisions, and for permitting the importation into Ireland of corn, fish, and provisions, without payment of duty.

To continue, until the 1st of January, 1804, several laws relating to the prohibiting the exportation, and permitting the importation of corn; and for allowing the importation of other articles of provision, without payment of duty; to the relief of captors of prizes, with respect to the bringing and landing certain prize goods in this kingdom; and to the regulating the trade and commerce to and from the isle of Malta.

To facilitate and render more easy the transportation of offenders.

For reviving and continuing, for five years from the passing thereof, and from thence to the end of the then next session of Parliament, certain acts passed in the Parliament of Ireland, for regulating the baking trade in the city and county of Dublin; and for indemnifying all persons who have acted in pursuance of any of the provisions of the said acts, or any of them.

FEBRUARY 28, 1803.

To amend and continue, until the expiration of six weeks after the commencement of the next session of Parliament, the restrictions

on payments of cash by the Bank.

MARCH 24, 1803.

For enabling his Majesty to settle an annuity on his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, to continue, until the 5th of July, 1806, and for repealing so much of an act, made in the 35th year of the reign of his present Majesty, as directs the annual payment of 13,000*l.* out of the revenue of the Duchy of Cornwall, to the commissioners appointed by the said act.

For granting to his Majesty several stamp duties in Ireland.

For granting to his Majesty certain duties upon certificates with respect to killing of game in Ireland.

For granting to his Majesty certain duties on licenses to persons selling hats, and on hats sold by retail, in Ireland.

For continuing, until the 25th of March, 1804, several acts for granting and continuing duties to his Majesty in Ireland.

For punishing mutiny and desertion, &c.

For regulation of the Marine forces while on shore.

To authorize the training and exercising the militia of Great Britain, for 28 days.

For better securing the freedom of elections of members to serve in Parliament for any place in Ireland, by disabling certain officers employed in the collection or management of his Majesty's revenues in Ireland from giving their votes at such elections.

APRIL 7, 1803.

To repeal certain parts of an act, passed in the present session of Parliament,

Parliament, intituled, "An act for the more speedy and effectual enrolment of the militia of Ireland, and for filling vacancies therein," and for making other provisions in lieu thereof.

For allowing vessels employed in the Greenland Whale Fishery to complete their full number of men at certain ports, for the present season.

To intitle Roman Catholics taking and subscribing the declaration and oath contained in the act of the 31st year of the reign of his present Majesty to the benefits given by an act of the 18th year of the reign of his present Majesty.

To continue, until the 8th of July, 1803, the act for staying proceedings in actions under the statutes of Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth, touching pluralities, leases of benefices, and other ecclesiastical livings with cure.

For regulating the office of surveyor-general of woods, forests, parks, and chases.

For vesting certain lands and hereditaments in trustees, for further promoting the service of his Majesty's ordnance at Woolwich.

For raising the sum of four millions by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of the year 1803.

To enable his Majesty to grant an annuity to Rear-Admiral Sir James Saumarez.

To provide for the completion of the establishment of officers in the militia of Great Britain.

For appointing commissioners for distributing the money stipulated to be paid by the United States of America, under the convention made between his Majesty and the said United States, among the persons having claims to compensation out of such money.

MAY 17, 1803.

To continue, until the 29th of September, 1804, several acts for the better collection and security of his Majesty's revenues in Ireland, and for preventing frauds therein.

To amend and continue, until three months after any restriction imposed by an act of the present session of Parliament on the Bank of England from issuing cash in payments shall cease, an act made in the Parliament of Ireland, in the 37th year of the reign of his present Majesty, for confirming and continuing the restrictions on payments in cash by the Bank of Ireland.

To continue, until the 25th of March, 1804, so much of an act relating to certain duties on sugar and coffee exported, for permitting British plantation sugar to be warehoused, and for regulating and allowing drawbacks on sugar exported, as relates to repealing the duties on sugar and coffee exported, and allowing British plantation sugar to be warehoused.

For enlarging the period for the payment of part of certain sums of money, advanced by way of loan, to several persons connected with, and trading to, the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent.

For the more effectually preserving the peace, and securing the freedom of election, in the town of Nottingham, and county of the said town.

For increasing the rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers and others, on quartering soldiers.

MAY 27, 1803.

For consolidating and amending the several laws for providing relief for the families of the militia-men

men of England, when called out into actual service.

To enable the East India Company to defray the expenses of certain volunteer corps raised by the said Company.

To amend so much of several acts passed in the 6th and 7th years, and in the 7th and 8th years of the reign of King William III. as relates to the exportation of silver bullion.

For the more effectual prevention of frivolous and vexatious arrests and suits, and to authorize the levying of poundage upon executions in certain cases.

JUNE 11, 1803.

To enable his Majesty more effectually to provide for the defence and security of the realm during the present war, and for indemnifying persons who may suffer in their property by such measures as may be necessary for that purpose.

To render more effectual an act passed in the 42d year of his present Majesty's reign, for consolidating the provisions of several acts passed for the redemption and sale of the land-tax.

For more speedily completing the militia of Great Britain, raised under two acts, passed in the 42d year of the reign of his present Majesty, and for amending the said acts.

To render the process of his Majesty's Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, in personal actions, in Ireland, more beneficial, &c.

For indemnifying all persons who have been concerned in issuing, or carrying into execution, certain orders of Council for the

prevention of the exportation of gunpowder, naval stores, and saltpetre, and the permission of the exportation of seed-corn to Norway.

For making better provision for the parochial schoolmasters, and for making further regulations for the better government of the parish-schools in Scotland.

JUNE 24, 1803.

For raising the sum of twelve millions by way of annuities.

To repeal the duties of customs payable in Great Britain, and to grant other duties in lieu thereof.

For remedying certain defects that have occurred in issuing certain exchequer bills.

For transferring to the Royal Navy such seamen as are now serving in the militia of Great Britain.

For the better protection of the trade of the United Kingdom, during the present hostilities with France.

To explain and amend the act for regulating the manner in which the East-India Company shall hire and take up ships for their regular service.

For regulating the vessels carrying passengers from the United Kingdom to his Majesty's plantations and settlements abroad, or to foreign parts, with respect to the number of such passengers.

For further prevention of malicious shooting, and attempting to discharge loaded fire-arms, stabbing, cutting, wounding, poisoning, and the malicious using of means to procure the miscarriage of women; and also the malicious setting fire to buildings; and also for repealing a certain act made in England, in the 21st year of King James I., intituled "An act to prevent

prevent the destroying and murdering of bastard children," and also an act made in Ireland, in the 6th year of the reign of Queen Anne, also intituled, "An act to prevent the destroying and murdering of bastard children," and for making other provisions in lieu thereof.

For the better supply of mariners and seamen to serve in his Majesty's ships of war, and on board merchant ships, and other trading ships and vessels, during the present hostilities.

For the relief of soldiers, sailors, and mariners, and of the wives of soldiers, in the cases therein mentioned, so far as relates to England.

For vesting in trustees certain lands and hereditaments at Charlton, in the county of Kent, for further promoting the service of his Majesty's ordnance.

For vesting in trustees certain lands and hereditaments at Weedon Beck, in the county of Northampton, for erecting buildings thereon, for the service of his Majesty's ordnance.

For remedying certain defects in the laws relative to the building and repairing of county bridges, and other works.

JULY 4, 1803.

For granting, during the present war, and until the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, additional duties on the importation and exportation of certain goods, wares, and merchandize, and on the tonnage of ships and vessels in Great Britain.

For granting the sum of 20,000*l.* to be applied towards making roads and building bridges in the Highlands of Scotland, &c.

To repeal the duties of excise payable in Great Britain, and to grant other duties in lieu thereof.

To amend the act, for granting stamp duties on certain medicines.

For making allowances, in certain cases, to subaltern officers of the militia of Great Britain, while disembodied.

For augmenting the number of field officers, and other officers of militia, within Great Britain.

For further regulating the administration of the oath, or affirmation, required to be taken by electors of members to serve in Parliament.

For making more effectual provision within Ireland for the punishment of offences in wilfully casting away, sinking, burning, or destroying ships and vessels, and for the more convenient trial of accessories in felonies.

For continuing the act for regulating the prices at which grain, meal, and flour, may be exported from Great Britain to Ireland, and from Ireland to Great Britain; and also, an act made in the present session of parliament, for continuing the said act, and for permitting the exportation of seed-corn from Great Britain to Ireland, and the importation of malt into Great Britain from Ireland.

For transferring to the Royal navy such seamen as are now serving in the militia of Ireland.

To indemnify persons who have omitted to qualify themselves for offices or employments in Ireland, according to law.

To authorize the sale or mortgage of the estates of persons found lunatic by inquisition, in England or Ireland, respectively, and the granting of leases of the same.

To

To extend the provisions of two acts, passed in the 39th, and 40th, and in the 41st years of the reign of his present Majesty, relating to the use of horse-hides in making boots and shoes, &c.

For raising and securing a fund for making provision for the widows of the writers to his Majesty's Signet in Scotland.

JULY 6, 1803.

To enable his Majesty more effectually to raise and assemble in England, an additional military force.

To enable his Majesty more effectually to raise and assemble, in Scotland, an additional military force.

JULY 7, 1803.

To amend the laws relating to spiritual persons holding of farms, and for enforcing the residence of spiritual persons on their benefices in England.

JULY 11, 1803.

For granting a sum to be raised by lotteries.

To enable his Majesty more effectually to raise and assemble, in Ireland, an additional military force.

For defraying, until the 25th of March, 1804, the charge of the pay and cloathing of the militia of Ireland; for holding courts-martial on serjeant-majors, serjeants, corporals, and drummers, for offences committed during the time such militia shall not be embodied; and for making allowances in certain cases to subaltern officers of the said militia during peace.

To continue, during the restriction on payments in cash by the

Bank of Ireland, and to amend an act to restrain the negotiation of promissory notes and inland bills of exchange under a limited sum.

For providing relief for the families of militia-men in Scotland, when called out into actual service.

For enlarging the limits of the southern whale fishery.

To prevent unlawful combinations of workmen, artificers, journeymen, and labourers in Ireland.

JULY 13, 1803.

For raising the sum of five millions by loans or exchequer bills.

For granting certain duties on the importation of goods into, and on goods exported from Ireland; and also certain duties of excise on spirits and malt distilled and made in Ireland.

For defraying the charge of the pay and cloathing of the militia in Great Britain.

To revive, and further continue and amend an act, which grants certain allowances to adjutants and serjeant-majors of the militia of England, disembodied under an act of Parliament.

To authorize the advancement of further sums of money out of the consolidated fund, to be applied in the improvement of the port of London; and to empower the lords commissioners of the treasury to purchase the legal quays between London Bridge and the Tower of London.

JULY 27, 1803.

For raising the sum of one million, Irish currency, by treasury bills.

To amend and render more effectual an act, passed in the present session of parliament, intituled,
“ An

“ An act to enable his Majesty more effectually to provide for the defence and security of the realm, &c. ;” and to enable his Majesty more effectually and speedily to exercise his ancient and undoubted prerogative, in requiring the military service of his liege subjects in case of invasion of the realm.

For consolidating certain of the provisions contained in any act or acts relating to the duties under the management of the commissioners for the affairs of taxes, and for amending the same.

To amend several acts of Parliament for the better collection and security of his Majesty's revenue of customs and of excise in Ireland.

To amend the acts now in force for securing the collection of the revenue upon malt, and for regulating the trade of a distiller in Ireland.

To rectify a mistake in the act, for enlarging the period for the payment of part of money advanced to persons connected with, and trading to, Grenada and St. Vincent.

To permit Portugal wines to be landed and warehoused in the United Kingdom without payment of duties, under certain restrictions, for a limited time.

To permit the exportation, for two years, of a certain quantity of corn, grain, meal, flour, bread, biscuit, or pulse, to the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, and Alderney, from other ports of England, as well as the port of Southampton, under certain restrictions.

To render more effectual two acts, made in this present session of Parliament, for the more speedily completing the militia of Great Britain, and for raising an addi-

tional military force for the better defence of the United Kingdom.

For raising in the city of London a certain number of men, as an addition to the military force of Great Britain.

For the more effectually providing for the punishment of offences in wilfully casting away, burning, or destroying ships and vessels, and for the more convenient trial of accessories in felonies, and for extending the power of an act, made in the 33d year of the reign of King Henry VIII. as far as relates to murders, to accessories to murders, and to manslaughters.

For effectuating certain parts of an act, passed in the 2d and 3d years of the reign of Queen Anne, intituled, “ An act for the making more effectual her Majesty's gracious intentions for the augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy, by enabling her Majesty to grant in perpetuity the revenues of the first fruits and tenths, and also for enabling any other person to make grants for the same purpose,” &c.

To rectify a mistake in an act, made in this present session of Parliament, intituled, “ An act to amend the laws relating to spiritual persons holding of farms, and for enforcing the residence of spiritual persons on their benefices in England,” and to remove a doubt respecting the title of the statute of the 21st year of King Henry VIII. therein mentioned.

To promote the building, repairing, or otherwise providing of churches and chapels, and of houses for the residence of ministers, and the providing of church-yards and glebes.

To enable the commissioners of

first

first fruits in Ireland to lend certain sums of money, interest free, to incumbents of benefices there, for the purpose of enabling them to erect or purchase glebe-houses and offices convenient for their residence, glebe-lands fit and convenient for the erection of such houses and offices, and to make provision for the repayment of all loans so to be made by the said commissioners.

To explain and amend an act, made in the last session of Parliament, intituled, "An act, made in the 22d year of his present Majesty, for the better relief and employment of the poor," so far as relates to the payment of the debts incurred for building any poor-house.

For enabling friendly societies, intended to be established under an act passed in the 33d year of the reign of his present Majesty, to rectify mistakes made in the registry of their rules.

For the better preservation of heath fowl, commonly called black game, in the New Forest.

To explain and amend two acts, for preventing the commission of thefts and frauds, by persons navigating bum-boats and other boats, upon the river Thames, and for the more effectual prevention of depredations thereon, so far as relates to the seizure of exciseable commodities.

For the further improvement of the port of London, by making docks and other works at Blackwall, for the accommodation of the East India shipping at the said port.

For establishing a free market in the city of London for the sale of coals, and for preventing frauds and impositions in the vend and deli-

very of all coals brought into the port of London, within certain places therein mentioned.

JULY 29, 1803.

For the suppression of rebellion in Ireland.

To empower the lord lieutenant of Ireland to apprehend and detain such persons as he or they shall suspect of conspiring against his Majesty's person and government.

To render more effectual an act passed in the 5th year of the reign of his present Majesty, relating to the discovery of the longitude at sea, and for continuing the encouragement of persons making certain discoveries for finding the longitude at sea, &c.

For improving the funds of the chest at Chatham, and for transferring the administration of the same to Greenwich Hospital, and for ameliorating the condition of the pensioners on the said funds.

AUGUST 12, 1803.

For granting to his Majesty, until the 6th of May next after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, a contribution on the profits arising from property, professions, trades, and offices.

For enabling his Majesty to raise the sum of two millions.

For raising the sum of 1,500,000l. by loans, or exchequer bills.

For granting certain duties on receipts.

For enabling his Majesty to settle an annuity of 16,000l. on the House of Orange, during pleasure.

For charging an additional duty on lignum quassia imported.

To enable the commissioners of the treasury to issue exchequer bills on the credit of the supplies.

For

For consolidating the duties on stamps, vellum, parchment, and paper, in Great Britain.

For consolidating certain of the provisions contained in any act or acts relating to the duties under the management of the commissioners for the affairs of taxes, and for amending the said acts so far as the same relate to Scotland.

For rectifying a mistake in an act of the last session of Parliament, for better collecting the duties on auctioneers.

For further regulation of the collection of customs in Great Britain in certain cases.

To amend so much of the last act, for granting additional duties on excise, as relates to the exportation of tea to Ireland; for regu-

lating the granting of permits for the removal of coffee, tea, and cocoa-nuts, out of warehouses; and for the more effectually securing the duties on coffee.

For the more effectually securing certain duties on malt, and for preventing frauds by makers of malt from bear or bigg in Scotland.

To amend an act, to enable his Majesty more effectually to provide for the defence and security of the realm, &c.

For extending the jurisdiction of the courts of justice in the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, to the trial and punishment of persons guilty of crimes and offences within certain parts of North America, adjoining to the said province.

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1803.

N A V Y, &c.

December 2, 1802.

THAT 50,000 Men be employed for the Sea Service for the Year 1803; including 12,000 Marines.

	£.	s.	d.
For Wages to ditto	1,202,500	0	0
For Victuals for ditto	1,235,000	0	0
For Wear and Tear of Ships in which they are to serve	1,950,000	0	0
For Ordnance Sea Service on board such Ships	162,500	0	0

December 14, 1802.

For the Ordinary of the Navy, including Half-pay to Sea and Marine Officers for 1803

	1,228,238	13	1
For the extraordinary Establishment of ditto	901,140	0	0
For the Hire of Transports	590,000	0	0
For defraying the Charge of Prisoners of War in Health	22,000	0	0
Ditto of Sick Prisoners of War	5,000	0	0

March 14, 1803.

That an additional Number of 10,000 Men be employed for the Sea Service, for Eleven Lunar Months, commencing 26th February, 1803, including 2,400 Marines.

For Wages for ditto	203,500	0	0
For Victuals for ditto	209,000	0	0
For Wear and Tear of Ships in which they are to serve	330,000	0	0
For Ordnance Sea Service on board such Ships	27,500	0	0

June 11, 1803.

That a further additional Number of 40,000 Men be employed for the Sea Service, for Seven Lunar Months, commencing 12th June, 1803, including 8,000 Royal Marines.

For

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	£.	s.	d.
For Wages for ditto -	518,000	0	0
For Victuals for ditto -	532,000	0	0
For Wear and Tear of Ships in which they are to serve -	840,000	0	0
For Ordnance Sea Service on board such Ships -	70,000	0	0
For the further Hire of Transports for the Year 1803 -	100,000	0	0
For the further Charge of Prisoners of War in Health -	65,000	0	0
Ditto of Sick Prisoners of War -	20,000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£.10,211,378	13	1
	<hr/>		

A R M Y.

December 9, 1802.

That a Number of Land Forces, not exceeding 66,574 effective Men, be employed in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, from the 25th December, 1802, to the 24th of December, 1803.

For Guards, Garrisons, and other Land Forces, in Great Britain and Ireland -	2,322,700	0	3
For Forces in the Plantations, including Gibraltar, in the Mediterranean, at Ceylon, and New South Wales -	1,129,976	19	4
For Five Troops of Dragoons, and Seventeen Com- panies of Foot, stationed in Great Britain for recruiting Regiments serving in East India -	28,632	17	8
For Contingencies and Allowances for the Land Forces in Great Britain and Ireland -	173,341	7	0
For General and Staff Officers, and Officers of Hof- pitals in Great Britain and Ireland -	58,468	0	10
For Allowance to the principal Officers of several Public Departments in Great Britain and Ireland -	127,512	19	9
For the increased Rates of Subsistence to be paid to Inn-keepers and others on quartering Soldiers, and Allowances to Land Forces for Small Beer in Ireland -	200,645	1	3
Upon Account of Reduced Officers of Land Forces and Marines -	358,152	10	11
For Half-pay and Allowances to the Reduced Offi- cers of his Majesty's British American Forces -	52,000	0	0
On Account of Officers late in the Service of the States General -	1,000	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
For Pensions to Widows of Officers of the Land Forces in Great Britain and Ireland -	26,883	16	0
For the Barrack Department in Great Britain and Ireland -	513,440	7	10
For Foreign Corps -	159,672	1	11
For Medicines, Bedding, and Hospital Contingencies, for the Forces in Ireland, and for the Royal Military Infirmary in Dublin -	18,461	10	10

March 3, 1803.

For defraying the Extraordinary Expences of the Army, from the 25th of December, 1801, to the 24th of December, 1802 -	1,032,151	4	8
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June 7, 1803.

For defraying the Charge of Full-pay to Supernumerary Officers, from the 25th of December, 1802, to the 24th of December, 1803 -	29,337	0	0
For defraying the Charge of the In and Out Pensioners of Chelsea and Kilmainham Hospitals -	266,004	14	1
Ditto of the Royal Military College, for 1803 -	8,110	2	11
For defraying the Expences expected to be incurred on account of the Royal Military Asylum -	31,000	0	0
For defraying the Charge of One Regiment of Light Dragoons, and One West India Regiment, and of an Augmentation to the Dragoon and Foot-Guards in Great Britain and Ireland -	218,270	11	1
For defraying the Charge of additional General and General Staff Officers in Great Britain and Ireland for 1803 -	31,000	0	0
Ditto of Effective Captains, from the 25th of May to the 24th of December, 1803 -	35,751	17	10
For defraying the further Charge of the Barrack Department for 1803 -	58,333	0	0

June 11, 1803.

For the further Charge of the Barrack Department in Ireland -	54,907	7	9
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June 18, 1803.

Toward defraying the Extraordinary Service of the Army in Great Britain for 1803 -	1,400,000	0	0
Ditto in Ireland -	600,000	0	0

£.8,935,753 12 3

MILITIA

MILITIA AND FENCIBLE CORPS.

December 9, 1802.

	£.	s.	d.
For the Volunteer Corps of Cavalry and Infantry in Great Britain and Ireland, from the 25th of December, 1802, to the 24th of December, 1803	99,169	4	8

April 7, 1803.

Making Provision for defraying the Charge of the Pay of the Militia of Ireland for 1803.
Ditto of Allowances to certain Subaltern Officers of the Militia of Ireland during Peace.
Ditto for the Pay and Cloathing of the Militia of Great Britain.

June 2, 1803.

For making Allowances to Adjutants and Serjeants of the Militia disembodied, for 1803.
Ditto of Allowances to Subaltern Officers of the Militia in time of Peace.

June 7, 1803.

For defraying the Charge of the Embodied Militia of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Royal Corps of Miners, for several Periods in 1803	1,747,570	0	8
For defraying the Charge of Contingencies for the Embodied Militia of Great Britain and Ireland for 1803	38,345	12	7
Ditto of Cloathing for the Embodied Militia of Great Britain, and Royal Corps of Miners	143,891	5	0
Ditto of Subsistence and Allowance for Small Beer for the Embodied Militia of Great Britain	145,000	0	0
Ditto of the Supplementary Militia ditto	416,000	0	0
For defraying the further Charge of Volunteer Corps	300,000	0	0

June 11, 1803.

Making Provision for defraying the Charge of the Cloathing of the Militia of Ireland for 1803.
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£.2,889,976 2 11

ORDNANCE.

December 9, 1802.

For Ordnance Land Service in Great Britain, for 1803	637,947	12	7
Ditto in Ireland	150,000	0	0

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For

June 7, 1803.

	£.	s.	d.
For defraying the further Charge of Ordnance, Land Service in Great Britain	282,065	10	11
For the Payment of Outstanding Claims on the late Board of Ordnance in Ireland	38,900	11	0
For defraying the further Charge of Ordnance in Ireland	20,000	0	0
	<hr/> £.1,128,913 14 6 <hr/>		

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

December 14, 1802.

To make Good the like Sum paid for Bounties on Corn, &c. to the 10th of October, 1802	524,573	19	7
For defraying the probable Amount of Bills drawn, or to be drawn, from New South Wales, in 1803	25,000	0	0
Ditto—the Expence of Confining and Maintaining Convicts at Home	40,847	9	0
For Relief of the Suffering Clergy and Laity of France, Toulonese, and Corsican Emigrants, &c.	191,584	17	6
To make good Money issued for making Inquiries respecting the State of the Collieries	219	7	0
To make good Money issued to the Secretary to the Commissioners for ascertaining Boundaries of New Forest	300	0	0
Ditto—to Mr. Baldwyn for his Services in Egypt	1,086	1	6
Ditto—to Mr. Palmer, Commissary at New South Wales, for Half Freight of a Vessel	324	10	0
Ditto—for making Indexes to the Journals of the House of Lords	1,659	18	0
Ditto—to the Chairman of the Committees of the House of Peers	2,701	9	0
Ditto—for Expences at the Parliament Office	360	18	2
Ditto—for preparing the Model of a Bridge, &c. by Direction of the Committee for the Improve- ment of the Port of London	169	7	6
Ditto—to pay Persons employed in preparing Ab- stracts of Population	500	0	0
Ditto—to discharge Expences in making Abstracts of the Cultivation of England and Wales	146	1	0
Ditto—in Surveying the Straits of Menai	814	8	6
Ditto—for additional Allowance to the Clerks in the Office for Auditing the Public Accounts	7,134	17	4

To

APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE. * 183

	£.	s.	d.
To make good Money issued to discharge Fees on passing Accounts through the Offices of the Treasury and Exchequer - - -	3,000	0	0
Ditto—to the Secretary to the American Commissioners, for Expences of the Commission - -	1,060	8	6
<i>December 16, 1802.</i>			
Ditto—pursuant to Address - - -	15,160	0	6
<i>February 8, 1803.</i>			
To be paid to the Board of First Fruits in Ireland, for Building and Re-building Churches, from the 5th of January, 1803, to the 5th of January, 1804 - - -	4,615	7	8½
For defraying the probable Expence of Civil Buildings in Ireland - - -	23,076	18	6
Ditto—the Expence of Printing and Binding 250 Copies of Acts of the Third Session of the United Parliament - - -	830	15	5
Ditto—of Proclamations and Advertisements in the Dublin Gazette, &c. - - -	6,485	19	11
Ditto—of Printing, Stationary, and other Disbursements for the Public Offices in Ireland - -	18,840	0	0
For defraying the probable Charges of Treasury Incidents - - -	1,846	3	1
Ditto—of apprehending Public Offenders in Ireland - - -	2,307	13	10½
Ditto—of Criminal Prosecutions in Ireland - -	18,461	10	9½
To be paid to the Trustees of the Linen and Hempen Manufacturers in Ireland - - -	19,938	9	3
For defraying the Expence of Pratique in the Port of Dublin - - -	966	18	7½
To be paid to the Accountant-General for preparing and stating the Public Accounts of Ireland - - -	313	16	11
Ditto—to the Deputy Accountant-General - - -	221	10	9
Ditto—to the Paymaster of Corn Bounties in Ireland - - -	738	9	3
Ditto—to the Examiner—ditto - - -	184	12	4
Ditto—to the Inspector-General of Imports and Exports of Ireland - - -	230	15	5
Ditto—to the First Clerk of the Office of ditto - - -	184	12	4
Ditto—to the Examiner of Excise in Ireland - -	184	12	4
Ditto—to the Assistant ditto - - -	138	9	3
Ditto—to the Clerk in the Office of the Auditor of the Exchequer - - -	184	12	4
To be applied in Working a Gold Mine in the County of Wicklow - - -	1,647	1	4
For defraying the Expence of Printing an Index to the Acts of the Two last Sessions of the Parliament of Ireland - - -	288	9	3

	£.	s.	d.
For defraying the Expence of Building Law Offices in Ireland -	3,692	6	2
For defraying the Charge of the Incorporated Society in Dublin, for promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland -	19,442	11	11
Ditto—of the Office of Secretary to the Commissioners of Charitable Donations -	369	4	7½
For defraying the Charge of the Society for discountenancing Vice, and promoting the Knowledge and Practice of the Christian Religion -	623	1	6½
Ditto—of the Female Orphan House, near Dublin, for deserted Female Children -	445	5	1½
For defraying the Charge of fitting up and supporting a Penitentiary in Dublin, for young Criminals -	2,030	15	4½
Ditto—of the Foundling Hospital in Dublin -	16,153	16	11
Ditto—of the Hibernian Marine Society -	1,886	10	6½
Ditto—of the Hibernian School for Soldiers' Children -	4,153	16	11
Ditto—of supporting the Westmorland Lock Hospital in Dublin -	5,903	1	6½
Ditto—of the Fever Hospital in Dublin -	475	16	3½
Ditto—of the House of Industry in Dublin -	17,321	15	6
Ditto—of the Roman Catholic Seminary at Maynooth -	7,384	12	4
To be paid to the Commissioners for making wide and convenient Streets in Dublin -	4,153	16	11
Ditto—to the Corporation for Paving, &c. Dublin -	9,230	15	5
Ditto—to the Dublin Society for promoting Husbandry, and other useful Arts -	5,076	18	6
To be applied towards completing additional Buildings at the Repository of the Dublin Society, and Botanic Gardens -	4,153	16	11
For defraying the Expences of the Farming Society of Ireland -	1,846	3	1

March 7, 1803.

For paying off Treasury Bills that will become due the 25th of March, 1803 -	356,538	9	3
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March 24, 1803.

For Expences of the Commission for the Reduction of the National Debt -	1,910	10	0
To Officers of the Exchequer for extra Trouble -	500	0	0
For Discount on Loan for 1802 -	22,564	13	6
To the Bank for receiving Contributions to ditto -	22,538	2	3
For Business relating to American Claims -	371	17	0

For

APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE. * 185

	£.	s.	d.
For incidental Expences attending the Lotteries for 1802 -	3,600	0	0
<i>April 7, 1803.</i>			
For compensation to Mr. Martin, junior, for his Losses as an American Loyalist -	12,626	14	0
For defraying the Charge of the Society for promoting the Knowledge and Practice of the Christian Religion in Ireland -	923	1	6
Ditto—of the Female Orphan House, near Dublin	903	6	5½
Ditto—of the Dublin Lying-in Hospital -	2,492	6	2
<i>June 16, 1803.</i>			
For defraying the Expence of Roads and Bridges in the Highlands of Scotland -	20,000	0	0
<i>June 18, 1803.</i>			
For defraying Expences incurred in Repairs of the Fleet Prison -	1,760	19	11½
Ditto—in printing the 56th Volume of the Journals of the House of Commons, and Indexes -	4,500	13	2½
Ditto—in Fitting-up a House in Abingdon-Street for depositing the Journals, and for the Residence of the Clerk of the Journals -	1,281	4	0¼
To complete the Purchase of certain Buildings for the Accommodation of the two Houses of Parliament -	14,369	4	0
For defraying the Expence of Works done at the Auditor's Office, &c. Somerset Place -	8,771	7	8½
Ditto—of Works done at the two Houses of Parliament, and at the House of the Speaker of the House of Commons, to the 31st of May, 1803	21,434	0	0
For Foreign and other Secret Services for 1803 -	150,000	0	0
For defraying Expences under the Commission pursuant to the Sixth and Seventh Articles of the American Treaty -	340,000	0	0
Ditto—the Charge of the Works and Repairs of the Military Roads in North Britain -	5,000	0	0
Ditto—the Extraordinary Expences incurred for Prosecutions, &c. relating to the Coin in 1802	2,661	17	8
Ditto—of the Superintendance of Aliens -	7,620	0	0
To make good Money issued for additional Allowances to Clerks in the Office for Auditing the Public Accounts -	5,100	18	3
Ditto—to pay a Bill of Exchange for the Repairs of Port Patrick -	558	17	5
Ditto—to Mr. Clementson, for Expences incurred by him in removing from his Official House -	177	6	0
To make good Money issued to Lieutenant Grant for certain Losses sustained by him -	98	13	3
Ditto—for sundry Articles provided for the Use of			

the Convicts embarked on Board the Glatton for New South Wales		-	291	8	3
Ditto—to defray the passage to New South Wales, of the Lieutenant Governor, and others		-	634	13	0
Ditto—to Re-pay the Expences incurred by Sir George Yonge, in consequence of Orders directing his immediate Return to England		-	1,060	7	6
Ditto—for defraying the Expences of Surveys, Reports, and Designs for Bridges over the Straits of Menai		-	657	11	4
Ditto—for Expences incurred in a Journey to Bangor, &c. respecting the Straits of Menai		-	113	13	9
Ditto—for publishing the Average Price of Sugar		-	429	14	0
Ditto—to discharge Fees on passing Public Accounts		-	3,000	0	0
Ditto—for Expences attending the Surveys of the intended Military Roads in Sutherland and Caithness		-	229	18	6
PLANTATIONS.	For Civil Establishment of Upper Canada in 1803		-	8,900	0 0
	Ditto—of Nova Scotia		-	7,665	0 0
	Ditto—of New Brunswick		-	4,650	0 0
	Ditto—of Prince Edward's Island		-	2,214	4 11 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Ditto—of Cape Breton		-	1,840	0 0
	Ditto—of Newfoundland		-	1,515	0 0
	Ditto—of the Bahama Islands		-	4,100	0 0
	Ditto—of the Bermudas, or Somers Islands		-	580	0 0
	Ditto—of the Island of Dominica		-	600	0 0
	Ditto—of New South Wales		-	9,124	17 6
To the East India Company, on Account of Expences incurred by them in the Public Service during the late War		-	1,000,000	0 0	0
Towards defraying the Civil contingent Expences for the Service of Ireland in 1803		-	50,000	0 0	0

June 30, 1803.

Towards defraying the Expence of making an Inland Navigation in Scotland	-	20,000	0 0	0
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July 2, 1803.

For repairing, maintaining, and supporting the British Forts and Settlements on the Coast of Africa	16,000	0 0	0
To make good the like Sum issued pursuant to Addresses	-	12,314	16 0
To make good the Deficiency of Last Year's Grants	171,431	11 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	

July 26, 1803.

To enable his Majesty to take such Measures as the Exigency of Affairs may require	-	2,000,000	0 0	0
To be applied for the Benefit of the House of Orange	60,000	0 0	0	For

APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE. * 187

For granting a yearly Sum of £.16,000 out of the consolidated Fund of Great Britain toward the Support of the House of Orange. £. s. d.

July 30, 1803.

To make good the like Sum issued to Mr. Martin for Expences incurred in an Enquiry into the Mendicity of the Metropolis	639	17	0
Ditto—to Mr. Cracklow, for Loss sustained by erecting temporary Buildings at the Marshalsea	534	15	0
Ditto—to Mr. Chinnery, for Articles supplied Convicts at Portsmouth and New South Wales	822	9	6
Ditto—to pay a Bill drawn by Mr. Broughton at Norfolk Island	471	5	0
For defraying the Expence of printing Journals, &c. of the House of Commons	15,000	0	0
For discharging Arrears of Expences of the Seven Police Offices for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1802	960	8	6
For defraying Expences incurred by Mr. Soane, in making Designs, &c. for Alterations proposed in the House of Lords in 1794 and 1795	1,000	0	0
For Re-paying the Deposit Money made on Forty Tickets of the Lottery of 1801, which were forfeited	204	0	0
To Reimburse Dr. Jenner the Amount of Fees paid by him on the Receipt of the Sum granted by Act of last Session	725	10	6
For the Board of Agriculture	3,000	0	0
For the British Museum	3,000	0	0
For the Veterinary College	1,500	0	0

August 2, 1803.

To make Compensation to Mr. Dubois for his Losses as an American Loyalist	5,320	0	0
	£.5,440,441	13	9½

EXCHEQUER BILLS.

December 2, 1802.

For paying off Exchequer Bills made out per Act 41st George III.	2,781,532	15	2½
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December 14, 1802.

For paying off Exchequer Bills made out per Act of last Session for raising the Sum of £1,500,000	1,500,000	0	0
		For	

£. s. d.

March 24, 1803.

For paying Interest on Exchequer Bills made out
per Acts 39th and 40, and 41st and 42d George
III. -

868,923 8 0½

July 2, 1801.

For paying off Exchequer Bills made out by Act of
last Session -

- 5,000,000 0 0

 £.10,150,456 3 3

WAYS AND MEANS FOR RAISING THE SUPPLY.

GRANTS.

December 6, 1802.

For continuing the Duties on Malt, Mum, Cyder,
and Perry -

750,000 0 0

For raising Four Shillings in the Pound upon Pen-
sions, Offices, and personal Estates -

For continuing certain Duties on Sugar, Malt,
Tobacco, and Snuff -

For raising £.5,000,000 by Loans or Exchequer
Bills -

2,000,000 0 0

5,000,000 0 0

December 13, 1802.

For applying £.4,000,000 out of the Monies that
shall arise of the Surplus of the Consolidated Fund

4,000,000 0 0

March 28, 1803.

£. s. d.

For raising £4,000,000 by Loans on Exchequer
Bills -

- 4,000,000 0 0

June 2, 1803.

That the Charge of the Pay and Clothing of the
Militia of Great Britain be defrayed out of the
Land Tax.

June 14, 1803.

For raising the Sum of £.12,000,000 by Annu-
ties, whereof the Charges of £10,000,000 are
to be defrayed on the Part of Great Britain, and
of £.2,000,000 on the Part of Ireland

- 12,000,000 0 0

June 16, 1803.

That the Allowances to Adjutants, &c. of the Mi-

litia,

APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE.

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litia, disembodied in pursuance of Act 39th and 40th George III. be defrayed out of the Land Tax

That the Allowances to certain Subaltern Officers of the Militia in Time of Peace be defrayed out of the Land Tax.

That the Charge of the Pay and Clothing of the Militia of Ireland be defrayed out of the consolidated Fund of Ireland.

That the Allowances to certain Subaltern Officers of the Militia of Ireland be defrayed out of the consolidated Fund of Ireland.

June 27, 1803.

For raising £.1,052,333 6s. 8d. by three Lot-	
teries, whereof £701,555 11s. 1d. shall be for	
the Service of Great Britain, and £.350,777 15s.	
7d. for the Service of Ireland	- 1,052,333 6 8

July 2, 1803.

For raising £.5000,000 by Loans or Exchequer	
Bills	- 5,000,000 0 0
For applying £.612 16s. 3d. of the Monies re-	
served for payment of the Judges' Salary	- 612 16 3
For applying £.37,169 14s. 8d. of the Monies	
reserved for payment of Bounties on Hemp and	
Flax	- 37,169 14 8

July 5, 1803.

For raising £.923,076 18s. 6d. by Treasury Bills,	
for the Service of Ireland	- 923,076 18 6

July 26, 1803.

For raising £.1,500,000 by Loans on Exchequer	
Bills	- 1,500,000 0 0
For raising £.2,000,000 by Loans on Exchequer	
Bills, to be charged on the first Aids to be	
granted in the next Session of Parliament	- 2,000,000 0 0
For applying £2,500,000 out of the Surplus of the	
consolidated Fund	- 2,500,000 0 0

July 30, 1803.

For applying £.600,000 (Irish currency) of the	
Monies arising of the Surplus of the consolidated	
Fund of Ireland	- 600,000 0 0

Total Ways and Means	- £.41,363,192 16 1
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RECA.

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ANNUAL REGISTER, 1803.

RECAPITULATION.

	£.	s.	d.
Navy	10,211,378	13	1
Army	8,935,753	12	3
Militia, &c.	2,889,976	2	11
Ordnance	1,128,913	14	6
Miscellaneous Services	5,440,441	13	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
National Debt	200,000	0	0
Exchequer Bills	10,150,456	3	3
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Total of Supply	£.38,956,919	19	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Excess of Ways and Means for the Year	2,406,272	16	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
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	£.41,363,192	16	1
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STATE

STATE PAPERS.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses, on opening the first Session of the second Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 23d of November, 1802.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is highly gratifying to me to resort to your advice and assistance, after the opportunity which has been recently afforded, of collecting the sense of my People.—The internal prosperity of the country has realized my most sanguine hopes; we have experienced the bounty of Divine Providence in the produce of an abundant harvest. The state of the Manufactures, Commerce, and Revenues of my United Kingdom, is flourishing beyond example; and the Loyalty and Attachment which are manifested to my person and Government, afford the strongest indication of the just sense that is entertained of the numerous blessings enjoyed under the protection of our happy Constitution.

In my intercourse with Foreign Powers, I have been actuated by a sincere disposition for the main-

tenance of Peace. It is nevertheless impossible for me to lose sight of that established and wise system of policy, by which the interests of other States are connected with our own; and I cannot therefore be indifferent to any material change in their relative condition and strength. My conduct will be invariably regulated by a due consideration of the actual situation of Europe, and by a watchful solicitude for the permanent welfare of my People.--- You will, I am persuaded, agree with me in thinking, that it is incumbent upon us to adopt those means of security which are best calculated to afford the prospect of preserving to my Subjects the blessings of Peace.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you; and I rely on your zeal and liberality in providing for the various branches of the Public Service; which it is a great satisfaction to me to think, may be fully accomplished without any considerable addition to the burdens of my People.

My

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I contemplate with the utmost satisfaction the great and increasing Benefits produced by that important measure, which has united the interests and consolidated the resources of Great Britain and Ireland. The improvement and extension of these advantages, will be objects of your unremitting care and attention. The trade and commerce of my Subjects, so essential to the support of public credit, and of our maritime strength, will, I am persuaded, receive from you every possible encouragement; and you will readily lend your assistance in affording to mercantile transactions in every part of my United Kingdom, all the facility and accommodation that may be consistent with the public revenue.

To uphold the honour of the country, to encourage its industry, to improve its resources, and to maintain the true principles of the Constitution in Church and State, are the great and leading duties which you are called upon to discharge. In the performance of them, you may be assured of my uniform and cordial support; it being my earnest wish to cultivate a perfect harmony and confidence between me and my Parliament, and to promote to the utmost the welfare of my faithful subjects, whose interests and happiness I shall ever consider as inseparable from my own.

His Majesty's Message to Parliament, recommending to their Consideration, the Affairs of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

G. R.

HIS Majesty having taken into consideration the period which has elapsed since the adoption of those arrangements which Parliament, in its wisdom thought fit to establish, for discharging the incumbrances of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and having adverted to the progress made for carrying the same into effect, recommends to the consideration of his faithful parliament the present situation of his Royal Highness; and notwithstanding the reluctance and regret his Majesty feels at suggesting any additional burthens upon his people, he is induced to resort to the experience, liberality, and attachment towards his royal house, always manifested by his faithful Parliament, and to express his reliance on their taking such measures as are best calculated to maintain the dignity, and add to the comforts of so distinguished a branch of his Royal family.

His Majesty's Message announcing the Armaments in France and Holland, 9th of March, 1803.

G. R.

HIS Majesty thinks it necessary to acquaint the House of Commons, that as very considerable military preparations are carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, he has judged it expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions. Though the preparations to which his Majesty refers, are avowedly directed to Colonial service, yet as discussions of great importance are now subsisting

sisting between his Majesty and the French Government, the result of which, must be uncertain at present; his Majesty is induced to make this communication to his faithful Commons, in the full persuasion, that whilst they partake of his Majesty's earnest and unvarying solicitude for the continuance of Peace, he may rely with perfect confidence on their public spirit and liberality, to enable his Majesty to adopt such measures as circumstances may seem to require for supporting the honour of his crown, and the essential interests of his people.

His Majesty's Message to Parliament for calling out the Militia, the 10th of March, 1803.

G. R.

IN consequence of the formidable military preparations carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, pending the discussion of an important negotiation between His Majesty's government and that of France, the result of which cannot yet be known, his Majesty acquaints the House, that, actuated by the concern he always feels for the security and welfare of his subjects, he has thought it necessary to exercise the powers vested in him by act of parliament, for calling out, and embodying forthwith, the Militia of these kingdoms, or such part thereof as his Majesty shall think proper for the defence and safety of these kingdoms, not doubting but his parliament will approve the same.

His Majesty's Message to Parliament respecting an Annuity to be settled on Sir James Saumarez, the 24th of March, 1803.

G. R.

HIS Majesty having taken into consideration, the eminent services of Sir James Saumarez, Bart. K. B. and particularly the brilliant victory obtained by him, and the ships under his command, over a superior squadron of Spanish ships in the Streights of Gibraltar, on the memorable 12th of July, 1801, has thought it necessary to confer upon him an annuity of 1,200l. a year, during his natural life; and recommends the same to the consideration of this house.

His Majesty's Message to Parliament announcing the Rupture with France, the 16th of May, 1803.

G. R.

HIS Majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the House of Peers, that the discussions which he announced to them in his Message of the 8th of March last, as then subsisting between his Majesty and the French government, have been terminated; that the conduct of the French government has obliged his Majesty to recall his Ambassador from Paris, and that the Ambassador from the French Republic has left London.

His Majesty has given directions for laying before the House of Peers, with as little delay as possible, copies of such papers as will afford the fullest information

to his parliament at this important conjuncture.

It is a consolation to his Majesty to reflect, that no endeavours have been wanting on his part to preserve to his subjects the blessings of peace; but under the circumstances which have occurred to disappoint his just expectations, his Majesty relies with confidence on the zeal and public spirit of his faithful commons, and on the exertions of his brave and loyal subjects, to support him in his determination to employ the power and resources of the nation, in opposing the spirit of ambition and encroachment, which at present actuates the councils of France, in upholding the dignity of his crown, and in asserting and maintaining the rights and interests of his people.

measures having been recently taken by them in direct violation of the independence of the Batavian Republic, his Majesty judged it expedient to direct his minister to leave the Hague; and he has since given orders, that letters of marque and general reprisals, should be issued against the Batavian Republic and its subjects.

His Majesty has at all times manifested the deepest and most lively interest for the prosperity and independence of the United Provinces: he has recourse to these proceedings with the most sincere regret, but the conduct of the French Government has left him no alternative; and in adopting these measures, he is actuated by a sense of what is due to his own dignity, and to the security and essential interests of his dominions.

His Majesty's Message to Parliament announcing Hostilities against Holland, the 17th of June, 1803.

G. R.

HIS Majesty thinks it right to inform the House of Lords, that from an anxious desire to prevent the calamities of war being extended to the Batavian Republic, he communicated to that Government his disposition to respect their neutrality, provided that a similar disposition was manifested on the part of the French Government, and that the French forces were forthwith withdrawn from the territories of the Batavian republic. This proposition not having been acceded to by the government of France, and mea-

His Majesty's Message to Parliament respecting an Additional Force for Defence of the Country, the 18th of June, 1803.

G. R.

HIS Majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the House of Lords, that for the more effectual defence of the United Kingdom against the avowed designs of the enemy, and for the purpose of providing such means, as may be best calculated for a vigorous prosecution of the war, his Majesty deems it important that a large additional force should be forthwith raised and assembled.

His Majesty recommends this subject to the consideration of their Lordships, and relies with con-

confidence on their zeal and public spirit, that they will adopt such measures as upon this occasion shall appear to them to be most effectual, and for carrying the same into execution, with the least possible delay.

His Majesty's Message to Parliament requiring a Supply, the 20th of July, 1803.

G. R.

HIS Majesty relying on the zealous support of his faithful Commons in the vigorous prosecution of the war, in which the country is engaged, recommends to the House to consider of making provision towards enabling his Majesty to defray the extraordinary expences incurred in the service of the present year, and to take such further measures, as the exigency of affairs may require.

His Majesty's Message to Parliament, on the Affairs of the Prince of Orange, the 20th of July, 1803.

G. R.

HIS Majesty having taken into consideration the present situation of the illustrious House of Orange, the bonds of alliance and affinity between him and that illustrious family, the important services it has rendered to this country on so many occasions, and the losses it sustained in the late war, recommends these circumstances to the attention of his faithful Commons,

trusting that they will enable him to make such pecuniary allowance to that illustrious family, as may be warranted by its present situation, and the justice of this country.

His Majesty's Message to Parliament, on the Insurrection in Ireland, the 28th of July, 1808.

G. R.

HIS Majesty feels the deepest regret in acquainting the House of Commons, that a treasonable and rebellious spirit of insurrection, has manifested itself in Ireland, which has been marked by circumstances of peculiar atrocity in the city of Dublin.

His Majesty relies with perfect confidence on the wisdom of his Parliament, that such measures shall be forthwith adopted as are best calculated to afford protection and security to his Majesty's loyal subjects in that part of the United Kingdom, and to restore and preserve general tranquillity.

Proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on the same Subject.

HARDWICKE,

Whereas divers persons, engaged in a treasonable and daring insurrection against his Majesty's Government, did, on the evening of yesterday, the 23d of July instant, suddenly assemble in the Liberties of Dublin, with fire-arms and pikes, and did there commit several outrages, and particularly in Thomas-street, in the parish of St.

* O 2

Catha-

Catharine, within the said Liberties, did assault the carriage of the Right Hon. Arthur Lord Viscount Kilwarden, Chief Justice of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, and did drag the said Arthur Lord Viscount Kilwarden, together with his nephew, the Rev. Richard Wolfe, Clerk, from his said carriage, and did there basely and inhumanly murder the said Arthur Lord Viscount Kilwarden and Richard Wolfe, by stabbing them respectively with pikes in various parts of their bodies, of which wounds they both soon after died.

Now we, the Lord Lieutenant and Council, in order to bring such enormous offenders to condign punishment, do, by this our Proclamation, publish and declare, that if any person or persons shall within six calendar months from the date hereof, discover any of the person or persons who committed the said inhuman murders on the said Arthur Viscount Kilwarden and the said Rev. Richard Wolfe, or either of them, or who aided and assisted therein, or who advised, encouraged, instigated, moved, stimulated, or incited the persons concerned therein to commit the same, such person or persons so discovering shall receive as a reward the sum of One Thousand Pounds sterling for each and every of the first three persons who shall be apprehended and convicted thereof.

And we do likewise publish and declare, that if any of the persons concerned in the murder aforesaid, save and except the persons who actually stabbed the said Lord Viscount Kilwarden and the Rev. Richard Wolfe, or either of

them, as aforesaid, shall discover any other of the persons concerned in the said murder, or either of them, so that such person or persons so discovered shall be convicted thereof, such person or persons so discovering shall, over and above the said reward, receive his Majesty's most gracious pardon for the said offences.

And whereas it has appeared to us, that the daring and rebellious outrages aforesaid were committed in prosecution of a rebellious Conspiracy against his Majesty's Government, and that divers other enormities were at the same time committed in Thomas-street aforesaid, and in the neighbourhood thereof, in prosecution of the same treasonable purpose, and that divers of the Persons engaged therein did come to Dublin with intent to commit such outrages and enormities, in order to induce and persuade his Majesty's peaceable and loyal Subjects in the City of Dublin and its neighbourhood, by the terror thereof, and by apprehensions for their own personal safety, to join in the treasonable Conspiracy aforesaid.

Now we the Lord Lieutenant and Council do hereby strictly enjoin and command all his Majesty's subjects in their several stations, and according to their several duties, to use their utmost endeavours to suppress all such rebellious insurrections and treasonable practices, and to apprehend and bring the persons engaged therein to the punishment due to their crimes; and more especially we do strictly enjoin and command the Lord Mayor of the City of Dublin, and all Justices of the Peace of the said City of Dublin, and

and of the County of Dublin, and all Sheriffs and other Magistrates and officers within their several jurisdictions, and all other his Majesty's loving subjects, to do all acts in their power to such purposes.

And we do hereby further require and command all Officers commanding his Majesty's forces, to employ the troops under their command in the most speedy and effectual manner, for the suppression of all Rebellious Insurrections and Treasonable Practices, whenever the same may appear, and particularly to disarm all Rebels, and recover all arms forcibly and traitorously taken from his Majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects, and take up and seize all arms and ammunition which may be found in the custody of any person or persons not duly authorized by law to have and keep the same.

Given at the Council Chamber,
in Dublin, the 24th day of
July, 1803.

Signed, Redefdale, C. Chas. Dublin, W. Tuam, Drogheda.
Ely, Arran, Annesley,
Tyrawley, Her, Langrishe, Denis Drowne,
Henry King, S. Hamilton, St. George Daly, D.
La Louche, James Fitzgerald, M. Fitzgerald, H.
E. Fox, M. Smith, Standish O Grady.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Address of the Speaker of the House of Commons to his Majesty at the Close of the Session, the 12th of August, 1803.

Most Gracious Sovereign,
Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the knights, citizens, and burgeses of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled, have at length completed the supplies granted to your Majesty for the service of the present year—a period memorable for the events which it has produced, and awful for those which may be yet to come.

In granting those supplies, your Majesty's faithful Commons have considered, that a crisis without example demanded unexampled efforts: and, by resolving to raise annually a large proportion of the supplies for the current year, so long as the war endures, they have given to all the world a solemn pledge of their inflexible determination to render public credit unaffailable.

They have also proceeded to revise the system of your Majesty's permanent revenue. By consolidating the duties in each of its principal branches, they have simplified its operations, and at the same time they have endeavoured to render its pressure less burthen-some, by regulating its mode of collection.

The commercial interests of this country to which our attention was called by your Majesty's gracious commands at the commencement of the present session, have been maturely considered: and measures have been taken for affording material accommodations and facilities to mercantile transactions, by rendering our principal ports free for all nations to import,

import, deposit, and re-export their merchandize, without toll or tax, unless voluntarily brought into our own market for home consumption.

Nor have we forgotten to bestow our earnest and serious thoughts upon the safety and efficacy of our church establishment in every part of the United Kingdom. Upon this subject, as comprehending all that consecrates our rational hopes, morals, and policy, we have deliberated with peculiar care and anxiety; and we presume to believe, that the important laws which have been passed in aid of our church establishment, will materially strengthen and gradually extend its influence through succeeding ages.

But, Sire, these were cares and objects belonging to times of peace. Wise, politic and desirable as they might be, nevertheless, called upon now by your Majesty's commands, we have without hesitation turned all our thoughts and efforts to meet the renewal of war, persuaded that your Majesty's paternal care preserved to us the the blessings of peace, so long as they could be retained with safety and honour, and confident that since they have been openly attacked, and the justice of our cause has been made manifest to the world, our appeal to arms will not be in vain.

This war we see and know to be a war of no ordinary character. We feel that our religion, laws, and liberties, and existence as a nation are put to the issue, and we have prepared for the contest accordingly. Besides the supplies of money we have augmented,

beyond all former example, every species of military force known in this country—we have met rebellion with prompt and necessary laws—and for the defence of a Sovereign endeared to us by long experience of his royal virtues, and commanding not our allegiance alone, but our hearts and affections, the whole nation has risen up in arms.—May then the God of our fathers go forth with us to battle, and bless our cause, and establish with victory that throne which we revere as the bulwark of our liberties; and so shall other nations at length learn, that a free, valiant, and united people is unconquerable, and able to set lasting bounds to an empire of violence, perfidy, and unrelenting ambition.

To the bills which I have now humbly to present to your Majesty, your Commons, with all humility, entreat your Majesty's royal assent.

The King's Most Gracious Speech, on proroguing the Parliament, the 12th of August, 1803.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I AM at length enabled, by the state of public business, to release you from your long and laborious attendance in Parliament.

In closing the session, I have the utmost satisfaction in expressing the strong sense which I entertain of that zealous and unwearied regard for the welfare and honour of your country, which has distinguished all your proceedings.

During

During the continuance of peace, your conduct manifested the just view which you had taken of our actual situation, and of the dangers against which you were peculiarly called upon to provide; and since the recurrence of hostilities, you have displayed an energy and promptitude which have never been surpassed, in the means which you have applied for the defence of the country, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war. Your proceedings, in consequence of the late treasonable and atrocious occurrences in Ireland, will, I trust, have the effect of preventing any further interruption of its internal tranquillity, and of convincing my loyal subjects in that part of the united kingdom, that they may confidently rely on that protection to which they are so justly entitled.

In the midst of the deliberations, which were occasioned by the immediate exigency of the times, you have not been unmindful of other objects, to which I had directed your attention; and I have great satisfaction in observing that you have completed a system for consolidating the duties, and regulating the collection and management of the several branches of the revenue; and that you have adopted measures which are calculated to afford material accommodation to the mercantile part of the community, and to encourage and extend the navigation and commerce of my dominions.

Gentlemen of the House of
Commons,

I return you my particular thanks for the liberality and rea-

diness with which you have granted the supplies for the public service.—It is painful to me to reflect, that the means of necessary exertion cannot be provided without a heavy pressure upon my faithful people; but I cannot sufficiently applaud that wisdom and fortitude which have led you to overlook considerations of temporary convenience, for the purpose of preventing a large accumulation of debt during the continuance of the war. You may be assured that there shall be as strict an attention to economy on my part as may be consistent with those preparations and exertions which will be best calculated to frustrate the designs and weaken the power of the enemy, by whose arrogant pretensions and restless ambition alone these sacrifices have been rendered unavoidable.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am fully persuaded that, during the cessation of your parliamentary duties, you will continue to be actuated by the same spirit, which has been uniformly displayed in your councils. It will be your duty to assist in carrying into effect those important measures, which your wisdom has matured for the defence and security of the realm: and particularly to give the most beneficial direction to that ardour and enthusiasm in the cause of their country, which animate all classes of my people. Justly sensible of the state of pre-eminence, in which it has pleased the Almighty to support us, for so many ages, amongst the nations of Europe, I rely with confidence, that under the continuance of his Divine protection, the exertions of
my



my brave and loyal subjects will prove to the enemy and to the world, that an attempt to subvert the independence, or impair the power of this united kingdom, will terminate in the disgrace, and ruin of those by whom it may be made, and that my people will find an ample reward for all their sacrifices, in an undisturbed enjoyment of that freedom and security, which by their patriotism and valour, they will have preserved, and ensured to themselves and their posterity."

Address of the First Consul of France to the Helvetic Deputies, published at Paris, the 28th of December, 1802.

THE more I learn of your country, so much the more am I convinced that it cannot, with advantage, have more than a single government. By the representative system, the democratic cantons would be subjected to the necessity of payments to which they are unaccustomed. The descendants of William Tell must know neither the restraint of chains, nor the payment of imposts. But, on the other hand, for Berne and the other great cantons, the attempts at pure democracy were absurd. Your different cantons must of necessity have diversities of constitutional arrangement. With three leading exceptions, you must be re-established nearly in the same political order in which you were before. The inequality of rights which subsisted among the old cantons; the relations between sovereign and subject states; with the

prerogatives of the Patrician families must be abolished for ever. Under these corrections of the constitution of the cantons; Switzerland may possess a federative government of effective vigour.

For the maintenance of an independent central government your country is, by the invincible parsimony of nature, too poor. Your government cannot be other than one which may be supported without a burthenome civil list. You cannot now act that part, among the great powers of Europe, to which you were formerly not unequal, when those which now constitute the great powers, were subdivided into a multitude of petty states. Your real force would be enfeebled, your present militia would be lost by the institution of a standing army. You might, indeed, become great by forming two departments of France. But from France you are separated by the eternal indestructible barriers of nature. Between two powers, between which there is a balance of force and influence, you are safe. Preserve your neutrality, your laws, your political tranquillity, your good morals; and your fortune cannot but be happy. Confederative governments enfeeble great states; but by concentrating, invigorates the energies of those which are small. Besides, whom would you place at the head of your central government? If several persons, would there not be a division of their opinions and interests? If one man, who is there among you, whom you would all be willing to invest with the necessary confidence and authority? I, invested as I am, by the confidence

dence of a great nation, with the power of its supreme magistracy, could not undertake to govern you. Should you chuse a native of Zurich, the inhabitants of Berne would be dissatisfied. By the choice of a catholic, offence would be given to the protestants. By the restoration of the governments of the cantons, you may become happier than by any merely central government. During the existence of one single government for all Switzerland, what have you known but incessant and unavailing changes? Last year you drove away a diet legitimately nominated by the people. Of your last constitution I cannot approve; a central government cannot be maintained among you, without the presence of French troops. Your present government knows this by experience. Its members spoke the voice of patriotism, in consenting that the French troops should be withdrawn; but their prudence in that consent was not justified by the events which followed. As a French citizen, I cannot but add, that Switzerland, though independent in regard to its own affairs, must not be so in its relations to France. No English emissaries are to be entertained in Switzerland. With England the Swiss must enter into no treaty. The governor of Berne has ever been in the habit of seeking the support of foreign powers, hostile to France. This example was followed by Reding, and the other leaders in the last insurrection. Such must never again be the policy of Switzerland. France will never permit the Leman territory, of which the inhabitants are by blood and language allied to

the French, to become again subject to the Swiss. The basis of your new structure must be taken from the revolution and the will of the people. In the whole, the people must be satisfied, and no taxes must be imposed.

The Federal Constitution of the SWISS CANTONS, as settled by the Mediation of the First Consul of France and the Deputies of the Cantons.

Dated Paris, Feb. 19, 1803.

General Dispositions.

Art. 1. The nineteen cantons of Switzerland, viz. Appenzell, Argovia, Basle, Berne, Fribourg, Glaris, Grisons, Lucerne, St. Gall, Schaffhausen, Schwitz, Soleure, Tessin, Thurgovia, Underwald, Uri, Vaud, Zug, and Zurich, are to be federally united, according to the principles of their respective constitutions. They reciprocally guarantee those constitutions, as well as their territories, liberty, and independence, either with a reference to foreign powers, or the usurpation of any particular canton, or the conduct of factions.

2. The contingencies, either in troops or money, which will be necessary for the due execution of those guarantees, are to be furnished by the respective cantons in the following proportions. [*Here follows the quota, &c. which it is proposed each canton shall furnish.*]

3. There shall exist no longer in Switzerland provincial subjects, nor any species of privilege, either local, hereditary, personal, or appertaining to families.

4. Every Swiss citizen shall have the liberty of removing his residence

residence from one canton to another, and freely to exercise his industry in any. It is permitted him to acquire political right in whatever canton he establishes himself. But he shall not enjoy, at the same time, political rights in more than one canton.

5. The ancient laws of commerce, external or internal, are abolished. The free exchange and circulation of commodities, cattle, merchandizes, &c. are guaranteed. All exclusive commercial privileges are abolished in the interior of Switzerland. The customs, &c. payable on the frontiers, shall go to the treasury of the adjoining canton; but the rates and proportions of these shall be submitted for the approbation of the diet.

6. Each canton shall reserve to itself the tolls destined for the repairs of the roads, keeping in order the banks of the rivers, bridges, &c.; but the rates of these shall, as in the foregoing instance, be left to the discretion of the diet.

7. The monies coined in Switzerland shall be of a uniform description, which is also to be determined by the diet.

8. No canton shall afford asylum to a criminal legally convicted, nor even to one legally accused.

9. The number of stipendiary troops to be supported in any one canton shall not exceed two hundred.

10. All partial alliances of one canton with another, or with any foreign power, is interdicted.

11. The government, or the legislative body of any canton, which shall violate a decree of the diet, is liable to be cited as rebellious, before a tribunal com-

posed of the presidents of the criminal tribunals of all the other cantons.

12. The cantons shall possess all those powers which are not expressly delegated to the federal authority.

Of the Directorial Canton.

13. The diet is to assemble by rotation, and at annual periods, at Fribourg, Berne, Soleure, Bâle, Zurich, and Lucerne.

14. The cantons, of which the above cities are the chief places, shall, in succession, become the directorial canton: the year for those purposes commences on the first of January.

15. The directorial canton shall provide suitable residence, and a guard of honour for the deputies; it also supplies the expences of the session.

16. The avoyer or burgomaster of the directorial canton, shall unite to those titles that of landamman of Switzerland. He shall have custody of the seal of the Helvetic republic. He cannot absent himself from the city. The supreme council of his canton shall accord to him an appropriate establishment, and shall defray the extraordinary expence of his official functions.

17. The foreign ministers are to present to the landamman their letters of credence, or of recall; and must apply to him on all matters of negotiation. He has also in charge the other diplomatic concerns.

18. At the opening of the diet, he is to communicate to them the necessary information respecting the domestic and foreign concerns of the republic.

19. No

19. No canton shall be allowed to call out or put in motion more than five hundred militia, until it shall have apprised the landamman of Switzerland of such an intention.

20. In case of a revolt in the interior of any canton, or on any other pressing occasion, the troops of one canton may march into another canton; but this shall take place only on the requisition of the supreme or petty council of the canton which wants such assistance; and after taking the advice of the petty council of the directorial canton, the diet, however, is to be convoked after the cessation of hostilities, or if the danger continues.

21. If, during the vacations of the diet, any disagreement should arise between any two or more cantons, they are to address themselves to the landamman of Switzerland, who, according to circumstances, shall appoint conciliatory arbiters, or refer the case to the consideration of the diet on its next sitting.

22. He is to make known to the cantons, every instance in which he deems their conduct likely to interrupt the tranquillity of Switzerland, and every thing which takes place of an irregular nature, and militating against either the federal act, or their particular constitution. He may, in some cases, convoke the supreme council, or that of the *Landsgemeindes*, in those places where the supreme authority is immediately exercised by the people.

23. The landamman of Switzerland sends, in cases of need, inspectors for the purpose of examining the state of the roads, rivers,

&c. Where necessity requires it, he can direct the immediate execution of public works, and make the necessary arrangements with respect to the expences thereof, &c.

24. His signature attaches a national credit and character to those acts to which it is affixed.

Of the Diet.

25. Each canton sends a deputy to the diet, who may be accompanied by one or two substitutes, who shall be eligible to act as such in case of the absence or indisposition of the principal.

26. The deputies to the diet are to have instructions and limited powers; they cannot vote contrary to their instructions.

27. The landamman of Switzerland is, *ex officio*, deputy of the directorial canton.

28. The nineteen deputies, who compose the diet, shall have twenty-five votes in the deliberations, in manner as follows:—the deputies of those cantons, of which the population is more than 100,000 inhabitants, viz. those of Berne, Zurich, Vaud, St. Gall, Argovie, and the Grisons, shall have each two votes. The deputies of those cantons, of which the population is less than 100,000 souls, namely, those of Tessin, Lucerne, Thurgovie, Fribourg, Appenzell, Soleure, Basle, Schwitz, Glaris, Schaffhausen, Underwald, Zug, and Uri, shall have but one vote each.

29. The diet, at which the landamman of Switzerland presides, is to assemble the first Monday in June; its session shall not exceed the term of one month.

30. There shall be extraordinary

nary diets on the following occasions: 1. On the demand of a neighbouring power, or of one of the cantons, supported by the supreme council of the directorial canton, which shall be assembled on such occasion, if not sitting at the time. 2dly. On the determination of the supreme council, or of the lands-gemeindes of five cantons, who can, on such an occasion, demand the proceeding, though the directorial canton may not concur in it. 3dly. When they shall be convoked by the landamman of Switzerland.

31. The declaration of war, and the treaties of peace or of alliance, emanate from the diet; but the concurrence of three-fourths of the cantons, on such occasions, is necessary.

32. It shall alone have the power of concluding treaties of commerce, &c. for the foreign service. It authorizes the cantons in case it shall deem expedient, to treat particularly in other concerns with a foreign power.

33. The diet has the direction of the contingent of the troops to be furnished by each canton, according to Art. 2. It appoints the commanding officer, and in short, adopts all the measures necessary for the security of Switzerland, and for the execution of the other dispositions of the first article: this power also comprizes internal concerns.

34. It nominates and dispatches ambassadors extraordinary.

35. It decides finally upon all matters in dispute between the cantons. For this purpose it forms itself into a *syndicat*, but in such case each deputy has but one voice

—neither are previous instructions necessary on this occasion.

36. The verbal process of the diet is to be entered into two registers, of which one remains with the directorial canton, and the other with the state seal, which, at the end of December, is to be removed to the chief place in the directorial canton.

37. A chancellor, and a greffier, appointed by the diet for two years, and paid by the directorial canton (at the rate the diet shall think proper) shall always accompany the state seal and the register.

38. The constitution of each canton, engrossed on parchment, and sealed with the seal of the canton, shall be deposited in the archives of the diet.

39. The present federal act, as well as those of the particular constitutions of the nineteen cantons, shall abrogate and annul all anterior dispositions whatever that may be contrary to it; and no law relative to the internal affairs of the cantons, or to the relations between them, can be found on the ancient political state of Switzerland.

The repose of Switzerland, the success of the new institutions now forming, require that the necessary operations for carrying them into effect, and to transmit to the new magistrates, the care of the public happiness and welfare, be secured from the influence of the passions, and executed with moderation, impartiality, and wisdom.

We cannot hope for a prosperous issue unless the commissioners, named by the act of mediation, be animated by the spirit which dictated it.

By these considerations, we in
our

our said quality, and with the reservations before expressed, do constitute as follows :

1. For the year 1803, Fribourg to be the directorial canton.

2. The citizen Louis d'Affry to be landamman of Switzerland for the said year, and invest him with the extraordinary powers until the assembling of the diet.

3. The original act of mediation shall be transmitted to the landamman, in order to be deposited in the archives of the directorial canton.

4. In each canton a commission of seven members, and of which one shall be appointed by us, and six chosen by the ten deputies selected to confer with us, is charged to put into activity the constitution, and to administer it provisionally.

5. These commissions are composed as follows : [*Then follow the names of persons appointed to fill the commissions of the different cantons.*]

6. On the 10th of March next, the central government shall dissolve itself, after having transmitted its papers and archives to the landamman of Switzerland.

7. Each commission shall assemble on the 10th of March, at the chief place of the canton, and notify its assembling immediately to the prefect.

8. Within twenty-four hours after that notification, the prefect shall transmit to the commission the papers of administration.

9. In those cases which may require instructions, or special authorities, the commissions shall address themselves to the landamman of Switzerland.

10. On the 15th of April the commission shall be put into a state

of activity, in order that on the 1st of June each canton may elect its deputies to the diet, and prepare their instructions, and on the first Monday in July, in the present year, the diet shall assemble.

11. The affairs pending before the supreme tribunal, shall be carried to the tribunal of appeal of the canton in which the parties reside. The supreme tribunal shall cease all its functions on the 10th of March.

12. The Helvetic troops, at present in the pay of Switzerland, who shall not be employed by the 1st of May by the cantons, shall be taken into the service of France.

13. No prosecution shall be carried on for crimes relating to the revolution, committed, or pretended to be committed, either by individuals, or in the exercise of any public function.

The dissolution of the central government, and the reinstatement of the sovereignty in the cantons, requires that there should be a provision made for the discharge of the Helvetic debt, and of the disposal of the property declared national. We, in our said quality, and with the reserve before expressed, appoint as follows :

Art. 1. The property heretofore belonging to the convents shall be restored to them, not only the property situated in the same canton, but also in any other.

2. The administration of national property, other than that heretofore belonging to Berne, in the cantons of Vaud and Argovia, is provisionally transmitted to the cantons to which it belonged. The documents respecting the claims of Berne, shall be provisionally transmitted to those commissioners

missioners appointed by the cantons of Berne, Vaud, and Argovia.

3. In each canton burdened with debts anterior to the revolution, there shall be assigned funds for their funding or discharge, out of what remains of the property heretofore belonging to the canton.

4. There shall be re-constituted for each city a revenue proportioned to its municipal expences.

5. The national debt shall be liquidated, to which purpose all claim shall be appropriated. If the debt exceeds the amount of the credit, in a proportion according to what remains of their ci-devant immoveable property, after the discharge of the cantonal debts anterior to the revolution, and the re-composition of the patrimony of the cities.

6. The moveable and immoveable property which shall remain after the formation of the communal funds, the discharge of the cantonal and national debts, shall return to the possession of those cantons to which it had belonged. The property which shall remain in the cantons of Vaud and Argovia shall belong to them. What may remain of the claims of Berne, shall be equally distributed amongst the cantons of Berne, Vaud, and Argovia.

7. A commission composed of the members, namely, the citizens Stapfer, Minister of the Republic, Kuster, Ex-minister of the Finances, Raemy, Ci-devant Chancellor of Fribourg, and at present Member of the Administrative Chamber, Sutzer, of Winterthur, Helvetic Deputy, Laurent, Mayor of Lucerne, President of the Administrative Chamber, shall determine the extent of the wants of

the municipalities, and of the funds necessary for re-constituting their revenues, shall liquidate the debts of the canton, and the national debt, shall assign to each debt the funds necessary to operate its discharge, and shall determine the property which shall return into the possession of each canton.

8. It shall publish the result of its labours with respect to the debts on the 10th of May, and with respect to the revenues of the cities, and the patrimony of the cantons on the 10th of June: it shall send the result of each labour to the first landamman of Switzerland, and to each canton, for the purpose of being carried into execution.

9. The commission shall assemble at the chief place of the directorial canton, and shall remain there till the end of its labours. The present act, the result of long conferences between wise men and friends to virtue, appears to us to contain those dispositions which are most proper to ensure the peace and happiness of Switzerland. As soon as they shall be executed, the French troops shall be withdrawn.

We recognize Helvetia, constituted conformably to the present act, as an independent power.

We guarantee the federal constitution, and that of each canton, against the enemies of the tranquillity of Helvetia, whomsoever they may be, and we promise to continue those relations of beneficence, which for so many ages have united the two nations.—
Made and done at Paris, 19th February, 1803.

(Signed)

BONAPARTE,

The Secretary of State.

(Signed)

(Signed)

HUGUES B. MARET,
The Minister for Foreign Affairs.

(Signed)

C. M. TALLEYRAND,
The Minister for Foreign Affairs
of the Italian Republic.

(Signed)

J. MARESCALCHI.

The present act has been transmitted by the senators commissioners undersigned, to the ten Swiss deputies undersigned, at Paris, 19th February, 1803.

(Signed)

BARTHELEMY, LOUIS D'AFFRY,
ROEDERER, PIERRE GLUTZ,
FOUCHE, EMMAN. JAUCH,
DEMEUNIER. H. MONNOT.

(Signed)

REINHARD,
SPRECHER BERNYS,
P. A. STAPPER,
PAUL USTERY,
R. D. WATTERVILLE KE MONTBENAY.
Y. VON FLUE.

*Convention concluded between Prussia
and the Batavian Republic, in
November, 1802.*

BE it known, to all whom it may concern, That his Prussian Majesty being firmly resolved to observe, and scrupulously to fulfil, the stipulations agreed upon in favour of the Batavian republic, in the convention signed at Paris, the 23d of May, between his Prussian Majesty and the French republic, respecting the cession of the territorial property hereafter pointed out; and, being desirous

to proceed to the preliminary and complete execution of the first treaty, which is the basis of it, the two powers have agreed previously to regulate, by an arrangement, the mode and conditions of that cession; and, in that view, they have authorized, viz. his Majesty of Prussia, Mr. C. H. C. Count Haugwitz, his Minister of State, &c. &c. : and the Batavian Republic, Citizen C. G. Hultman, her Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Berlin, who, after having mutually exchanged their full powers, agreed to the following articles :

Art. 1. Agreeably to Art. 2. of the treaty of Paris, already referred to, his Majesty the King of Prussia renounces for himself and heirs, all claims, pretensions, and propriety, over Sinaar, Huiffen, and Malbourg, locked within the Batavian republic, and cedes, abandons, and gives them up for ever, in full sovereignty and property to the Batavian republic, to be possessed by her, and united with her territory.

2. The complete surrender of the ceded districts shall take place, if possible, within the term of three months after the dispositions relating to it, and upon the ground of which the undersigned will hereafter negotiate, shall be adjusted to the mutual satisfaction of the two contracting powers. By consequence, there shall be appointed without delay, and reciprocally by both parties, commissioners, who will repair to the spot, in order to take these objects into consideration, and to decide upon them in the manner agreed upon.

3. The two contracting powers will, like good neighbours, and agreeably

agreeably to the principles of perfect equity, come to an amicable understanding respecting every thing that concerns their respective interests, not only with regard to the commercial intercourse between their contiguous dominions, and the navigation of the Rhine, but also with respect to the construction and repairs of the hydraulic works, which are connected with the common safety of their adjoining territories.

4. The Batavian Republic takes upon it to discharge the debts of these districts; and more especially of those debts for which these districts are especially mortgaged; as likewise its quota of those debts which it is to sustain, as a part of the collective debts of the duchy of Cleves. In order, however, to obviate all the difficulties that might start up in the application of the first Article, it is expressly understood, that there shall not be charged upon the Batavian Republic but those debts only which arise out of those formal loans which have been contracted by the dominions of the duchy of Cleves, or the corporations and communal bodies of the ceded districts; and finally, those debts occasioned by the expences which have been incurred for their respective administration. The liquidation of those debts shall be settled by the commissaries of both parties, conformably to the legal and judicial proofs which shall be given in, and submitted to, the commissioners of the Batavian Republic.

5. All the deeds, titles, and acts, relative to the public and private property of the ceded districts shall be faithfully given up to the commissaries of the Bata-

vian Republic, and in the supposition that there might arise a collision of interests with the Prussian provinces, to which these districts formerly belonged, there shall be drawn up, at common expences, authentic copies, which shall likewise be deposited in the hands of the Batavian commissaries.

6. The present convention shall be ratified by the two parties; and the exchange of the ratifications shall take place within the term of four months, counting from this date, or sooner, if possible.

In faith of which we, the plenipotentiaries of his Majesty the King of Prussia, and of the Batavian Republic, have, in virtue of our full powers, signed the present convention, and affixed to it our respective seals.

Done at Berlin, the 14th November, in the year of our Lord 1802.

COUNT DE HAUGWITZ.
HULTMAN.

Convention between Austria, France, and Russia, signed at Paris, on the 26th of December, 1802.

HIS Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, having signified that he could not consider the 5th article of the treaty of Luneville, as far as it relates to his Royal Highness the Archduke Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Tuscany, as sufficiently fulfilled by the plan of indemnities agreed to by the Deputation of the Empire; and as the First Consul of the French Republic, on his part, has nothing more at heart than to contribute to the entire and perfect fulfilment

fulfilment of that treaty, it has been resolved, with the consent of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, to agree on certain modifications to be introduced into the plan accepted by the Deputation of the Empire, to render it conformable to the principles of the treaty of Luneville, and such as may receive the ratifications of the Emperor and the empire.

For this purpose, the high contracting powers have appointed their respective plenipotentiaries, namely, his Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the Sieur John Philip, Count Cobentzel; and the First Consul of the French Republic, Citizen Joseph Bonaparte; who, having exchanged their full powers, have agreed on the following articles:

Art. 1. To enlarge the indemnities stipulated in favour of his Highness the Duke of Modena, and his heirs, his Imperial Majesty cedes the district or province Ortenau, with all its dependencies, to be united to the Breisgau, and his Highness, and his heirs, shall possess these two provinces without any exception or limitation, according to the 4th article of the treaty of Luneville, which, with respect to the Duke, is to be understood as well of the Ortenau as of the Breisgau.

2. To indemnify his Imperial Majesty for the cession of the Ortenau, the two bishopricks, Trent and Brixen, shall be secularized, and his Majesty shall receive possession of the same, and all their property, rights, and revenues, only under the condition that he shall provide for the maintenance, for life, of the two Prince-bishops and the Chapters, as shall be agreed

on, and for the future dotation of the clergy, which, in these dioceses, shall be placed on the same footing as in the other provinces of the Austrian monarchy.

3. To complete the indemnities of his Royal Highness the Archduke, Grand Duke (of Tuscany,) the bishopric of Eichstadt shall be added to what has already been assigned to his Royal Highness by the general conclusum, or recess, of the 2d of Frimaire (November 23,) to be possessed by his Royal Highness, and his heirs, in full sovereignty and independence, with all the property, revenues, rights, and prerogatives, connected therewith, as possessed by the Prince-bishop himself at the time of the signing the treaty of Luneville; only with the exception of the districts of Sandsee, Wernfels, Spalt, Oberberg, Hornburg, and Warburg, with all the dependencies of the bishopric of Eichstadt, contained in the territories of Anspach and Bayreuth, which shall remain to his Electoral Palatine Highness of Bavaria, and shall be recompensed to his Royal Highness the Archduke, Grand Duke, by a suitable equivalent from the domains of his Electoral Highness of Bavaria in Bohemia, and in case these should not be sufficient, from other revenues of his Electoral Highness.

4. For the confirmation of the said stipulations, and the property, and other rights, which his Imperial Majesty, as sovereign of the Austrian hereditary states, and head of the empire, has agreed on and ceded, for the completion of the plan of indemnities, his Majesty engages to employ his influence that the general plan of indemnities,

demnities, as modified by the present convention, shall be ratified by the empire, and that it shall, without delay, receive the imperial ratification.

5. It is expressly understood, that after the exchange of the present act, the territories mentioned in the preceding articles shall be taken possession of, both in the civil manner, by the princes to whom they are allotted, or in their names; also that the city of Passau, and the suburbs of Instadt and Illstadt, shall be immediately evacuated by the troops of his Imperial Majesty, and given up to his Electoral Palatine Highness of Bavaria, but under condition that the fortifications of the city shall not be enlarged or strengthened, but only maintained in their present state; and that no new fortifications shall be erected in the suburbs of Instadt and Illstadt. Also in the territory of the bishopric of Eichstadt, no new fortifications shall be erected by his Royal Highness the Archduke Ferdinand, or his heirs.

6. The First Consul of the French Republic will unite with his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, to procure the electoral dignity for his Royal Highness the Archduke Ferdinand.

7. The high contracting parties guarantee reciprocally the fulfilment of every thing contained in the preceding articles, and the minister plenipotentiary of his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias shall be invited to accede to the present convention, for, and in the name of, his Imperial Majesty, as a contracting principal.

The present convention shall be ratified within twenty days from

the present time, or sooner, if possible.

Done at Paris, the 5th Nivose, of the year 11, (December 26, 1802.)

(Signed) PHIL. COBENTZEL,
JOSEPH BONAPARTE,
COUNT MARKOFF.

*Papers presented to both Houses of
Parliament, 18th May, 1803.*

No. I.

London, May 23, 1802.

My Lord,

THE 10th article of the Treaty of Amiens, which fixes the new organization of the Order of Malta, having prescribed various measures, to the execution of which it is necessary that the two principal contracting powers should concur, the First Consul has named General Vial as Minister Plenipotentiary to the Order and Island of Malta, for the purpose of concerting with the person whom his Britannic Majesty shall appoint for that purpose, respecting the execution of the arrangements agreed upon in the late treaty. General Vial will set out on his destination as soon as your Excellency shall have informed me of his Majesty's intentions, and of the choice he may make.

I have the honour to be, &c.
OTTO.

No. II.

Downing-Street, May 24, 1802.

Sir,

IN answer to your letter of yesterday,

yesterday, in which you communicate to me the nomination, by the First Consul, of General Vial to be Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem; I have the honour to inform you that the King has been pleased to appoint Sir Alexander Ball to be his Majesty's Minister to the Order. Sir Alexander Ball will shortly proceed to Malta, and will be instructed to concert with General Vial the necessary measures for carrying into effect the arrangements relative to that island, which are stipulated in the 10th article of the definitive treaty of peace.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HAWKESBURY.

M. Otto, &c. &c. &c.

No. III.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord St. Helens to Lord Hawkesbury, dated St. Petersburg, April 23, 1802.

I HOPE very soon to be enabled to re-dispatch your Lordship's last messenger, with the answer of this Government to the communications which I have made to them, in obedience to his Majesty's commands, respecting the 10th article of the Treaty of Amiens. In the mean time I must not conceal from your Lordship, that there is great reason to fear that his Imperial Majesty will decline taking part in the proposed joint guaranty of the possessions and new constitution of the Order of Malta.

No. IV.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord St. Helens to Lord Hawkesbury, dated St. Petersburg, May 7, 1802.

I HAVE reason to hope that the first impressions that had been produced here by certain parts of the arrangement relative to Malta have been removed; and that his Imperial Majesty may even be ultimately induced to guaranty the whole of that arrangement, provided that the steps which have been taken towards the election of a new Grand Master, according to the mode suggested by this Court, be considered as fulfilling what is required on that head by the latter part of the paragraph of the 10th article of the Treaty of Amiens; and, consequently, that no new election for that office is to take place in the manner pointed out by the former part of the same stipulation.

No. V.

Downing-Street, June 5, 1802.

Sir,

I INFORMED you in my dispatch, No. 10, that M. Otto had made an official communication to me, that General Vial was appointed, by the First Consul, Minister Plenipotentiary to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Sir Alexander Ball has been, in consequence, invested with the same character by his Majesty. He will proceed immediately to Malta,

* P 2

and

and he will receive instructions to concert, with General Vial, the best means of carrying into complete effect the stipulations contained in the 10th article of the definitive treaty. By the paragraph marked No. 1, in that article, it is stipulated:

“The Knights of the Order,
“whose Langues shall continue to
“subsist after the exchange of the
“ratifications of the present treaty,
“are invited to return to Malta
“as soon as that exchange shall
“have taken place: they shall
“there form a general chapter,
“and shall proceed to the election
“of a Grand Master, to be cho-
“sen from amongst the natives of
“those nations which preserve
“Langues, if no such election
“shall have been already made
“since the exchange of the rati-
“fications of the preliminary ar-
“ticles of peace.”

The object of this paragraph was, that in the event of an election having taken place subsequent to the exchange of the ratifications of the preliminary articles of peace, and antecedent to the conclusion of the definitive treaty, that election should be considered as valid; and though no mention is made in the article of the proclamation of the Emperor of Russia soon after his accession to the throne, by which the Knights of the Order were invited to assemble, and to proceed to the election of a Grand Master, the stipulation in question evidently referred to the contingency of an election taking place on the Continent in consequence of that proclamation.

You will inform the French Government, that his Majesty is ready to consider the election which

has lately taken place at St. Petersburg, under the auspices of the Emperor of Russia, to be valid, according to the stipulation in the 10th article.

His Majesty has no other object in the whole of this transaction, than that the 10th article of the treaty may be fairly executed; and that the arrangement may be carried into complete execution with as little difficulty as possible.

As the 13th paragraph in the 10th article stipulates that the Governments of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, should be invited to accede to the arrangements respecting Malta, it is desirable that the French Government should instruct, without delay, their Ambassadors or Ministers at Vienna, Petersburg, and Berlin, to make, conjointly with his Majesty's Ministers at those Courts, an official communication, desiring the accession of those powers to the arrangements relative to Malta in the definitive treaty; by which it is provided, that the independence of the island, and the other stipulations, shall be under the guarantee of those powers, in conjunction with his Majesty, the French Government, and the King of Spain.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

Anthony Merry, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

No. VI.

Extract of a Dispatch from Anthony Merry, Esq. to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, June 17, 1802.

I HAVE now the honour to transmit to your Lordship, inclosed,

closed, copy of an answer which reached me last night, (though dated eight days back,) from the French Minister, to the note verbale which I delivered to him, containing his Majesty's propositions respecting the execution of some points of the arrangements relative to Malta, contained in the 10th article of the definitive treaty of peace. You will find the entire acquiescence of this Government to those propositions, expressed in a very satisfactory manner.

(Inclosure referred to in No. VI.)

HIS Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary has the honour to transmit herewith to Citizen Talleyrand, Minister for the Foreign Affairs of the French Republic, the "note verbale" of the communication he has been ordered to make to him by his Government, who are desirous that the proposals it contains may be acceptable to the French Government; and they may be assured the British Government, in making these proposals, have no other object in view than to facilitate, in the easiest manner, the execution of the Treaty of Amiens, and to act, in this respect, in perfect harmony with the French Government.

Mr. Merry has the honour to renew, on this occasion, the assurances of his high consideration for M. Talleyrand.

(Signed) ANT. MERRY.

Paris, 8th June, 1802.

The Citizen Minister for Foreign Affairs will find inclosed a

list of suffrages, obtained from several priories of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, for the election of a Grand Master, which has been received from St. Petersburg by the British Government, with the notice, that these priories have agreed amongst themselves, that his Holiness the Pope shall select (pro hac vice) from amongst the candidates therein specified, the person who is to fill the post of Grand Master.

His Britannic Majesty, on his part, is willing to consider an election so made as valid, according to the stipulations of the 10th article of the Treaty of Amiens.

His Majesty, therefore, is ready to acknowledge, in quality of Grand Master, the person whom the Pope shall think proper to fix upon, from amongst the names contained in that list.

His Majesty has no other end in view in this, than to see the 10th article of the Treaty of Amiens duly fulfilled, and the arrangement it contains executed with as little difficulty as possible.

It is stipulated by the 13th paragraph of the same article, that the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian Governments, shall be solicited to accede to the said arrangement.

The British Government is of opinion, that it might be proper for that of France to send, without delay, instructions to their Ministers at Vienna, Petersburg, and Berlin, to make, conjointly with his Britannic Majesty's Ministers, a communication to those powers, in which they should be invited to accede to the arrangement respecting Malta, by which the independence of the island, and the other stipulations relative there-

to, are placed under the protection and guarantee of those powers, conjointly with their Britannic and Catholic Majesties, and the French Republic.

The undersigned, Minister for Foreign Affairs, has the honour to transmit to M. Merry, his Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary, his answer to the note verbale, which he addressed to him on the 8th Prairial. He doubts not that his Majesty's Ministers will see, in this answer, a new proof of the constant dispositions of the First Consul to come to an agreement with the English Government, for the securing and facilitating the execution of the respective clauses of the treaty which has re-established peace between the two States.

The undersigned has the honour to renew to M. Merry the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed)

CHA. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

Paris, 20th Prairial, Year 10.

[The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the French Republic has received the communication which has been made to him by his Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary, of the list of the candidates nominated by the votes of the different priories to the Grand Mastership of the Order of Malta; and he has submitted to the First Consul the proposal concerted between the priories of the Order, and approved by his Britannic Majesty, of submitting (pro hac vice) to his Holiness the choice among the proposed candidates.

The First Consul has no other

object in whatever relates to the Order of Malta, than to see the 10th article of the Treaty of Amiens duly executed, and to remove all the obstacles which might render that execution tardy or difficult. He moreover desires, equally with his Britannic Majesty, that France and England should act in concert, in order the better to secure the independence and the organization of the Order of Malta. He therefore consents that the choice of its Grand Master, from the candidates proposed by the votes of the priories, should, for this time, be submitted to his Holiness.

As to the 13th paragraph of the same article, respecting the accession of the powers, the First Consul thinks with his Britannic Majesty, that the powers should be invited to give their consent to the arrangements agreed upon; and the French Ministers at the courts of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, shall consequently receive orders to take, conjointly with his Britannic Majesty's Ministers, the necessary steps for obtaining the accession provided by the 10th article of the Treaty of Amiens.]

Paris, 10th Prairial, Year 10.

No. VII.

Paris, June 4, 1802.

My Lord,

I HAD occasion to see M. Talleyrand yesterday afternoon, for the purpose of introducing to him, by appointment, some English gentlemen, previously to their presentation to-day to the First Consul.

Having gone first alone into the Minister's

Minister's Cabinet, he said; that he had been directed by General Buonaparte, to represent to me several circumstances which stood very much in the way of that perfect reconciliation and good understanding between the two countries and their governments, which it was the First Consul's sincere wish to see re-established, in order that such obstacles might be removed before the arrival in London of the French Ambassador; because, although the circumstances in question had already produced a very disagreeable effect, whilst only M. Otto, as Minister, had to witness them, they would acquire a great addition of force if they should still exist when the Ambassador should be present; and since the First Consul had given orders for General Andreossy to proceed to his destination with as little delay as possible, he wished that I should take an early opportunity to give an account to your Lordship, of the observations which he was charged to make to me.

After a preface to this effect, M. Talleyrand proceeded to state to me, that the accounts which M. Otto had transmitted of the disgust and inconvenience which he could not but feel and experience, at meeting frequently at his Majesty's court, and at other places, the French Princes, and some French persons, still decorated with the insignia of French orders which no longer existed; and at seeing the countenance and support which continued to be given in England, to what he termed the *ci-devant* French bishops, as well as to other persons (he here mentioned Georges) inimical to the present Government of France, had affected

so strongly the First Consul, and were, in fact, so calculated to prevent that system of cordiality which he was anxious to see established, that it was incumbent upon him to express his wish, that his Majesty's Government might be disposed to remove out of the British dominions, all the French Princes and their adherents, together with the French bishops, and other French individuals, whose political principles and conduct must necessarily occasion great jealousy to the French Government. He continued to observe, that the protection and favour, which all the persons in question continued to meet with, in a country so close a neighbour to France, must alone be always considered as an encouragement to the disaffected here, even without those persons themselves being guilty of any acts tending to foment fresh disturbances in this country; but that the Government here possessed proofs of the abuse which they were now making of the protection which they enjoyed in England, and of the advantage they were taking of the vicinity of their situation to France, by being really guilty of such acts, since several printed papers had lately been intercepted, which it was known they had sent, and caused to be circulated in France, and which had for object to create an opposition to the Government. I cannot, my Lord, do better than refer you to what you will have read in the French official paper of the day before yesterday, under the article of Paris, for the exact text of M. Talleyrand's discourse upon this subject; which he concluded by saying, that he

thought the residence of Louis the XVIII. was now the proper place for that of the rest of the family, and that I might add this suggestion in my report to your Lordship.

I answered the French Minister, that without any reference to you, I could assure him, that the practices of the French residing in England, of which he complained, had not been encouraged, nor would be countenanced, by his Majesty's Government; which was as sincerely disposed to cultivate harmony, and a good understanding between the two countries, as he had represented the First Consul to be: but that I could by no means say how far they would be disposed to adopt the measures which he had intimated it to be General Buonaparte's wish that they should pursue, in order to remove so effectually, every thing which might not perhaps be considered equally by them, as giving just cause of offence, or jealousy, to France.

M. Talleyrand did not rejoin upon the matter; but asked me when I proposed writing. Upon my replying, I should lose no time; he said, that if I should write as to-day, he would avail himself of the opportunity to convey a letter to M. Otto.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) A. MERRY.

To the Right Honourable
Lord Hawkesbury, &c.
&c. &c.

No. VIII.

Downing-Street, June 10, 1802.

Sir,
YOUR dispatches of the 4th

instant were received on Monday night, and have been laid before the King.

The account given in that dispatch of the conversation which passed on the 3d instant, between you and M. Talleyrand, respecting the French Princes and their adherents, would have afforded here considerable surprise, if his Majesty's Government had not, in some degree, been prepared for it by information which had been previously received: from the manner, however, in which this subject has been mentioned to you, it is important that you should take a proper opportunity to explain, candidly and fairly, to the French Government, the line of conduct which his Majesty feels it to be his duty to pursue in this very delicate business. His Majesty would certainly consider it inconsistent with both the letter and spirit of the treaty of peace, between him and the French Republic, to encourage or countenance any projects that might be hostile to the present Government of France. He is sincerely desirous that the peace which has been concluded may be permanent, and may lead to the establishment of a system of good understanding and harmony between the two countries. With these sentiments, he is disposed to employ all the means in his power to guard against any circumstance which can have the effect of disturbing the tranquillity that has been so happily restored; and he certainly expects, that all foreigners who may reside within his dominions, should not only hold a conduct conformable to the laws of the country, but should abstain from all acts which may be hostile to the Government of any country with

with which his Majesty may be at peace. As long, however, as they conduct themselves according to these principles, his Majesty would feel it inconsistent with his dignity, with his honour, and with the common laws of hospitality, to deprive them of that protection which individuals resident in his dominions can only forfeit by their own misconduct. The greater part of the persons to whom allusion has been made in M. Talleyrand's conversation with you, are living in retirement, and his Majesty has no reason whatever to suppose, that since the conclusion of peace, they have availed themselves of their residence in this country, to promote any designs injurious to the Government of France.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

Anthony Merry, Esq.

&c. &c. &c.

No. IX.

Paris, June 17, 1802.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Lordship, that I have executed the instructions given me by your secret and confidential dispatch, (No. 14,) in consequence of the communication from M. Talleyrand, which I transmitted in my Number 23, respecting the residence of the French Princes, and other French persons, in his Majesty's dominions.

In delivering my answer on this business to the French Minister, I took care to express, in the strongest manner, the assurances which

your Lordship has authorized me to give of his Majesty's sincere desire that the peace which has happily been concluded should be permanent, and that it should lead to the establishment of a system of harmony and good understanding between the two countries; and that, as his Majesty's conduct would, in every respect, be guided by those sentiments, he of course would not tolerate, much less encourage, any proceedings on the part of persons within his dominions, which might be hostile to the present Government of France; which assurances might, I trusted, be sufficient to tranquillize and satisfy the First Consul, without recurring to the measures which had been intimated to me, and which could not but be considered as inconsistent with his Majesty's dignity and honour, as well as with the common laws of hospitality, which he could not but observe towards foreigners within his dominions, until they should have forfeited that protection by their misconduct.

M. Talleyrand expressed to me, in reply, that the First Consul had solicited no more than the British Government itself had, at the time, demanded of France, when the Pretender was in this country, and then had been practised between other Governments under similar circumstances: that he could not see any humiliation in the measure which he had intimated to me; that he could assure me it had not been suggested with any such idea; and that he could only repeat, that the adoption of it would be, in the highest degree, agreeable and satisfactory to the First Consul, and be considered by him

him as the most convincing proof of his Majesty's disposition to see a cordial good understanding established between the two countries; concluding his answer, with a request that I would report it to your Lordship.

I rejoined upon the subject, by observing to the French Minister, that even without adverting to the serious consideration of the King's dignity and honour, the feelings of the people of England were to be taken into account on the occasion; that he must be sensible the relative situation, hitherto, of the two countries, especially in regard to trade, afforded his Majesty's subjects no room to reap those advantages which were common to, and which were always expected from, a state of peace; and that it therefore appeared to me, that the First Consul would equally give a proof of his disposition to see harmony and a friendly intercourse re-established between the two nations, by not repeating his wish upon a matter which would operate, in the strongest manner, against such an approximation and reconciliation of sentiments, were it even only to come to the knowledge of his Majesty's subjects.

I am happy, my Lord, to say, that M. Talleyrand shewed no warmth, or any very marked eagerness, in his manner of replying to my communication; and that our conversation on this head terminated with the last remarks I made to him, when he changed it to another subject.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) ANTHONY MERRY,
Right Honourable Lord
Hawkesbury, &c. &c.
&c.

No. X.

Portman-Square, July 25, 1802.

My Lord,

I transmitted some time ago, to Mr. Hammond, a number of Peltier, containing the most gross calumnies against the French Government, and against the whole nation; and I observed, that I should probably receive an order to demand the punishment of such an abuse of the press. That order is actually arrived, and I cannot conceal from you, my Lord, that the reiterated insults of a small number of foreigners, assembled in London to conspire against the French Government, produce the most unfavourable effects on the good understanding between the two nations. Even though the first article of the Treaty of Amiens had not provided for the maintenance of that respect which two independent nations owe to each other; the general maxims of the law of nations would formally condemn so revolting an abuse of the liberty of the press. It cannot be believed, that the law can give more latitude to a libellist than to any other individual, who, without declaration of war, should permit himself to violate the duties of good neighbourhood. The offence in question is so much the more serious, as its object is evidently to disturb the harmony which subsists between the two Governments.

It is not to Peltier alone, but to the Editor of the "Courier François de Londres," to Cobbet, and to other writers who resemble them, that I have to direct the attention of his Majesty's Government. The perfidious and malevolent

violent publications of these men, are in open contradiction to the principles of peace; and if it could ever enter into the mind of the French Government to permit retaliation, writers would doubtless be found in France, willing to avenge their countrymen, by filling their pages with odious reflections on the most respectable persons, and on the dearest institutions of Great Britain.

The want of positive laws against these sorts of offences cannot palliate the violation of the law of nations, according to which peace should put a stop to all species of hostilities; and doubtless those which wound the honour and the reputation of a Government, and which tend to cause a revolt of the people, whose interests are confided to that Government, are the most apt to lessen the advantages of peace, and to keep up national resentments.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) OTTO.

To his Excellency Lord
Hawkesbury, Minister
and Secretary of State
for the Foreign De-
partment.

No. XI.

Downing-Street, July 28, 1802.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter on the subject of the last number of *Peltier*. It is impossible that his Majesty's Government could peruse the article in

question without the greatest displeasure, and without an anxious desire that the person who published it should suffer the punishment he so justly deserves. The calumnies, however, to which his Majesty's Government, and many of the best subjects in this country, are frequently exposed in the public prints, must necessarily convince all foreign Governments of the difficulties which exist in a constitution like that of Great Britain, in preventing the abuse which is often unavoidably attendant on the greatest of all political benefits; and though publications of this nature are, as they certainly ought to be, by the law of England, subject to punishment, it is often difficult to prove the guilt of an individual so satisfactorily as to obtain the judgment of a court of justice; and the inconvenience which arises from prosecution, unless there is a reasonable prospect of success, is frequently sufficient to deter both the Government and individuals from undertaking it. In the present case, I have thought it my duty to refer the article in question to his Majesty's Attorney General, for his opinion whether it is or is not a libel, according to the construction of the law of England, and whether it is such a libel as he would, under all the circumstances, recommend for prosecution. As soon as I receive his report, I shall have the honour of communicating it to you.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

M. Otto, &c. &c. &c.

NOTE.

No. XII.

NOTE.

THE undersigned minister plenipotentiary of the French Republic having submitted to his government the letter which his excellency Lord Hawkesbury, minister and principal secretary of state of his Britannic Majesty, did him the honour of writing under date of the 27th July, is directed to offer the following observations.

If the British government tolerates censures upon the acts of its administration, and the personal abuse of the most respectable men, it does not suffer even the slightest attempt against the public tranquillity, the fundamental laws of the empire, and the supreme authority which arises from them. Every nation is, moreover, at liberty to sacrifice any advantage whatever in its interior, in order to obtain another to which it attaches a higher value: but the government which does not repress the licentiousness of the press, when it may be injurious to the honour or the interests of foreign powers, would afford an opportunity for libellists to endanger the public tranquillity, or at least the good understanding that forms the basis of it, and whenever such serious injuries are continued in a regular and systematic manner, doubts must arise as to its own dispositions.

The particular laws and constitution of Great Britain are subordinate to the general principles of the law of nations, which supersede the laws of each individual state. If it be a right in En-

gland to allow the most extensive liberty to the press, it is a public right of polished nations, and the bounden duty of governments to prevent, repress, and punish, every attack which might by those means be made against the rights, the interests, and the honour, of foreign powers.

This general maxim of the law of nations has never been mistaken without paving the way for the greatest divisions, and has even furnished in England a plausible pretext to those who have written volumes to prove the necessity of the last war against France. Are these men now desirous of presenting to the Consular government a weapon which they have wielded with so much address? And can they flatter themselves that the authority which has signed the peace has not power to maintain it?

By the first article of the treaty of Amiens, the two powers agree to afford no protection, either directly or indirectly, to those who should cause prejudice to any of them.

But the greatest of all injuries doubtless is, that which tends to debase a foreign government, or to excite within its territory civil and religious commotions; and the most decided of all protections, is that which places under the safeguard of the laws, men who seek not only to disturb the political tranquillity of Europe, but even to dissolve the first bonds of society.

The undersigned minister must moreover observe, that this is not a question respecting some paragraphs, which, through the inadvertence

vertence of an editor, might have been accidentally inserted in a public print; but it is a question of a deep and continued system of defamation, directed not only against the Chief of the French republic, but against all the constituted authorities of the republic, against the whole nation, represented by these libellers in the most odious and degrading terms. It has even been remarked that many of these prints contain an appeal to the French people, against the government and fundamental laws of their country.

If these observations apply to the English writers, who, for these three months past, have deluged the public with the most perfidious and unbecoming publications, they are still more applicable to a class of foreign calumniators, who appear to avail themselves of the asylum offered them in England only for the purpose of the better gratifying their hatred against France, and undermining the foundations of peace.

It is not merely by insulting and seditious writings, evidently published with a view to circulation in France, but by other incendiary papers distributed through the maritime departments, in order to excite the evil-disposed or weak inhabitants to resist the execution of the *Concordate*, that these implacable enemies of France continue to exercise hostilities, and to provoke the just indignation of the French government and people. Not a doubt exists of these writings having been composed and circulated by *Georges*, and by the former bishops of France. These

men can no longer be considered but as rebels against both political and religious authority; and after their reiterated attempts to disturb the good understanding between the two governments, their residence in England militates openly against the spirit and letter of the treaty of peace.

The meetings likewise which have taken place in the island of Jersey, and the odious plots which are there framed, in spite of the representations which the undersigned minister has already taken care to make on this subject, also demand immediate measures to be taken by a Government, the neighbour and friend of France.

Other persons (attached, by recollections never to be effaced, and by regrets too long fostered, to an order of things which no longer exists in France) find themselves daily implicated by the plots of those who pretend to serve them. A sense of their own reputation will without doubt lead them to avoid a focus of intrigues, with which they ought not to have the least connection.

Peace happily re-established, the mutual desire of the two Governments to render it solid and lasting, and the general interests of humanity, require that all these causes of dissatisfaction should be done away, and that his Majesty's Ministry should, by frank and energetic measures, manifest their disapprobation of all the attempts made to produce new divisions.

The undersigned has in consequence received especial orders to solicit,

1st. That his Majesty's Government will adopt the most effectual measures to put a stop to the unbecoming and seditious publications with which the newspapers and other writings printed in England are filled.

2d. That the individuals mentioned in the undersigned Minister's letter of the 23d July last, shall be sent out of the island of Jersey.

3d. That the former Bishops of Arras and St. Pol de Leon, and all those, who like them, under the pretext of religion, seek to raise disturbances in the interior of France, shall likewise be sent away.

4th. That *Georges* and his adherents shall be transported to Canada, according to the intention which the Undersigned has been directed to transmit to his Government at the request of Lord Hawkesbury.

5th. That, in order to deprive the evil-disposed of every pretext for disturbing the good understanding between the two Governments, it shall be recommended to the Princes of the House of Bourbon at present in Great Britain, to repair to Warsaw, the residence of the head of their family.

6th. That such of the French emigrants as still think proper to wear the orders and decorations belonging to the ancient government of France, shall be required to quit the territory of the British empire.

These demands are founded upon the Treaty of Amiens, and upon the verbal assurances that the undersigned Minister has

had the satisfaction to receive in the course of the negotiations, with regard to a mutual agreement for maintaining tranquillity and good order in the two countries. If any one in particular of these demands does not proceed so immediately from the treaty concluded, it would be easy to justify it by striking examples, and to prove how very attentive the British Government has been in times of internal fermentation, to remove from the territory of a neighbouring power those who might endanger the public tranquillity.

Whatever may be the protection which the English laws afford to native writers, and to other subjects of his Majesty, the French Government knows that foreigners do not here enjoy the same protection; and that the law, known by the title of the *Alien Act*, gives the Ministry of his Britannic Majesty an authority which it has often exercised against foreigners whose residence was prejudicial to the interests of Great Britain. The first clause of this act states expressly that any Order in Council which requires a foreigner to quit the kingdom shall be executed under pain of imprisonment and transportation. There exists, therefore, in the Ministry a legal and sufficient power to restrain foreigners, without having recourse to the courts of law; and the French Government, which offers on this point a perfect reciprocity, thinks it gives a new proof of its pacific intentions, by demanding that those persons may be sent away, whose machinations uniformly tend to sow discord between

tween the two people. It owes to itself and to the nation at large, (which has made it the depository of its power and of its honour), not to appear insensible to insults and to plots during profound peace, which the irritation of open war could not justify; and it is too well acquainted with the conciliatory dispositions of the British Ministry, not to rely upon its efforts to disperse a faction equally the enemy of France and England.

The undersigned Minister seizes this opportunity to present to his Excellency Lord Hawkesbury, the homage of his respectful consideration.

(Signed) OTTO.

London, 17th August, 1802.

No. XIII.

Downing-street, August 28th, 1802.

Sir,

I Send you the copy of a letter which I received some days ago from M. Otto, together with a copy of an official note inclosed in it. I have informed M. Otto, that you would receive instructions to enter into explanations with the French Government on the several points to which it refers. It is impossible not to feel considerable surprize at the circumstances under which it has been thought proper to present such a note; at the stile in which it is drawn up, and at the complaints contained in it. Whatever may be the general dispositions of the French Government towards this country, supposing them to be as hostile as they have been at any former

period, or even more so, it would appear so contrary to their interest to provoke a war with us at the present moment, that I am inclined to ascribe their conduct, in the whole of this business, more to temper, than to any other motive; but whether their conduct is to be referred to temper or to policy, the effects of it may still be the same; it is therefore become of the utmost importance that a frank explanation should be made of the line of conduct which his Majesty has determined to adopt on reasons of the nature of those to which this note refers, and of the motives on which it is founded; and it is to be hoped that such an explanation will have the effect of putting an end to a course of proceeding which can lead only to perpetual irritation between the two Governments, and which might ultimately tend to the most serious consequences.

The first consideration that naturally arises on this transaction, is that of the peculiar circumstances under which the note of M. Otto has been presented. It cannot be denied that some very improper paragraphs have lately appeared in some of the English newspapers against the Government of France; it cannot be denied likewise, that publications of a still more improper and indecent nature have made their appearance in this country, with the names of foreigners affixed to them. Under these circumstances, the French Government would have been warranted in expecting every redress that the laws of this country could afford them; but as, instead of seeking it in the ordinary

nary course, they have thought fit to resort to recrimination themselves, or at least to authorize it in others, they could have no right to complain if their subsequent appeal to his Majesty had failed to produce the effect that otherwise would have attended it.

Whatever may have been the nature of the prior injury, they have in fact taken the law into their own hands: And what is this recrimination and retort? The paragraphs in the English newspapers, the publications to which I have above referred, have not appeared under any authority of the British Government, and are disavowed and disapproved of by them; but the paragraph in the *Moniteur* has appeared in a paper avowedly official, for which the Government are therefore considered as responsible, as his Majesty's Government is responsible for the contents of the *London Gazette*. And this retort is not confined to the unauthorized English newspapers, or to the other publications of which complaint is now made, but is converted into, and made a pretence for a direct attack upon the Government of his Majesty. His Majesty feels it beneath his dignity to make any formal complaint on this occasion; but it has been impossible for me to proceed to the other parts of the subject, without pointing your attention to the conduct of the French Government in this respect, that you may observe upon it in the manner it deserves.

The propositions in M. Otto's official note, are six in number; but may in fact be divided under two heads: the first, that

which relates to the libels of all descriptions, which are alledged to be published against the French Government; the last, comprehending the five complaints which relate to the emigrants resident in this country. On the first, I am sure you must be aware that his Majesty cannot, and never will, in consequence of any representation or any menace from a foreign Power, make any concession which can be in the smallest degree dangerous to the liberty of the press, as secured by the constitution of this country. This liberty is justly dear to every British subject. The constitution admits of no previous restraints upon publications of any description; but there exist judicatures, wholly independent of the Executive Government, capable of taking cognizance of such publications as the law deems to be criminal, and which are bound to inflict the punishment the delinquents, may deserve; these judicatures may take cognizance not only of libels against the Government and the magistracy of this kingdom, but, as has been repeatedly experienced, of publications defamatory of those in whose hands the administration of foreign Governments is placed. That our Government neither has nor wants any other protection than what the laws of the country afford: and though they are willing and ready to give to every foreign Government all the protection against offences of this nature which the principle of their laws and constitution will admit, they never can consent to new-model their laws, or to change their constitution,

tion, to gratify the wishes of any foreign Power. If the present French Government are dissatisfied with our laws on the subject of libels, or entertain the opinion that the administration of justice in our courts is too tardy and lenient, they have it in their power to redress themselves by punishing the venders and distributors of such publications, within their own territories, in any manner that they may think proper, and thereby preventing the circulation of them. If they think their present laws are not sufficient for this purpose, they may enact new ones; or, if they think it expedient, they may exercise the right which they have of prohibiting the importation of any foreign newspapers, or periodical publications, into the territories of the French republic. His Majesty will not complain of such a measure, as it is not his intention to interfere in the manner in which the people or territories of France should be governed; but he expects on the other hand, that the French Government will not interfere in the manner in which the government of his dominions is conducted, or to call for a change in those laws with which his people are perfectly satisfied. With respect to the distinction which appears to be drawn in M. Otto's note, between the publications of British subjects and those of foreigners, and the power which his Majesty is supposed to have in consequence of the alien act, of sending foreigners out of his dominions, it is important to observe, that the provisions of that act were made for the purpose of preventing the residence of foreigners, whose numbers and prin-

ciples had a tendency to disturb the internal peace of his own dominions, and whom the safety of those dominions might require in many instances to be removed, even if their actual conduct had not exposed them to punishment by law. It does not follow that it would be a warrantable application of such a law to exert its powers in the cases of individuals such as those of whom complaint is now made, and particularly as they are liable to be prosecuted under the law of the land, in like manner, as others have been in similar cases, at the instance, and upon the complaint of foreign Governments.

The second general head, which includes the five last complaints, relates to the removal of some of the French emigrants resident in this country. His Majesty entertained hopes that the explanation furnished on this head in my dispatch, No. 14, would have proved satisfactory, and would have precluded the necessity of any farther discussion on this subject. The French Government have, upon several occasions, resorted on this part of the subject to precedent, and have particularly rested on the demand formerly made by this country, that the person then called the Pretender, should be sent from the French dominions. It is important that the differences between these two cases should be stated. When James the Second abdicated the Throne, and left this country, he retired with his adherents to France; and though in the war which immediately succeeded that event, the French Government adopted his cause as their own, no stipulation was made at the treaty of Ryswick, that he should be sent from

that country, nor was any subsequent demand ever made to the French Government to this effect; but he was suffered to remain at St. Germain, in the neighbourhood of Paris, surrounded by his family and friends, till the time of his death. It was not till after his demise, when Lewis the Fourteenth, in direct violation of the Treaty of Ryswick, had acknowledged his Son as King of Great Britain, that a different course of proceeding was adopted by the British Government; and in the Treaty of Peace signed at Utrecht, which put an end to the war which had been carried on, on account of the Spanish succession, an article was inserted to prevent the Pretender from residing in any part of the French Dominions. The demand which was subsequently made for the removal of the Pretender from a town which was situated in the centre of these dominions, was founded on this Article of the Treaty, which was in fact one of the conditions of the Peace; but both the Article in the Treaty and the demand were confined to the Pretender personally, and were not extended to any of his family, or to any of his adherents. After his removal, many of his adherents continued to reside in France; many persons resident in this country, who were attached to the cause of the Pretender, and had promoted the rebellion in his favour, and who were consequently attainted for High Treason, sought refuge in France, and were permitted to remain there till their death, without any application ever having been made by the British Government for their removal. The Duke of Berwick, the natural Son of James the Second, who from his principles and talents was the

most dangerous man to the interests of this country and the protestant Succession, continued to be a general in the French armies, and though descended from the King, an Englishman and an Emigrant, it was not required that he should be sent out of France. In the present case, there is no Article in the Treaty of Peace, by which his Majesty is bound to send from this country any Frenchman whatever, except on account of the crimes specified in the Twentieth Article of the Definitive Treaty, and in consequence of the proofs therein required having been adduced. In the present case, it cannot be pretended that his Majesty has ever given the slightest countenance to the cause of the Royalists in France against the present Government, since the period when He acknowledged that Government; and if there were not these important differences in the two cases, they would be totally dissimilar in the only remaining point; for in the case of the House of Stuart, as has been already stated, notwithstanding the violence of the times, and the danger to which the protestant succession was really exposed, this strong act of authority was confined to the person of the Pretender; and the individual who must be recognized in that character by the French Government, and whose case can alone bear any similarity to the former even in this respect, is not, and never has been within his Majesty's dominions: Other precedents might be adduced on this subject; but it is not necessary to state them, as the foregoing are sufficient.

With respect to the complaints in detail under the second head.— Upon the first, you may inform the French

French Government, that the emigrants in Jersey, many of whom had remained there solely on account of the cheapness of subsistence, had actually removed, or were removing previous to the representation concerning them in Mr. Otto's Note, and that before your explanation with Mr. Talleyrand can take place, there will probably not be an emigrant in the island.

To the second complaint which relates to the Bishops of Arras and Saint Paul de Leon, and others, his Majesty can only reply, that if the facts alledged against them can be substantiated; if it can be proved that they have distributed papers on the coast of France, with a view of disturbing the Government, and of inducing the people to resist the new Church Establishment, his Majesty would think himself justified in taking all measures within his power for obliging them to leave the country; but some proof must be adduced of those facts; and such proof must not be that of their having in a single instance, viz. in reply to the Pope's Mandate, published a vindication of their own conduct, in refusing to conform to the new establishment, a proceeding in which they would be justifiable on every principle of toleration and justice; but it should shew that they have since availed themselves of their situation in this country to excite the people of France against the authority of that government, whether civil or ecclesiastical.

On the third complaint, which respects the removal of *Georges*, and those persons supposed to be described as his adherents, Mr. Otto, must have mistaken me in what he

supposes me to have said on that subject. His Majesty is however very desirous to obviate any cause of complaint or uneasiness with respect to these persons; and measures are in contemplation, and will be taken, for the purpose of removing them out of his Majesty's European Dominions.

On the fourth complaint respecting the Princes of the House of Bourbon, I can only refer you to my former answer. His Majesty has no desire that they should continue to reside in this country, if they are disposed, or can be induced to quit it; but he feels it to be inconsistent with his honor and his sense of justice to withdraw from them the rights of hospitality, as long as they conduct themselves peaceably and quietly; and unless some charge can be substantiated of their attempting to disturb the peace which subsists between the two governments.

With respect to the fifth complaint, which relates to the French emigrants wearing in this country the orders of their ancient government; there are few if any persons of that description in this country who wear such orders. It might be more proper if they all abstained from it; but the French Government could not persist in expecting, that even if it were consistent with law, his Majesty could be induced to commit so harsh an act of authority as to send them out of the country on such an account.

I have thus stated to you his Majesty's sentiments on the several points contained in Mr. Otto's note. You will take an early opportunity of communicating these sentiments to the French Government, and of accompanying them

with the arguments and explanations above stated. And if it should be desired, and you should be of opinion, that it was likely to produce any good effect, there is no objection to your putting the substance of what you shall have stated in writing, and of delivering it to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, as a memorandum of your conversation.

Upon the general tone and style of Mr. Otto's Note, it is important to observe, that it is far from conciliating; and that the practice of presenting notes of this description, on any motive or suggestion of personal irritation, cannot fail to have the effect of indisposing the two Governments towards each other, instead of consolidating and strengthening the peace which happily subsists between them. That after a war, in which the passions of men have been roused beyond all former examples, it is natural to suppose that the distrust, jealousy, and other hostile feelings of individuals should not immediately subside, and under these circumstances it appears to be both the interest and the duty of the two Governments by a mild and temperate conduct gradually to allay these feelings, and not on the contrary to provoke and augment them by untimely irritation on their part, and by ascribing proceedings like those above noticed, to causes to which they have no reference. His Majesty has thus fully and frankly explained his sentiments, and the ground of his conduct. He is sincerely disposed to adopt every measure for the preservation of peace, which is consistent with the honor and independence of the country, and with the security of

its laws and constitution. But the French Government must have formed a most erroneous judgment of the disposition of the British Nation, and of the character of its Government, if they have been taught to expect that any representation of a foreign power will ever induce them to consent to a violation of those rights on which the liberties of the people of this country are founded.

I have the Honor to be, &c.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

Anthony Merry, Esq.

No. XIV.

NOTE.

GENERAL Vial, Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic at Malta, having set out for his destination about the 20th of July, it is to be presumed, that he will soon be in a condition to enter into a concert with his Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary on the evacuation of Malta, and of its dependencies.

The three months, in which this evacuation should have taken place, are expired; and it being the intention of the two Governments that the execution of the Treaty of Amiens should experience the least possible delay, the First Consul would have been desirous that the two thousand Neapolitans who are ready to depart, could have been transported at an early period to the Island of Malta, to be in readiness whenever the evacuation shall be on the point of being effected.

It appears, nevertheless, that Mr. Drummond, the English Minister at Naples, has not been authorized by

by his Government to facilitate this transport; and that the motive alledged by that Minister was, that the stipulations, which ought to precede the evacuation not being fulfilled, that evacuation could not yet take place.

In communicating the above details to his Excellency Lord Hawkesbury, his Britannic Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, the undersigned is directed to observe, that the sending the two thousand Neapolitans to the Island of Malta cannot but be considered as a preliminary step, in order to accelerate the evacuation, as soon as the necessary measures shall have been taken by the respective Plenipotentiaries; and that it does not in any manner prevent the subsequent concert on the details of the evacuation, conformably to the clauses of the Treaty of Amiens.

The Undersigned is moreover directed to request the British Ministry to give general instructions to his Majesty's Plenipotentiaries at Naples, and at Malta, that the evacuation, and the other Conditions of the 10th Article, may be executed without obstacle, and without these Plenipotentiaries conceiving themselves obliged to refer to their Government on each of the successive operations which should take place.

The undersigned embraces this opportunity to present to his Excellency Lord Hawkesbury, the homage of his respectful consideration.

London, August 21st, 1802.

(Signed) OTTO.

His Excellency Lord Hawkesbury,
&c. &c. &c.

No. XV.

NOTE.

THE undersigned has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Otto's Note of the 21st instant.

When the Neapolitan Government notified to Mr. Drummond, the King's Minister at Naples, that the 2000 troops which his Sicilian Majesty had selected to serve in Malta, were ready to proceed to their destination, that gentleman declined taking any step to facilitate their embarkation, till he should receive intelligence of the arrival of Sir Alexander Ball in that Island, and till he should be informed that the Commander in Chief of the British Forces had made suitable preparations for their reception. By the last advices from Malta it appears, that Sir Alexander Ball had arrived there on the tenth of last month, and that after having conferred with General Fox upon the subject, he had written to Mr. Drummond, that there was no impediment whatever to the immediate reception of the Neapolitan Troops, and that their quarters would be prepared accordingly; the undersigned has the honor to state this to M. Otto as the most satisfactory answer which he can give to his Note. It is probable, therefore, that the troops of his Sicilian Majesty are already embarked and on their passage; but to prevent the possibility of any unnecessary delay or misconception, the most explicit instructions will be immediately forwarded to Mr. Drummond on this subject.

With respect to the other points in M. Otto's Note, the undersigned

ed can only repeat what he has before stated to him, that his Majesty is most sincerely desirous to see all the stipulations of the Tenth Article of the Definitive Treaty carried into effect with the utmost punctuality, and with the least possible delay. With this view he takes this opportunity of observing to M. Otto, that by the very last Dispatches from the English Ambassador at St. Petersburg, the French Minister at that Court had not even then received any instructions from his Government relative to the steps to be taken in concert with Lord St. Helens, for inviting the Emperor to become a Guaranty of the provisions and stipulations of the Article in question. The French Minister at Berlin, was in the same predicament. The undersigned, therefore, requests that M. Otto would have the goodness to represent these circumstances to his Government, and to urge them, if they have not already done it, to transmit without delay to their Ministers at those courts the necessary instructions for bringing this part of the business to a conclusion.

The undersigned requests M. Otto to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

Downing Street, August 23d, 1802.

No. XVI.

Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Merry to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, October 3, 1802.

AS soon as the Helvetic Government had retired from Berne to Lausanne, the partizans of the ancient Federative system of the

Swiss Cantons, who established immediately in the former City a Provisional Government, deputed a confidential to Paris, for the purpose of counteracting the measures of M. Stapfer, and of engaging the First Consul to suffer the inhabitants of Switzerland to settle their affairs amongst themselves. He was instructed in any emergency to address himself to the Ministers here of the principal Powers of Europe, and to solicit their interference and assistance in the objects of his mission. He reached Paris four days ago, and had reason to flatter himself, from the result of an interview which he had immediately with M. Talleyrand, that the First Consul would put no obstacle in the way of any arrangement which the Swiss might agree upon among themselves for the final settlement of their Government; he was therefore much surprised to learn soon afterwards, that a change had taken place in the First Consul's sentiments, and his astonishment was completed when he found that the latter had taken so decided and so unfavourable a part in the business, as that which is announced by a resolution published in yesterday's *Moniteur*, (which I have the honor to transmit inclosed), in the form of an Address to the Inhabitants of Switzerland. This person having, besides this public declaration, acquired some private information of its being the First Consul's intention to give the most immediate and vigorous effect to it, lost no time in addressing a letter to the latter, in which he took the liberty of stating that he must have been deceived by false representations, that his interference in the affairs of Switzerland,

was,

was, as he was authorized to say, entirely unsolicited by the majority, and the best thinking part of the inhabitants; and that he had, therefore, to entreat of him, in the most earnest manner, to suspend the execution of his resolution until those explanations could take place, which he trusted might be the means of preventing the immense effusion of blood which would otherwise inevitably ensue. He at the same time addressed himself in the course of yesterday to me, as well as to the Austrian and Spanish Ambassadors, and to the Russian and Prussian Ministers, (not having gained admittance to Mons. de Cobenzel, nor to M. de Markoff or Lucchesini; he afterwards wrote to them), soliciting, in the strongest terms, an interference (jointly, if possible), on their part, with the French Government, to endeavour to avert the impending evil. I naturally observed to him in answer, that the present state of political relations between the great powers of Europe afforded no prospect of his obtaining of their Ministers at Paris, to adopt a concerted measure in favour of the object which he had so much at heart, and that of course I could not take it individually upon myself, without any express instruction from my government. He returned to me to-day, to acquaint me that he was not only as yet without a reply from any quarter, but had reason to fear that his prayers would not be listened to by the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian Ministers; *he therefore conjured me to transmit them to His Majesty's Government, from whom only his Countrymen could have a hope of deriving any assistance in the terrible conflict*

which he knew they were determined to stand, and which would only cease by the extermination of every virtuous and brave man in the country. He then put into my hand a Note which he had drawn up in a hurry, and of which I inclose a copy. whilst, my Lord, it was out of my power to give him any encouragement to expect from his Majesty's Government the assistance which his petition expresses, I have thought it my duty to lose no time in making you acquainted with a state of things which may shortly be attended with very important consequences.

(Inclosure referred to in No. 16.)

NOTE.

SO long as Swisserland was occupied by the French armies, the wishes of the people could never be freely manifested. The petty revolutions which took place in the Government were the mere tricks of certain factions, in which the nation at large took but a very trifling interest. Scarcely did Swisserland think herself independent when she was desirous of returning to her ancient institutions, rendered still dearer to her by her late misfortunes, and the arbitrary acts of the Government furnished her with the means of doing so. Almost the whole of Swisserland, with unexampled unanimity and moderation, shook off the yoke. The Cantons formed themselves into Constituent Bodies; and Twelve of the Thirteen Cantons of Swisserland sent their representatives to the Diet of Schwitz, in order there to organize a central power which might be acceptable to the neighbouring powers.

The aristocratical cantons renounced their exclusive rights: the Pays de Vaud was left at liberty to form its own constitution, as well as Thurgovia, and the other new cantons.

The Government having taken refuge at Lausanne, was by no means secure there, notwithstanding its regular troops; perhaps even at the present moment it no longer exists.

Who would not have thought that, according to the stipulation of the Treaty of Luneville, which grants independence to Switzerland, and the right of choosing its own Government, every thing was settled, and that this nation might see its former happiness and tranquillity revive?

Who could have thought that the First Consul would have issued such a decree as that of the 8th Vendémiaire (29th September)?

Is an independent nation to be thus treated? Should Bonaparte persist in his determination, and the other Powers should not interpose in our favour, it only remains for us either to bury ourselves in the ruins of our houses, although without hope of resistance, exhausted as we are by the Colossus who is about to overwhelm us, or to debase ourselves in the eyes of the whole universe!

Will the Government of this generous nation, which has at all times afforded so many proofs of the interest it takes in the welfare of the Swiss, do nothing for us under circumstances which are to decide, whether we are still to be ranked amongst *free people*?

We have only men left us:—the revolution, and spoliations without end, have exhausted our means: we are without arms, without ammu-

nition, without stores, and without money to purchase them.

No. XVII.

NOTE VERBALE.

LORD Hawkesbury has received his Majesty's commands to communicate, through M. Otto, to the French Government, the sentiments of deep regret which have been excited in his Majesty's mind, by the address of the First Consul to the Helvetic people, which was published by authority in the *Moniteur* of the 1st instant, and by the representations which have been made to his Majesty on this subject, on behalf of the nation whose interests are so immediately affected by it. His Majesty most sincerely laments the convulsions to which the Swiss Cantons have for some time past been exposed; but he cannot consider their late exertions in no other light than as the lawful efforts of a brave and generous people to recover their ancient laws and government, and to procure the re-establishment of a system which experience has demonstrated, not only to be favourable to the maintenance of their domestic happiness, but to be perfectly consistent with the tranquillity and security of other powers.

The Cantons of Switzerland unquestionably possess, in the same degree as every other independent state, the right of regulating their own internal concerns; and this right has, moreover, in the present instance, been formally and explicitly guaranteed to the Swiss nation by the French Government in the Treaty of Luneville, con-

jointly with the other Powers who were parties to that engagement. His Majesty has no other desire than that the people of Switzerland, who now appear to be so generally united, should be left at liberty to settle their own internal government without the interposition of any foreign powers; and with whatever regret his Majesty may have perused the late proclamation of the French Government, he is yet unwilling to believe that they will farther attempt to controul that independent nation in the exercise of their undoubted rights. His Majesty thinks himself called upon, by his regard for the general interests of Europe, and by his peculiar solicitude for the happiness and welfare of the Swiss nation, to express these his sentiments with a frankness and sincerity which he feels to be due to his character, and to the good understanding which he is desirous of preserving with the Government of France.

Downing-Street, October 10, 1802.

M. Otto, &c. &c. &c.

No XVIII.

Downing-Street, October 10, 1802.

Sir,

HIS Majesty having deemed it expedient, that a confidential person should be sent at the present moment to Switzerland, in consequence of the communication which he has received from the Swiss Confederacy, through their representative at Paris, I am commanded to inform you, that he has made choice of you for that purpose.

It is of the utmost consequence,

considering the nature of the business with which you are entrusted, that you should lose no time in taking your departure from hence, and that you should make every practicable exertion to arrive on the frontiers of Switzerland with as little delay as possible. You will inform yourself there what is the actual residence of the Government of the Swiss Confederation, to which you will immediately repair. Having taken the proper means to obtain a confidential interview with the persons who may be entrusted with the principal direction of affairs, you will communicate to them a copy of the note verbale which I delivered to M. Otto, and which is herewith inclosed; and you will take every opportunity of impressing upon their minds the deep interest which his Majesty takes in the success of their exertions. You will state to them, that his Majesty entertains hopes, that his representation to the French Government may have the effect of inducing the First Consul to abandon his intention of compelling the Swiss nation, by force, to renounce that system of government under which they had so long prospered, and to which they appear to be almost unanimously anxious to return. In this event, his Majesty will feel himself bound to abstain from all interference on his part; it being his earnest desire that the Swiss nation should be left at liberty to regulate their own internal concerns, without the interposition of any foreign power. If, however, contrary to his Majesty's expectations, the French Government should persist in the system of coercion announced in the proclamation

mation of the First Consul, inserted in the *Moniteur* of the 1st instant, you will, in that case, inform yourself, by every means in your power, of the disposition of the people at large of the Swiss Confederacy, and particularly of those who have the direction of their affairs, and of those who possess the greatest share of influence amongst them, to persevere in the defence of their rights, and in the maintenance of the system they have adopted. You will likewise enquire into the means of defence of which they may be possessed, and of the probability of their being exerted with success. You will on no account encourage them to persevere in active measures of resistance, which they are not themselves desirous to adopt, or which they may believe are unlikely to be ultimately effectual. If, however, you should find that the people of the Swiss Confederacy are generally determined to persevere in the maintenance of their independence, and of their right to return to their ancient system of government; and if you should be of opinion, that from the union that subsists amongst the people, and from their zeal and enthusiasm in the cause in which they are engaged, they are finally resolved, at all hazards, to resist the threatened attempt of the French Government to interpose, by force of arms, in the settlement of their internal concerns, you will then immediately communicate, in confidence, to the Swiss Government, that either in the event of a French army having entered the country, or in the event of your having reason to be convinced that a French army is actually advancing for that purpose, his Majesty has authorized you to

accede to their application for pecuniary succours.

I have furnished you with a cypher and decypher, that you may have it in your power to correspond with his Majesty's Ministers at Vienna and Munich, if you should think it adviseable; and as it is highly probable, that the armies of the Swiss Confederacy may be inadequately supplied with arms, ammunition, or provisions, and may be desirous of procuring supplies thereof from the neighbouring countries, you will use your utmost endeavours to give them every facility for this purpose. You will be very particular in informing me of the numbers and situation of any Austrian corps in the neighbourhood of Switzerland, and of the probability of their advancing, in any event, into the Swiss territory.

As it is of great importance that his Majesty's Government should be regularly informed of the events which may be passing in Switzerland, and of the dispositions that may prevail there, you will endeavour to ascertain the most safe and expeditious mode of conveying your letters, which will avoid their passing through any part of the French republic.

As it is possible, that previous to your arrival in Switzerland, the present state of affairs may have undergone a decided alteration, either in consequence of the submission of the Swiss cantons, or of any compromise having taken place as to their internal concerns, it will be proper that, in that case, you should take up your residence in such a situation as you may think most convenient in the neighbourhood of Switzerland, of which you will give me the earliest intelligence, and

and there wait for his Majesty's further orders.

I am, with great truth and regard,
Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Fr (Signed) HAWKESBURY.
Francis Moore, Esq.

No. XIX.

Constance, October 31, 1802.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I arrived here on the 27th instant, and that, having received this evening authentic information of the submission of the diet of Switzerland, assembled at Schwitz, to the French arms, I lose no time in dispatching the messenger Shaw with this intelligence; from which your Lordship will perceive that it only remains for me to obey that part of my instructions by which I am directed, under such circumstances, to take up my residence in the neighbourhood of Switzerland, and there to await his Majesty's further orders.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) FRA. MOORE.

The Right Honourable

Lord Hawkesbury, &c.

&c. &c.

No. XX.

*Downing-Street, November 25,
1802.*

Sir,

I HAVE duly received your several letters by the messenger Shaw. As from the present state of Switzerland your continuance in the vicinity of that country appears to be no longer necessary, you are at

liberty to return to England as soon as it may suit your convenience.

I am, &c.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

Francis Moore, Esq.

No. XXI.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Mr.
Liston to Lord Hawkesbury, dated
Hague, 13th October, 1802.*

A FEW hours after I had sent off my last dispatch to your Lordship, (on Saturday, the 9th of this month,) the French ambassador, M. de Semonville, waited upon the President of the Government of State, and informed him that he had just received, by a courier from Paris, orders to inform the government of this country,

“Que le Premier Consul avoit appris, avec autant de surprise que d'indignation, que des personnes avides de révolutions vouloient de nouveau troubler le repos dans la Batavie, en abusant même pour cet effet de noms respectables; et que le Premier Consul, comme allié de la republique, invitoit le gouvernement à prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires pour maintenir l'ordre des choses établi par la constitution.”

These were nearly the words read to me by the Secretary of State, from a note in his own hand writing, dictated to him by M. de Semonville, with a view to its publication, (and a translation was accordingly inserted in the Dutch official Paper of the Hague on the 11th;) but they fall very far short of the language employed by the French Minister for Foreign Affairs in his dispatches to the Ambassador, and in the communication made by him

him to the Dutch Chargé d'Affaires at Paris, (who also sent a messenger to the Hague upon this occasion.) In these M. de Talleyrand entered into considerable detail on the subject of the plots supposed to be formed in this country against the administration, mentioned the names of the chiefs, and ended by making an offer, on the part of the First Consul, to come to the assistance of the government (should circumstances render it necessary) with all his forces.

No. XXII.

Hague, October 29, 1802.

My Lord,

THE recent attack made by Bonaparte upon the liberties and independence of the Swiss cantons, has naturally made a strong impression on the inhabitants of this country; and the public anxiety has been much augmented by certain symptoms in the conduct of the Consular Government, which seem to indicate an intention not to withdraw the French troops, which have been kept in the Batavian republic for some time past under the title of *auxiliaries*, and paid and maintained at the expence of the Dutch nation.

These troops (amounting to between ten and eleven thousand men) were to remain here till the conclusion of the definitive treaty with Great Britain. It was afterwards formally promised, on the part of France, that they should evacuate the territories of the republic at the latest, on the expiration of the last French year, (the 23d of September).—They accordingly began their march to the southward a few days before that period; and

the government and the people rejoiced at the prospect of being finally relieved from a load which has become extremely irksome to them. But, on pretence that a great proportion of the corps were to be embarked at Flushing for Louisiana, and that there was a want of shipping for their accommodation, they took up their quarters on the frontiers of the country (at Bois-le-Duc, Breda, and Bergen-op-Zoom), where they still remain; and demands have continued to be made for their pay and maintenance.

Hopes were, however, entertained from day to day, that their departure would take place; when, to the astonishment of the Batavian Government, official Notice was (last week) transmitted from France to the Department of War at the Hague, (which has been charged with the support of these corps), that the First Consul has been pleased to appoint a new Commander in Chief, (General Montrichard), and a new staff, for the auxiliary troops in this country; and the Notice was given that Government might provide for the pay of the officers in question.

The administration appear resolved to oppose all the resistance in their power to this unexpected and oppressive extortion. An express has been sent off to the Dutch Ambassador at Paris, charging him to claim, in the most urgent terms, the accomplishment of the treaties subsisting between the Two Republics, and the fulfilment of the repeated and recent promises made by the French Government upon this subject. And in case of the failure of this application, they talk of addressing themselves

themselves to the principal powers of Europe who had any share or influence in the conclusion of the peace, to entreat their intervention and good offices, with a view to the maintenance of the independence of the Republic.

I have the honor to be, &c.

ROBERT LISTON.

Right Honourable Lord
Hawkesbury, &c. &c.
&c.

No. XXIII.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Hawkesbury, to Lord Whitworth, dated November 30th, 1802.

HIS Majesty's Government have learnt with some surprise from the communications from General Stuart, that that officer had signified to Colonel Sebastiani his inability to evacuate Egypt, until he should receive specific orders for that purpose. It is certainly true that no warrant has been transmitted to General Stuart, or to his Predecessor the Earl of Cavan, for the evacuation of Egypt; neither was it considered to be necessary, in as much as his Majesty's Government had already expressed their intention to General Stuart, in his instructions, that, except in a case of absolute necessity, the King's troops should remain in Egypt no longer than the month of July last. In all the instances of places which had been conquered by the King's forces, and of which possession had been taken in his Majesty's Name, it has been usual when they have been restored to the French Republic, or its allies, that the commanding officer should be furnish-

ed with a regular warrant under the King's Sign Manual, authorising him to make such restoration. But the case of Egypt is different, as that country had never been taken possession of in his Majesty's name, as it had been actually restored to the Ottoman Porte, and as certain stations in it were continued to be occupied merely as military posts, until the means of removing the troops should be provided.

It is probable; that in the present instance, General Stuart may have been misled by a doubt as to the extent of his own power, and by the opinion that he required a warrant to evacuate Egypt, similar to that which had been granted to officers who superintended the restitution of conquests of which possession had been taken in his Majesty's name. In order, however, to obviate any farther difficulties, instructions have now been sent to General Stuart, directing him to remove the King's Troops from Egypt with as little delay as possible, and information has been given to this effect to General Andreossi.

No. XXIV.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord St. Helens to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Petersburg, July 20, 1802.

I HAVE since renewed my applications to this government on the business of Malta, and have some reason to hope that some impression has been made on the mind of his Imperial Majesty. The French Minister however has not yet received his instructions; and till they arrive, it will of course be impossible for me to take the requisite

requisite steps for bringing this affair to any satisfactory, or even positive issue.

No. XXV.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord St. Helens to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Petersburgh, August 3, 1802.

I MUST not omit to acquaint your Lordship, that although in order to prevent any further waste of time, I have thought it right to endeavour to obtain a definitive explanation of the intentions of this court, with relation to the proposed guaranty, I have not yet been enabled to demand it officially, according to the terms of the Treaty of Amiens, as the French Minister here is still without instructions authorizing him to join with me in that instance.

No. XXVI.

Extract of a Dispatch from the Honorable A. Paget to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Vienna, 18th July, 1802.

ON the 15th instant, M. de Champagny and I met at a Conference at the Vice Chancellor's, to whom we presented our respective Notes, copies of which I have the honor to enclose, marked A. and B.

(Inclosure A. referred to in No. 26.)

The undersigned, his Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, has the honor to transmit herewith to the Vice Chancellor of Court and State, a copy of the 10th Article of the Treaty of Amiens. He has, at the same time, the honor to acquaint his Excellency that he has received

orders from his Court to invite his Majesty the Emperor and King, conformable to the 13th paragraph of that article, to give his guarantee to the arrangement stipulated therein.

He therefore requests the Vice Chancellor of Court and State, to lay this communication before his Imperial Majesty.

The undersigned avails himself, with pleasure, of this opportunity to reiterate to his Excellency the expression of his most distinguished consideration.

(Signed) ARTHUR PAGET.
Vienna, 15th July, 1802.

(Inclosure B. referred to in No. 26.)

The Ambassador of the French Republick, on the invitation which has been given him by Mr. Paget, his Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary, hastens in conjunction with that Minister, to communicate to the Vice Chancellor of Court and State, the 10th Article of the Treaty of Amiens, concerning the order and Island of Malta, the sixth paragraph of which Article, places the independency of the Island of Malta under the guarantee of his Imperial Majesty, and several other powers of Europe.

In taking this step, the ambassador, who has not yet received any orders respecting it, acts from the knowledge he has of the intention of his Government to execute all the stipulations of the Treaties it has concluded.

The Ambassador seizes, with eagerness, this opportunity to offer to his Excellency the assurances of his high consideration.

Vienne, 26 Messidor, year 10.

(Signed) CHAMPAGNY.
Count Cobentzel.

Extract

No. XXVII.

*Extract of a Dispatch from the Hon-
orable A. Paget to Lord Hawkes-
bury, dated Vienna, 22d August
1802.*

I HAVE the honor herewith to transmit to your Lordship the Emperor's Act of Guarantee and Accession to the 10th Article of the Treaty of Amiens.

(Inclosure referred to in No. 27.)

The Emperor and King having been invited by his Britannic Majesty and the First Consul of the French Republic, to accede to the stipulations contained in the Tenth Article of the Treaty concluded and signed at Amiens on the 29th of March 1802 (4th Germinal, Year 10), respecting the Order of St. John of Jerusalem; and also to take under his protection and guarantee, conjointly with the other Powers cited in the sixth Paragraph of the said Article, whatever was therein especially stipulated on the subject of the Island of Malta: And His Imperial and Royal Apostolick Majesty having been at the same time informed that the two above-mentioned powers adopted on their part the concert which had been entered into by the Two Imperial Courts, previous to the exchange of the Ratifications of the above-mentioned Treaty of Amiens, to leave to the Pope the selection of a Grand Master from amongst the candidates nominated for that purpose by the Priories of the Order. His Majesty the Emperor and King, desirous on the present occasion of

exhibiting a fresh proof of his sincere friendship for his Majesty the King of Great Britain, and for the First Consul of the French Republic, has empowered and instructed his Grand Chamberlain and Cabinet Minister Count Francis of Colloredo, and his Vice Chancellor of Court and State Count Louis of Cobenzel, to proceed in his Name to the Accession and Guarantee of the stipulations of the Tenth Article of the afore-mentioned Treaty; who, in virtue thereof declare that his Majesty accedes, by the present Act, to the stipulations contained in this Article, with the clause herein-before referred to, respecting the mode of the next Election of the Grand Master of the Order; and his Majesty specifically guarantees whatsoever is therein regulated, with regard to the independence of the Islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino.

In witness whereof we, the Plenipotentiaries of his Imperial, Royal and Apostolick Majesty, have signed the present Act of Accession and of Guarantee; have thereunto affixed the seal of our arms, and have exchanged it against the acts of acceptance, delivered in the name of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, and of the First Consul of the French Republic. Which acts of Accession, of Guarantee, and of Acceptation, shall be ratified in the space of four weeks, or sooner, if it can be done.

Done at Vienna, the 20th of August, 1802.

(L.S.) FRANCIS COUNT OF
COLLOREDO.

(L.S.) LEWIS COUNT OF
COBENZEL.

Extract

No. XXVIII.

Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Casamajor to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Berlin, August 21, 1802.

HAVING opened the subject of your Lordship's last dispatch, relative to the Accession of this Court to the Arrangement stipulated in the 10th Article of the Treaty of Amiens, to Mr. Bignon, this gentleman undertook very willingly to mention the same to his Government, and has in fact already performed his promise. In several conversations with Mr. Bignon, in which I have occasionally remarked that nothing had hitherto been said to me here upon the subject of Malta, he has constantly affected the greatest indifference, and treated it as a business of too little importance to occupy the attention of the French Government.

No. XXIX.

Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Casamajor to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Berlin, August 31, 1802.

MR. BIGNON received last night instructions from the French Government, to invite the King of Prussia, conjointly with me, to accede to the Guarantee of the Independence of the Island of Malta, and of the other stipulations relating to that Island, which are contained in the 10th Article of the Definitive Treaty of Amiens. Mr. Bignon sent to me immediately, and we propose to meet to-morrow for the purpose of preparing a note upon this subject, of which we shall each present a copy to Count Haugwitz.

No. XXX.

Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Casamajor to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Berlin, October 2, 1802.

MY note upon the subject of the Guarantee of Malta remains unanswered.

No. XXXI.

Extract of Dispatch from Mr. Jackson to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Berlin, November 25, 1802.

AT my first interview with Count Haugwitz, I told him that the only subject in suspense between our Two Courts, to which I need call his immediate attention, was that of the Guarantee of Malta, on which an answer is still due from him. He adverted to what he had told Mr. Casamajor of the King his Master having ordered a report to be made to him, on the state of the commanderies in Sicily, hinting, that this country took a very slight interest in the fate of the island; and that he was countenanced in withholding its guarantee by the example of Spain. He however added that the Report in question had been made to the King, and that he only waited his Majesty's Commands to confer with me farther upon the subject.

No. XXXII.

Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Garlike to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Petersburg, September 17, 1802.

THE French Minister has at length

length been directed by his Government to make, conjointly with his Majesty's minister here, a formal invitation to the Emperor of Russia for his Imperial Majesty's guaranty of the stipulations of the Treaty of Amiens, which provide for the independence of the islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, and of the other arrangements of that article.

No. XXXIII.

Extract of a Dispatch from Sir John Borlase Warren to Lord Hawkesbury, dated St. Petersburg, November 18, 1802.

ON the third instant I waited upon the Chancellor with General Hedouville, when the note of invitation for his Imperial Majesty's guaranty of the 10th article of the Treaty of Amiens, was presented by each of us.

General de Hedouville entered into various reasons to induce the Russian Government to grant the guaranty; the principal of which was to prove, that without the guaranty of Russia, either of the two Powers, upon the first difference between them, would look upon themselves at liberty to seize upon the island, which was only important in a military point of view; and the only alteration he should make in his invitation was, that the island might be delivered up to the Neapolitan Troops.—He added that the Act of Guaranty would not be considered as affecting the arrangement of any particular power with the order, or of any alteration that Power might wish to make in the Baillages, or that part belonging to itself, *as Spain had already done.*

VOL. XLV. or VOL. III. NEW SERIES.

No. XXXIV.

Extract of a Dispatch from Sir J. B. Warren to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Petersburg, 25th November, 1802.

THE Chancellor appointed yesterday evening for delivering to me, and to the French Minister, the answer of the Russian Government to his Majesty's invitation for his Imperial Majesty's accession to the tenth article of the Treaty of Amiens.

(Inclosure referred to in No. 34.)

Conditions upon which his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias is willing to accede to the Stipulations of the 10th Article of the Treaty of Amiens.

1. THE acknowledgement of the sovereignty of the order of St. John of Jerusalem over the island of Malta, and its dependencies; the acknowledgement of the Grand Master, and of the civil Government of the Order, according to its ancient institutions, with the admission into it of native Maltese. Upon this point, as well as upon every other that may relate to its interior organization, the legal Government of the Order shall have the power to enact and prescribe such regulations as it may judge best calculated to promote the future welfare and prosperity of the Order.

2. The rights of the King of the Two Sicilies, as Suzerain of the Island,

* R

Island,

Island, shall remain upon the same footing as they were previous to the war which is now terminated by the Treaty of Amiens.

3. The independance and neutrality of the island of Malta, its ports and dependencies, shall be secured and guarantied by the respective contracting Powers, who shall mutually engage to acknowledge and maintain that neutrality in all cases of war; whether between each other, or between any of them and any other power, not excepting his Sicilian Majesty, whose rights of Suzerainty shall not extend so as to enable him to cause a departure from the neutrality of the Island, as guarantied by the present Act.

4. Until the Order shall be in a situation to provide, by its own resources, for the maintenance of its independance and neutrality, as secured by the preceding article, as well as for the defence of their principal residence, the different forts shall be occupied by his Sicilian Majesty's Troops, who shall send a sufficient force for the defence of the island and its dependencies, the number of which shall be agreed upon by his said Majesty and the two contracting Powers, who shall take upon themselves conjointly, the expence of maintaining the whole of the said troops, so long as the defence of the Island shall continue to be intrusted to them, during which period the said troops shall be under the authority of the Grand Master and his Government.

5. The present additional Act shall be considered as forming an integral part of the Treaty of Amiens, the same as if it had

been inserted therein, word for word, and shall be executed in like manner.

6. Their Majesties the Emperor of all the Russias, the Emperor of the Romans, the King of Spain, the King of the Two Sicilies, and the King of Prussia, shall be invited to accede to this Act as Guarantees.

(Signed) COMTE ALEXANDRE
DE WORONZOW.

No. XXXV.

Paris, January 27, 1803.

My Lord,

I HAVE to report to your Lordship the purport of a conversation I had on Tuesday last by appointment with M. Talleyrand. He had invited me some days ago for this purpose. The communication he had to make to me related to two points, both equally important, as he said, to the maintenance of good harmony between the two Countries; with this difference however, that the one originated with himself, and was dictated by his anxiety to do away every thing which might feed the mutual irritation of the two Countries; and the other by the express order of the First Consul. That which came from himself related to the English newspapers, against which he pronounced a most bitter Philippic, assuring me that the First Consul was extremely hurt to find that his endeavours to conciliate

had

had hitherto produced no other effect than to increase the abuse with which the papers in England continually loaded him. He expatiated much upon this topic, and endeavoured to establish a fact, which I assured him a reference to any one newspaper in Paris would instantly refute, that during four months not a word of provocation had appeared in any French journal, which could justify a retort from those published in England. For the rest he advanced nothing but what has been said on more than one occasion to Mr. Merry, and reported by him to your Lordship. I was however given to understand, that the First Consul was in fact highly incensed, and the more so, he was pleased to say, as it came from a country of whose good opinion he was so very ambitious.

In my reply, I could but go over the old ground, and endeavour to make M. Talleyrand understand—first, that whatever was said in the English papers might be considered but as a national retaliation for what was published in the French papers—secondly, that what was *officially* published here was by no means so in England—and thirdly, that although the Government possessed controul over the press in France, the English Government neither had nor could have, unless they purchased it at the same price, any whatever in England. Upon this he endeavoured to prove to me, that there were papers in England attached to different parties, and went over their names and supposed connections with great precision; and that consequently his Majesty's Ministers might so far controul those at least which de-

pend upon them, as to prevent their inserting that abuse which must be considered as having their sanction. I endeavoured to explain to him what the influence was, which he supposed Ministers to possess in England; that it amounted to nothing more than a preference which your Lordship for instance might give to one paper rather than to another, by sending to it any articles of news which it might be wished to make public; but that your Lordship's influence went no further; and that if the editor of such a paper conceived it more for his interest to continue to write after his own fancy and uncontrouled, than to be the publisher of such occasional articles, in that case all influence was at an end. I told him, that if he had remarked any abusive article in any paper of such a description, it was natural and fair to conclude that it did not depend upon Government to prevent it. He persisted in his opinion, that his Majesty's Ministers might keep certain papers in order, as I did in assuring him, that until the First Consul could so far master his feelings as to be as indifferent to the scurrility of the English prints, as the English Government was to that which daily appeared in the French, this state of irritation was irremediable. I told him however, that I would report the substance of this communication to your Lordship, although I could assure him that your Lordship could add nothing to the explanation which had been given, and in such detail by Mr. Merry from your Lordship.

M. Talleyrand, with great solemnity, required of me to inform

him, and this by the express order of the First Consul, what were his Majesty's intentions with regard to the evacuation of Malta. He again on this occasion made great professions of his sincere desire to set aside every thing which could interrupt the good understanding between the two Governments; adding, that it was absolutely necessary that the French Government should know what it was meant to do, when that clause in the Treaty of Amiens, which stipulates the cession of Malta, should be fully accomplished. He said that another Grand Master would now very soon be elected; that all the powers of Europe invited so to do, with the exception of Russia, whose difficulties it was easy to remove, and without whom the guaranty would be equally complete, were ready to come forward; and that consequently the term would very soon arrive, when Great Britain could have no pretext for keeping longer possession. I informed him that I would report his conversation to your Lordship, and would have the honor of communicating to him your Lordship's answer as soon as I could receive it.

I have the honor to be, &c.

WHITWORTH.

Right Honorable Lord

Hawkesbury, &c.

&c. &c.

No. XXXVI.

Downing Street, February 9, 1803.

My Lord,

IN answer to your Excellency's dispatch of January 27, re-

lative to the enquiry made of you, by the French Government, on the subject of Malta, I have no difficulty in assuring you, that his Majesty has entertained a most sincere desire that the Treaty of Amiens might be executed in a full and complete manner; but it has not been possible for him to consider the Treaty as having been founded on principles different from those which have been invariably applied to every other antecedent Treaty or Convention, namely, that they were negotiated with reference to the actual state of possession of the different parties, and of the Treaties or public engagements by which they were bound at the time of its conclusion; and that if that state of possession, and of engagements, was so materially altered by the Act of either of the parties as to affect the nature of the compact itself, the other party has a right, according to the law of nations, to interfere for the purpose of obtaining satisfaction or compensation for any essential difference which such acts may have subsequently made in their relative situation; that if there ever was a case to which this principle might be applied with peculiar propriety, it was that of the late treaty of peace; for the negociation was conducted on a basis not merely proposed by his Majesty, but specially agreed to in an official note by the French Government, viz. that his Majesty should keep a compensation out of his conquests for the important acquisitions of territory made by France upon the Continent. This is a sufficient proof that the compact was understood to have been concluded with reference to the then

then existing state of things; for the measure of his Majesty's compensation was to be calculated with reference to the acquisitions of France at that time; and if the interference of the French Government in the general affairs of Europe, since that period; if their interposition with respect to Switzerland and Holland, whose independence was guaranteed by them, at the time of the conclusion of the treaty of peace; if the annexations which have been made to France in various quarters, but particularly those in Italy, have extended the territory and increased the power of the French Government, his Majesty would be warranted, consistently with the spirit of the treaty of peace, in claiming equivalents for these acquisitions, as a counterpoise to the augmentation of the power of France. His Majesty, however, anxious to prevent all ground of misunderstanding, and desirous of consolidating the general peace of Europe, as far as might be in his power, was willing to have waved the pretensions he might have a right to advance of this nature; and as the other articles of the definitive treaty have been in a course of execution on his part, so he would have been ready to have carried into effect the true intent and spirit of the 10th article, the execution of which, according to its terms, had been rendered impracticable by circumstances which it was not in his Majesty's power to controul. A communication to your Lordship would accordingly have been prepared conformably to this disposition, if the attention of his Majesty's Government had not been

attracted by the very extraordinary publication of the report of Colonel Sebastiani to the First Consul. It is impossible for his Majesty to view this report in any other light than as an official publication; for without referring particularly to explanations which have been repeatedly given upon the subject of publications in the *Moniteur*, the article in question, as it purports to be the report to the First Consul of an accredited agent, as it appears to have been signed by Colonel Sebastiani himself, and as it is published in the official paper, with an official title affixed to it, must be considered as authorized by the French Government. This report contains the most unjustifiable insinuations and charges against the officer who commanded his Forces in Egypt, and against the British Army in that quarter, insinuations and charges wholly destitute of foundation, and such as would warrant his Majesty in demanding that satisfaction, which, on occasions of this nature, independent powers in a state of amity have a right to expect from each other. It discloses, moreover, views in the highest degree injurious to the interests of his Majesty's dominions, and directly repugnant to, and utterly inconsistent with, the spirit and letter of the treaty of peace, concluded between his Majesty and the French Government; and his Majesty would feel that he was wanting in a proper regard to the honor of his Crown, and to the interests of his dominions, if he could see with indifference such a system developed and avowed. His Majesty cannot, therefore, regard the conduct of

the French Government on various occasions since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, the insinuations and charges contained in the report of Colonel Sebastiani, and the views which that report discloses, without feeling it necessary for him distinctly to declare, that it will be impossible for him to enter into any further discussion relative to Malta, unless he receives satisfactory explanation on the subject of this communication.

Your Excellency is desired to take an early opportunity of fully explaining his Majesty's sentiments as above stated to the French Government.

I am, &c.

HAWKESBURY.

His Excellency Lord
Whitworth, K. B.
&c. &c. &c.

No. XXXVII.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord
Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury,
dated Paris, February 17, 1803.*

I HAVE the honor to acquaint your Lordship, that I saw M. de Talleyrand on Tuesday last, for the purpose of carrying into effect your Lordship's instructions of the 9th instant. I began by telling him that I had nothing new to communicate to him; but merely to confirm officially that which I had already from myself premised. I did not however pass over with the same indifference, the arguments with which your Lordship has furnished me. I recapitulated them all; the principle on which the Treaty of Amiens was founded; and the right which naturally arose from that principle, of inter-

ference on our part for the purpose of obtaining satisfaction or compensation, for any essential differences which may have arisen in the relative situation of the two Countries. I instanced the cases, beginning with Italy and concluding with Switzerland, in which the territory or Influence of France had been extended subsequent to the Treaty of Amiens.

I represented to him that this principle of compensation had been fully and formally admitted by the French Government, in the course of the negotiation at Amiens. I then told him that notwithstanding the indisputable right which his Majesty might have derived of claiming some counterpoise for such acquisitions, instructions would have been given me, by which I should have been empowered to declare his Majesty's readiness to carry into effect the full intent of the tenth article of the treaty, if the attention of his Majesty's Government had not been roused by the official publication of Colonel Sebastiani's report to the First Consul. It was useless to recapitulate the particulars of this very extraordinary report; but I appealed to him whether it was not of a nature, exclusive of the personal allusions it contained, to excite the utmost jealousy in the minds of his Majesty's Ministers, and to demand on their part every measure of precaution. I concluded with the distinct declaration, that it was impossible for His Majesty to enter into any further discussion relative to Malta, unless he receives satisfactory explanations on the subject of the First Consul's views.

M. de Talleyrand in his reply, did not attempt to dispute the drift of my argument. He admitted, with an affected tone of candour, that the jealousy we felt on the score of Egypt, with a view to our possessions in India, was natural. But he could not admit that anything had appeared in the conduct of the French Government in justification of the alarm we expressed. After repeating what he had said to me in a former conversation on the subject of Sebastiani's Mission, which he asserted to be *strictly commercial*, he expatiated at great length on the sincere desire of the First Consul to maintain inviolable the peace which had been so lately concluded; adding, that the situation of the French finances was such, that were not this desire of peace in the First Consul an effect of system, it would be most imperiously dictated to him by the total impossibility in which this Country found itself of carrying on that extensive state of warfare, which even a partial rupture would naturally lead to. He expressed great surprize, therefore, that any suspicion should attach, when the means of disturbing the public tranquillity were, as must be well known in England, so completely wanting; and desired to know what was the nature and degree of satisfaction which his Majesty would require. On this I told him, that I could not pretend to say by what means those apprehensions, which the conduct of this Government had raised in England, were to be allayed; but I could assure him, that in the discussion of them, we should be animated solely by a sincere desire to be convinced of the truth of his assertions, since on that depended the peace and happiness of Europe.

I took this opportunity of assuring him, that although, according to his statement of the situation of France, we might possess in a greater degree the means of supporting the expence of a war, since those means arose from sources which even a state of warfare did not dry up, yet such was his Majesty's sincere desire of maintaining peace, that nothing but absolute and unavoidable necessity would even induce him to deprive his subjects of the blessings which they begin to enjoy.

No. XXXVIII.

Paris, February 21, 1803.

My Lord,

MY last dispatch, in which I gave your Lordship an account of my conference with M. de Talleyrand, was scarcely gone, when I received a note from him, informing me that the First Consul wished to converse with me, and desired I would come to him at the Thuilleries at nine o'clock. He received me in his cabinet, with tolerable cordiality, and, after talking on different subjects for a few minutes, he desired me to sit down, as he himself did on the other side of the table, and began. He told me, that he felt it necessary after what had passed between me and M. de Talleyrand that he should, in the most clear and authentic manner, make known his sentiments to me in order to their being communicated to his Majesty; and he conceived this would be more effectually done by himself than through any medium whatever. He said, that it was a matter of infinite disappointment to him, that the Treaty of Amiens, instead of being

followed by conciliation and friendship, the natural effects of peace, had been productive only of continual and increasing jealousy and mistrust; and that this mistrust was now avowed in such a manner as must bring the point to an issue.

He now enumerated the several provocations which he pretended to have received from England. He placed in the first line our not evacuating Malta and Alexandria as we were bound to do by Treaty. In this he said that no consideration on earth should make him acquiesce; and of the two he had rather see us in possession of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine than Malta. He then adverted to the abuse thrown out against him in the English public prints; but this he said, he did not so much regard as that which appeared in the French Papers published in London. This he considered as much more mischievous, since it was meant to excite this Country against him and his Government. He complained of the protection given to Georges and others of his description, who instead of being sent to Canada, as had been repeatedly promised, were permitted to remain in England, handsomely pensioned, and constantly committing all sorts of crimes on the Coasts of France, as well as in the interior. In confirmation of this, he told me, that two men had within these few days been apprehended in Normandy, and were now on their way to Paris, who were hired Assassins, and employed by the Bishop of Arras, by the Baron de Rolle, by Georges, and by Dutheil, as would be fully proved in a Court of Justice, and made known to the World.

He acknowledged, that the Irritation he felt against England increased daily, because every wind (I make use as much as I can of his own ideas and expressions) which blew from England brought nothing but enmity and hatred against him.

He now went back to Egypt, and told me, that if he had felt the smallest inclination to take possession of it by force, he might have done it a month ago, by sending twenty-five thousand men to Aboukir, who would have possessed themselves of the whole Country in defiance of the four thousand British in Alexandria. That instead of that Garrison being a means of protecting Egypt, it was only furnishing him with a pretence for invading it. *This he should not do, whatever might be his desire to have it as a Colony, because he did not think it worth the risk of a War, in which he might, perhaps, be considered as the Aggressor, and by which he should lose more than he could gain, since sooner or later Egypt would belong to France, either by the falling to pieces of the Turkish Empire, or by some Arrangement with the Porte.*

As a proof of his desire to maintain peace, he wished to know what he had to gain by going to war with England. A descent was the only means of offence he had, and that he was determined to attempt, by putting himself at the head of the expedition. But how could it be supposed, that after having gained the height on which he stood, he would risk his life and reputation in such a hazardous Attempt, unless forced to it by necessity, when the chances were that he and the greatest part of the expedition would go to the bottom of the

the sea. He talked much on this subject, but never affected to diminish the danger. He acknowledged that there were one hundred chances to one against him; but still he was determined to attempt it, if war should be the consequence of the present discussion; and that such was the disposition of the troops that army after army would be found for the enterprize.

He then expatiated much on the natural force of the Two Countries. France with an army of four hundred and eighty thousand men, for to this amount, it is, he said, *to be immediately completed*, all ready for the most desperate enterprizes; and England with a fleet that made her mistress of the seas, and which he did not think he should be able to equal in less than ten years. Two such countries by a proper understanding might govern the world, but by their strifes might overturn it. He said, that if he had not felt the enmity of the British Government on every occasion since the Treaty of Amiens, there would have been nothing that he would not have done to prove his desire to conciliate; participation in indemnities as well as in influence on the Continent; treaties of commerce, in short, any thing that could have given satisfaction, and have testified his friendship. Nothing, however, had been able to conquer the hatred of the British Government, and therefore it was now come to the point, whether we should have peace or war. To preserve peace, the Treaty of Amiens must be fulfilled; the abuse in the public prints, if not totally suppressed, at least kept within bounds, and confined to the English papers; and the protection so openly

given to his bitterest enemies, alluding to Georges and persons of that description, must be withdrawn. If war, it was necessary only to say so, and to refuse to fulfil the Treaty. He now made the tour of Europe to prove to me, that in its present state, there was no power with which we could coalesce for the purpose of making war against France; consequently it was our interest to gain time, and if we had any point to gain, renew the war when circumstances were more favourable. He said, it was not doing him justice to suppose, that he conceived himself above the opinion of his Country or of Europe. He would not risk uniting Europe against him by any violent act of aggression; neither was he so powerful in France as to persuade the nation to go to war unless on good grounds. He said, that he had not chastised the Algerines, from his unwillingness to excite the jealousy of other powers, but he hoped that England, Russia, and France would one day feel that it was their interest to destroy such a nest of thieves, and force them to live rather by cultivating their land than by plunder.

In the little I said to him, for he gave me in the course of two hours but very few opportunities of saying a word, I confined myself strictly to the tenor of your Lordship's instructions. I urged them in the same manner as I had done to M. de Talleyrand, and dwelt as strongly as I could on the sensation which the publication of Sebastiani's Report had created in England, where the views of France towards Egypt must always command the utmost vigilance and jealousy. He maintained that
what

what ought to convince us of his desire of peace, was on the one hand the little he had to gain by renewing the war, and on the other the facility with which he might have taken possession of Egypt with the very ships and troops which were now going from the Mediterranean to St. Domingo, and that with the approbation of all Europe, and more particularly of the Turks, who had repeatedly invited him to join with them for the purpose of forcing us to evacuate their territory.

I do not pretend to follow the arguments of the First Consul in detail; this would be impossible, from the vast variety of matter, which he took occasion to introduce. His purpose was evidently to convince me that on Malta must depend peace or war, and at the same time to impress upon my mind a strong idea of the means he possessed of annoying us at home and abroad.

With regard to the mistrust and jealousy which he said constantly prevailed since the conclusion of the Treaty of Amiens, I observed that after a war of such long duration, so full of rancour, and carried on in a manner of which history has no example, it was but natural that a considerable degree of agitation should prevail; but this, like the swell after a storm, would gradually subside, if not kept up by the policy of either party; that I would not pretend to pronounce which had been the aggressor in the paper war of which he complained, and which was still kept up, though with this difference, that in England it was independent of Government, and in France its very act and deed. To this I added, that it must be admitted that we

had such motives of mistrust against France as could not be alledged against us, and I was going to instance the accession of territory and influence gained by France since the treaty, when he interrupted me by saying, I suppose you mean Piedmont and Switzerland; "*ce sont des Bagatelles*:" and it must have been foreseen whilst the Negotiation was pending; "*Vous n'avez pas le Droit d'en parler à cette Heure*." I then alledged as a cause of mistrust and of jealousy, the impossibility of obtaining justice or any kind of redress for any of his Majesty's subjects. He asked me in what respect: and I told him that since the signing of the treaty, not one British Claimant had been satisfied, although every Frenchman of that description had been so within one month after that period; and that since I had been here, and I could say as much of my my predecessors, not one satisfactory answer had been obtained to the innumerable representations which we had been under the necessity of making in favour British subjects and property detained in the several ports of France and elsewhere, without even a shadow of justice: such an order of things, I said, was not made to inspire confidence; but, on the contrary, must create mistrust. This, he said, must be attributed to the natural difficulties attending such suits, when both parties thought themselves right; but he denied that such delays could proceed from any disinclination to do what was just and right. With regard to the pensions which were granted to French or Swiss individuals, I observed that they were given as a reward for past services during the war, and most certainly

certainly not for present ones, and still less for such as he had insinuated, of a nature repugnant to the feelings of every individual in England, and to the universally acknowledged loyalty and honour of the British Government. That as for any participation of indemnities, or other accessions which his Majesty might have obtained, I could take upon myself to assure him that his Majesty's ambition led him rather to preserve than to acquire. And that with regard to the most propitious moment for renewing hostilities, his Majesty, whose sincere desire it was to continue the blessings of peace to his subjects, would always consider such a measure as the greatest calamity; but that if his Majesty was so desirous of peace, it must not be imputed to the difficulty of obtaining allies; and the less so, as those means which it might be necessary to afford such allies, for perhaps inadequate services, would all be concentrated in England, and give a proportionate increase of energy to our own exertions.

At this part of the conversation he rose from his chair, and told me that he should give orders to General Andréossi to enter on the discussion of this Business with your Lordship; but he wished that I should at the same time be made acquainted with his motives and convinced of his sincerity rather from himself than from his Ministers. He then, after a conversation of two hours, during the greatest part of which he talked incessantly, conversed for a few moments on indifferent subjects, in apparent good humour, and retired.

Such was nearly, as I can recollect, the purport of this conference.

It must however be observed that he did not, as M. Talleyrand had done, affect to attribute Colonel Sebastiani's mission to *commercial motives only*, but as one rendered necessary in a military point of view, by the infraction by us of the Treaty of Amiens.

I have the honor to be, &c.

WHITWORTH.

P. S. This conversation took place on Friday last, and this morning I saw M. de Talleyrand. He had been with the First Consul after I left him, and he assured me that he had been very well satisfied with the frankness with which I had made my observations on what fell from him. I told him, that without entering into any farther detail, what I had said to the First Consul amounted to an assurance, of what I trusted there could be no doubt, of the readiness of his Majesty's Ministers to remove all subjects of discussion, where that could be done without violating the laws of the country, and to fulfil strictly the engagements which they had contracted, in as much as that could be reconciled with the safety of the state. As this applied to Malta and Egypt, he gave me to understand that a project was in contemplation, by which the integrity of the Turkish Empire would be so effectually secured as to do away every cause of doubt or uneasiness, either with regard to Egypt or any part of the Turkish dominions. He could not then, he said, explain himself farther. Under these circumstances no one can expect that we should relinquish that assurance which we have in hand,

hand, till something equally satisfactory is proposed and adopted.

WHITWORTH.

The right honorable Lord
Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

No. XXXIX.

Downing Street, February 18th, 1803.

My Lord,

YOUR Excellency's dispatch, of February 21st, has been received, and laid before the King.

I have great satisfaction in communicating to you his Majesty's entire approbation of the able and judicious manner in which you appear to have executed the instructions which I gave to you in my dispatch of the 9th instant.

The account you have given of your interview with the First Consul, is in every respect important.

It is unnecessary for me to remark on the tone and temper in which the sentiments of the First Consul appear to have been expressed, or to offer any observations in addition to those so properly made by your Excellency at the time upon several of the topics which were brought forward by the First Consul in the course of your conversation; I shall therefore content myself with referring your Excellency to my dispatch to Mr. Merry of August 28, 1802, in which the subject of the complaints of the French Government, respecting the freedom of the press, the Emigrants, &c. are particularly discussed. I cannot however avoid noticing, that nothing approaching to explanation or satisfaction is stated to have been thrown out by the First Consul, in answer to the just repre-

sentations and complaints of his Majesty, in consequence of the unwarrantable insinuations and charges contained in Colonel Sebastiani's report against his Majesty's Government,—the officer commanding his forces in Egypt, and his army in that quarter: but that on the other hand, the language of the First Consul has tended to strengthen and confirm the suspicions which that publication was peculiarly calculated to excite.

I shall now proceed to give you some farther instructions on the language which it may be proper for you to hold respecting the charge which has been advanced against his Majesty's Government, of their unwillingness to fulfil the Treaty of Amiens. The Treaty of Amiens has been in a course of execution, on the part of his Majesty, in every article in which, according to the spirit of that treaty, it has been found capable of execution. There cannot be the least doubt, that Egypt is at this time completely evacuated. The delay which had arisen in the evacuation of Alexandria, was owing to accidental circumstances, the particulars of which were explained to you in my dispatch of the 30th November last; and I had every reason to believe, from the communication I had with General Andréossy on the subject, that the French Government were perfectly satisfied with the explanation which he was authorized at the time to give them respecting it.

With regard to that article of the treaty which relates to Malta, the stipulations contained in it (owing to circumstances which it was not in the power of his Majesty to controul), have not been found capable

capable of execution. The refusal of Russia to accede to the arrangement, except on condition that the Maltese Language should be abolished;—the silence of the Court of Berlin with respect to the invitation that has been made to it, in consequence of the treaty, to become a guarantying power;—the abolition of the Spanish Priories, in defiance of the treaty to which the King of Spain was a party;—the declaration of the Portuguese Government of their intention to sequester the property of the Portuguese Priory, as forming a part of the Spanish Language, unless the property of the Spanish Priories is restored to them;—the non-election of a Grand Master:—these circumstances would have been sufficient, without any other special grounds, to have warranted his Majesty in suspending the evacuation of the island, until some new arrangement could be adjusted for its security and independence. But when it is considered how greatly the dominion, power, and influence of France have of late been extended, his Majesty must feel, that he has an incontestible right, conformably to the principles on which the treaty of peace was negociated and concluded, to demand additional securities in any new arrangement which it might be necessary to make with a view of effecting the real objects of that treaty. And these considerations, sufficient as they might be in themselves to justify the line of conduct which his Majesty had determined to adopt, have received additional force from the views which have been recently and unreservedly manifested by the French Government, respecting the Turkish do-

minions, and the islands in the Adriatic (*and which have been in a great degree admitted by the First Consul, in his interview with your Excellency*),—views which are directly repugnant, not only to the spirit, but to the letter of the Treaty of Amiens.

From the postscript in your Excellency's letter, it appears that a project was in contemplation, by which, according to the declaration of Mr. Talleyrand, the integrity of the Turkish territory would be secured so as to do away every cause of doubt or uneasiness either with regard to Egypt or to any other part of the Turkish dominions. His Majesty will consider the communication of such a project as indicating a disposition on the part of the French Government, to afford him explanation and satisfaction respecting some of the points which have been the subject of his representations. But after all that has passed, his Majesty cannot consent that his troops should evacuate the island of Malta, until substantial security has been provided for those objects, which, under the present circumstances, might be materially endangered by their removal.

I am, &c.

HAWKESBURY.

His Excellency Lord Whitworth,
&c. &c. &c.

No. XL.

Paris, 5th March, 1803.

My Lord,
I SAW M. de Talleyrand yesterday, and acquitted myself of
your

your Lordship's instructions. I recapitulated the several arguments therein contained, dwelling particularly on the open avowal of the First Consul's views in Egypt; and concluding with the resolution of his Majesty not to withdraw his troops from Malta, until some security should be given, that by so doing his Majesty should not expose the safety of his own dominions.

He heard me with great patience, and in answer endeavoured, as before, to convince me that there was no reason whatever for the apprehensions which we entertained. That it was true, the acquisition of Egypt had been, and perhaps still was, a favourite object of the First Consul, but that it was not so much so as to allow him to go to war for its attainment.

I then told him that what had in a particular manner excited the attention of your Lordship, in my last report, was the assurance he had given me of some project being in contemplation, whereby the integrity of the Turkish Empire would be so insured, in all its parts, as to remove every doubt or apprehension. I begged him, therefore, to explain himself on this subject, which I conceived to be of the utmost importance; since it was only by such means that both parties could be satisfied. He then gave me to understand, that what he had termed a project was nothing more than what had been expressed in the First Consul's message to the legislative body, when he says, that there is a French ambassador at Constantinople, who is charged to give every assurance of the disposition of France to strengthen, instead of to weaken, that Government. I expressed a doubt whether this, or any other

parole security, would be considered as sufficient in such a transaction. Hereupon he repeated the question—what then is the security which you require, and which the First Consul can give? This, I told him, must be the subject of the Negotiation on which we were willing to enter; and I trusted that the French Government would bring into it the same temper, and the same real desire to conciliate, which was manifested by his Majesty's ministers.

M. de Talleyrand now informed me, that the First Consul had five or six days ago, ordered instructions to be sent to General Andréossy, by which he was to require an immediate and categorical answer to the plain question—whether his Majesty would, or would not, cause Malta, to be evacuated by the British troops? that he concluded this communication was already made, and that he expected to learn the result of it in a very few days; adding, that all the First Consul wanted was to know precisely on what he had to depend.

I could not help lamenting this precipitate measure, since it could answer no good purpose, and would only tend to introduce into the discussion ill-humour and offended dignity, in the place of dispassionate reasoning. I begged him, however, to be prepared, and to prepare the First Consul, to meet with more opposition to his will than he had been accustomed to on similar occasions.

I told him, that his Majesty was willing to discuss the point in dispute with fairness and candour, but certainly never would be intimidated into acquiescence; and I repeatedly urged, that if he wished

well

well to the peace of the two countries, he should prepare the First Consul for the consequences which might naturally be expected from this step, and thus prevent the effect of any sudden gust of ill-humour. He was unwilling to admit that there could be any chance of satisfying the First Consul short of a compliance with his wishes, founded as he pretended on good-faith.

Our conversation ended here, and I wait the result of General Andréossy's communication with the utmost impatience.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

P.S. In the interval between the writing and the transcribing the above dispatch, I have taken another opportunity of seeing M. de Talleyrand, and I am glad to find, that (for what purpose I know not), he had represented the instructions to General Andréossy as much more absolute and offensive than they really are. I found him to-day entirely disposed to give me another opinion, and to convince me that the First Consul, far from wishing to carry matters to extremity, was desirous to discuss fairly and without passion, a point, which he admitted was of importance to both countries. He repeatedly assured me, that much as the First Consul might have the acquisition of Egypt at heart, he would sacrifice his own feelings to the preservation of peace; and henceforth seek to augment his glory, by improving and consolidating the internal situation of the

country, rather than by adding to its possessions.

(Signed) W.

Right honorable Lord Hawkesbury,
&c. &c. &c.

No. XLI.

Note from General Andréossy to Lord Hawkesbury, dated March 10, 1803.

THE undersigned ambassador and minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic to his Britannic Majesty, had received from the First Consul, express orders to require from the British Government some explanations respecting the protracted occupation of the island of Malta by the English troops. He had hoped that verbal communications would have been sufficient to have produced satisfactory expositions, by preparing the way for the mutual conciliation of minds and interests, a conduct which has been prescribed to him by his ardent zeal for the maintenance of harmony between the two Countries, and of the peace of Europe, objects of the solicitude of the French Government: but the undersigned thinks he can no longer delay complying with the instructions he had received, and he has therefore the honour of addressing the following observations to his Excellency Lord Hawkesbury, which recal to recollection the spirit and the leading features of the verbal communications which he has previously made to him.

By the conditions of the fourth paragraph of the 10th article of the Treaty of Amiens, the English troops were to evacuate the island of

of Malta and its dependencies three months after the exchange of the ratifications.

Ten months have elapsed since the ratifications have been exchanged, and the English troops are still at Malta.

The French troops on the contrary, who were to evacuate the Neapolitan and Papal States have not waited the expiration of the three months, which were granted to them to withdraw, and have quitted Tarentum, the fortifications of which they had re-established, and where they had collected 100 pieces of cannon.

What can be alledged in justification of the delay in evacuating Malta? has not the tenth article of the Treaty of Amiens provided for every thing? and the Neapolitan troops being arrived, under what pretext do those of England still remain there?

Is it because all the powers enumerated in the 6th paragraph have not yet accepted the guaranty which is devolved upon them? but this is not a condition that relates to the evacuation of the island; and besides, Austria has already sent its act of guaranty: Russia itself has made only a single difficulty which is done away by the accession of the First Consul, to the mortifications proposed, unless indeed England itself throws obstacles in the way, by refusing to accede to the proposals of Russia, which after all could not affect the engagements of his Britannic Majesty, who according to the express conditions of the treaty, is to evacuate the island of Malta within three months, placing it, under the guard of the Neapolitans, who are to garrison it, until the definitive arrangements of the order are settled.

It should therefore seem impossible, and it would be without example in the history of Nations, were his Britannic Majesty to refuse to execute a fundamental article of the pacification, of the very one, which, in the drawing up of the preliminaries, was considered as the first, and as requiring to be settled previously to every other point.

Indeed, the First Consul who cordially relies on the intentions of his Britannic Majesty, and cannot suppose them to be less open and generous than those with which he is animated, has hitherto been unwilling to attribute the delay of the evacuation of the island of Malta, to any other than to maritime circumstances.

The undersigned is, therefore, charged to require explanations on this point, and he is persuaded that the British Ministry will be the more anxious to furnish such as will be satisfactory, as they must be sensible how necessary they are for the maintenance of harmony, and how important they are for the honor of the two nations.

The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to renew to Lord Hawkesbury the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) F. ANDREOSSY.
Portland Place, 10th March, 1803.

No. XLII.

Paris, March 12, 1803.

My Lord,

THE messenger Mafon arrived yesterday morning early, with your Lordship's letter of the 7th, informing me, that in consequence of the preparations in the Ports of France and

and Holland, which, though avowedly intended for colonial service, might, in the event of a rupture, be turned against some part of the British dominions, his Majesty had judged it expedient to send a message to both houses of parliament, recommending in terms void of offence, the adoption of such measures as may be consistent with the honour of his crown, and the security of his dominions, and at the same time such as will manifest his Majesty's disposition for the preservation of peace.

I beg leave to return your Lordship my thanks for having apprized me of this circumstance by a special messenger; I found, however, on going to M. de Talleyrand, at two o'clock, that he was already informed of it. He was just setting out to communicate it to the First Consul, and appeared under considerable agitation. He returned with me to his cabinet, and though he told me he was pressed for time, he suffered me to relate the circumstance without interruption. I endeavoured to make him sensible that this measure was merely precautionary, and not in the least degree intended as a menace. I concluded my observations by repeating that it was merely a measure of self security, founded on the armaments which were carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, remarking at the same time, that had not even the armaments been as notorious as they were, the very circumstance of the First Consul's determination to augment so considerably his army in time of peace, would have been a full and sufficient motive for such a measure of precaution.

M. de Talleyrand now informed me that he was already acquainted

with the business; that a messenger had that morning arrived, who had brought him a copy of the message, which he communicated to me. I could draw from him no reply whatever to my observations. He confined himself strictly to the assurance which he has so repeatedly made, that there was no foundation whatever for the alarm which was felt by his Majesty's Ministers; that the First Consul was pacific; that he had no thoughts whatever of attacking his Majesty's dominions, unless forced to do so by a commencement of hostilities on our part; that he should always consider the *refusal to evacuate Malta as such a commencement of hostilities*; and that as we had hitherto hesitated to do so, he was justified in adopting the measures which might eventually be necessary. He disclaimed every idea of the Armaments fitting out in the Dutch ports having any other destination than to the Colonies, and concluded that for his part, he could not comprehend the motives which had necessitated a resort to such a measure on the part of his Majesty's Government.

He then desired leave to go to the First Consul, promising that he would let me know the result when we met at dinner at the Prussian Minister's. He did not come there till near seven o'clock, and when we rose from dinner, he took me aside, and informed me, that although the First Consul had been highly irritated at the unjust suspicion which his Majesty's Government entertained, yet he would not allow himself to be so far mastered by his feelings, as to lose sight of the calamities which the present discussion might entail upon humanity. He dwelt much on this

topick, and explained the measures to which he should be obliged to resort; he said that if England wished to discuss fairly, he wished the same; that if England prepared for war he would do the same; and that if England should finally determine on hostilities, he trusted to the support of the French nation in the cause of honour and of justice. It was in vain that I repeated that England did not wish for war; that peace was as necessary to us as it could be to France; that all we desired, and all that we were contending for, was security; that every thing proved to us that that security was threatened by the First Consul's views on Egypt; and that consequently our refusal to evacuate Malta, was become as much a necessary measure of precaution, as the defence of any part of his Majesty's dominions. To this kind of reasoning M. de Talleyrand opposed the moderation of the First Consul, his great self-denial, and his determination to sacrifice even the most favourite points to his sincere desire to avoid a rupture.

M. de Talleyrand now told me, that, in order to facilitate my communication of the First Consul's sentiments, he would communicate to me a paper which he had that morning drawn up with him; that it was not to be considered as any thing absolutely official; that it was a memorandum to assist me, but such as I might, if I chose, transmit to your Lordship. I now inclose it.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

Right honorable Lord Hawkesbury,
&c. &c. &c.

1. IF his Britannick Majesty in his message means to speak of the expedition of Helvoetsluys, all the world knows that it was destined for America, and that it was on the point of sailing for its destination, but in consequence of his Majesty's message, the embarkation and putting to sea are about to be countermanded.

2. If we do not receive satisfactory explanation respecting these armaments in England, and if they actually take place, *it is natural* that the First Consul should march 20,000 men into Holland, since Holland is mentioned in the message.

3. These troops being once in the country, *it is natural* that an encampment should be formed on the frontiers of Hanover; and, moreover, that additional bodies should join those troops which were already embarked for America, in order to form new embarkations, and to maintain an offensive and defensive position.

4. *It is natural* that the First Consul should order several camps to be formed at Calais, and on different points of the coasts.

5. It is likewise *in the nature of things*, that the First Consul, who was on the point of evacuating Switzerland, should be under the necessity of continuing a French army in that country.

6. It is also *the natural consequence of all this*, that the First Consul should send a fresh force into Italy, in order to occupy, in case of necessity, the position of Tarentum.

7. England arming, and arming with so much publicity, will compel France to put her armies on the war establishment, a step so important,

portant, as cannot fail to agitate all Europe.

The result of all these movements will be to irritate the two countries still more. France will have been compelled to take all these precautions in consequence of the English armaments, and nevertheless every means will be taken to excite the English nation by the assertion, that France meditates an invasion. The whole British population will be obliged to put themselves under arms for their defence, and their export trade will, even before the war, be in a state of stagnation throughout the whole extent of the countries occupied by the French arms.

The experience of nations, and the course of events prove, that the distance between such a state of things and actual hostility, is unfortunately not remote.

As to the differences, of which mention is made in his Britannick Majesty's message, we know not of any that we have with England; for it cannot be imagined that a serious intention can have existed in England of evading the execution of the Treaty of Amiens, under the protection of a military armament. Europe well knows that it is possible to attempt the dismemberment of France, but not to intimidate her.

No. XLIII.

Paris, March 14, 1803.

My Lord,

THE messenger Mason went on Saturday with my dispatches of that date, and until yesterday, Sunday, I saw no one likely to give me any further information such as

I could depend upon, as to the effect which his Majesty's message had produced on the First Consul. At the court which was held at the Thuilleries upon that day, he accosted me evidently under very considerable agitation. He began by asking me if I had any news from England. I told him that I had received letters from your Lordship two days ago. He immediately said, and so you are determined to go to war. No! I replied, we are too sensible of the advantages of peace.—*Nous avons, said he, déjà fait la Guerre pendant Quinze Ans.*—As he seemed to wait for an answer, I observed only, *C'en est déjà trop.*—*Mais, said he, vous voulez la faire encore Quinze Annees, et vous m'y forcez.*—I told him, that was very far from his Majesty's intentions.—He then proceeded to Count Marcow and the Chevalier Azara, who were standing together at a little distance from me, and said to them, *Les Anglois veulent la Guerre, mais s'ils font les premiers à tirer l'Epee je serai le dernier à la remettre. Ils ne respectent pas les Traités. Il faut dorénavant les couvrir de Crepe noir.*—He then went his round, in a few minutes he came back to me, and resumed the conversation, if such it can be called, by something personally civil to me. He began again.—*Pourquoi des Armemens? Contre qui des Mesures de Precaution? Je n'ai pas un seul Vaisseau de Ligne dans les Ports de France; mais si vous voulez armer, j'armerai aussi; si vous voulez vous battre, je me battrai aussi. Vous pourrez peut-être tuer la France, mais jamais l'intimider.*—*On ne voudroit, said I, ni l'un ni l'autre. On voudroit*
* S 2 *vivre*

vivre en bonne Intelligence avec elle.—Il faut donc respecter les Traités; replied he; Malheur à ceux qui ne respectent pas les Traités; ils en feront responsable à toute l'Europe.—He was too much agitated to make it adviseable for me to prolong the conversation; I therefore made no answer, and he retired to his apartment, repeating the last phrase.

It is to be remarked that all this passed loud enough to be overheard by two hundred people who were present, and I am persuaded that there was not a single person, who did not feel the extreme impropriety of his conduct, and the total want of dignity as well as of decency on the occasion.

I propose taking the first opportunity of speaking to Mr. Talleyrand on the subject.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

Right Honorable Lord Hawkesbury
&c. &c. &c.

No. XLIV.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Hawkesbury to Lord Whitworth, dated March 15, 1803.

I SEND your Excellency a copy of the note presented to me by General Andréossy on the tenth instant*, and a copy of the answer which I have this day by his Majesty's commands returned to it.

NOTE.

No. XLV.

THE undersigned, his Majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, has laid before the

King the note of his Excellency the French ambassador of the 10th instant.

In obeying the commands of his Majesty, by returning an official answer to this note, the undersigned feels it necessary for him to do little more than repeat the explanations which have been already given on more than one occasion by himself verbally to General Andréossy, and by Lord Whitworth to M. Talleyrand, on the subject of the note, and of the points which appear to be connected with it. He can have no difficulty in assuring the French ambassador, that his Majesty has entertained a most sincere desire that the Treaty of Amiens might be executed in a full and complete manner; but it has not been possible for him to consider this treaty as having been founded on principles different from those which have been invariably applied to every other antecedent treaty or convention, namely, that they were negotiated with reference to the actual *state of possession* of the different parties, and to the *treaties* or *public engagements* by which they were bound at the time of its conclusion; and that if that state of possession and of engagements was so materially altered by the act of either of the parties as to affect the nature of the compact itself, the other party has a right according to the law of nations, to interfere for the purpose of obtaining satisfaction or compensation for any essential difference which such acts may have subsequently made in their relative situation; that if there ever was a case to which this principle might be applied with peculiar propriety, it was that of the late treaty of peace; for

* See No. XLI. P. * 225

the negotiation was conducted on a basis not merely proposed by his Majesty, but specially agreed to, in an official note, by the French Government, viz. *that his Majesty should keep a compensation out of his conquests for the important acquisition of territory made by France upon the continent.* That is a sufficient proof that the compact was understood to have been concluded in relation to the then existing state of things; for the measure of his Majesty's compensation was to be calculated with reference to the acquisitions of France at that time; and if the interference of the French Government in the general affairs of Europe since that period; if their interposition with respect to Switzerland and Holland, whose independence was guaranteed by them at the time of the conclusion of the treaty of peace; if the acquisitions which have been made by France in various quarters, but particularly those in Italy, have extended the territory and increased the power of France, his Majesty would be warranted, consistently with the spirit of the treaty of peace, in claiming equivalents for these acquisitions, as a counterpoise to the augmentation of the power of France. His Majesty, however, anxious to prevent all grounds of misunderstanding, and desirous of consolidating the general peace of Europe, as far as might be in his power, was willing to have waved the pretensions he might have a right to advance of this nature; and as the other articles of the definitive treaty have been in a course of execution on his part, so he would have been ready to have carried into effect an arrangement conformable to the true intent and spirit of the tenth

article; the execution of that arrangement, according to its terms having been rendered impracticable by circumstances which it was not in his Majesty's power to controul. Whilst his Majesty was actuated by these sentiments of moderation and forbearance, and prepared to regulate his conduct in conformity to them, his attention was particularly attracted by the very extraordinary publication of the report of Colonel Sebastiani to the First Consul. This report contains the most unjustifiable insinuations and charges against his Majesty's Government; against the officer commanding his forces in Egypt, and against the British army in that quarter: insinuations and charges wholly destitute of foundation, and such as would have warranted his Majesty in demanding that satisfaction which on occasions of this nature, independent powers, in a state of amity, have a right to expect from each other. It discloses, moreover, views in the highest degree injurious to the interests of his Majesty's dominions, and directly repugnant to, and utterly inconsistent with, the spirit and letter of the treaty of peace concluded between his Majesty and the French Government. His Majesty's ambassador at Paris was accordingly directed to make such a representation to the French Government, as his Majesty felt to be called for by imputations of the nature above described, by the disclosure of purposes inconsistent with good faith, and highly injurious to the interests of his people; and as a claim had recently been made by the French Government on the subject of the evacuation of Malta, Lord Whitworth was instructed to accompany this representation by a

declaration on the part of his Majesty, that before he could enter into any further discussions relative to that island, it was expected, that satisfactory explanations should be given upon the various points respecting which his Majesty had complained. This representation and this claim, founded on principles incontestably just, and couched in terms the most temperate, appear to have been wholly disregarded by the French Government; no satisfaction has been afforded, no explanation whatever has been given; but on the contrary, his Majesty's suspicions of the views of the French Government with respect to the Turkish Empire have been confirmed and strengthened by subsequent events. Under these circumstances his Majesty feels that he has no alternative, and that a just regard to his own honor and to the interests of his people, makes it necessary for him to declare, that he cannot consent that his troops should evacuate the island of Malta, until substantial security has been provided for those objects which, under the present circumstances, might be materially endangered by their removal.

With respect to several of the positions stated in the note, and grounded on the idea of the 10th article being executed in its literal sense, they call for some observations. By the 10th article of the Treaty of Amiens, the island of Malta was to be restored by his Majesty to the order of St. John, upon certain conditions. The evacuation of the island, at a specified period, formed a part of these conditions; and if the other stipulations had been in a due course of execution, his Majesty would have

been bound, by the terms of the treaty, to have ordered his forces to evacuate the island: but these conditions must be considered as being all of equal effect; and if any material parts of them should have been found incapable of execution, or if the execution of them should from any circumstances have been retarded, his Majesty would be warranted in deferring the evacuation of the island until such time as the other conditions of the article could be effected; or until some new arrangement could be concluded which should be judged satisfactory by the contracting parties. The refusal of Russia to accede to the arrangement, except on condition that the Maltese language should be abolished; the silence of the Court of Berlin, with respect to the invitation that has been made to it, in consequence of the treaty, to become a guarantying power; the abolition of the Spanish priories, in defiance of the treaty to which the King of Spain was a party; the declaration of the Portuguese Government, of their intention to sequester the property of the Portuguese priory, as forming a part of the Spanish language, unless the property of the Spanish priories was restored to them,—these circumstances would have been sufficient, without any other special grounds, to have warranted his Majesty in suspending the evacuation of the island. The evacuation of Tarentum and Brundisium is in no respect connected with that of Malta. The French Government were bound to evacuate the Kingdom of Naples by their treaty of peace with the King of Naples at a period antecedent to that at which this stipulation was carried into effect.

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The French Government were bound likewise, by engagements with the Emperor of Russia, to respect the independence of the kingdom of Naples; but even admitting that the departure of the French troops from Tarentum depended solely on the article of the Treaty of Amiens, the departure is, by the terms of the treaty, to take place at the same period as the other evacuations in Europe; namely, one month after the ratification of the definitive treaty; at which period both Porto Ferrajo and Minorca were evacuated by his Majesty's forces; whereas the troops of his Majesty were in no case bound to evacuate the island of Malta antecedent to the period of three months after the ratification of the definitive treaty; and even in that event, it must be considered as depending upon the other parts of the arrangement being in a course of execution. With respect to the assertion in the note, that the Neapolitan troops were to form the Garrison of Malta until the period when the arrangements relative to the order could be carried into effect, it will appear, by a reference to the article, that by the preliminary paragraph, the island was to be restored to the order upon the condition of the succeeding stipulations, and that it was only from the period when the restitution to the order had actually taken place, that by the 12th paragraph the Neapolitan troops were to form a part of the Garrison.

The undersigned has thus stated, with all the frankness which the importance of the subject appears to require, the sentiments of his Majesty on the note delivered to him by General Andréossy, and on

the points in discussion between the two countries.

His Majesty is willing to indulge the hope, that the conduct of the French Government on this occasion may be influenced by principles similar to those which have invariably influenced his own. That as far as possible all clauses of distrust, and every impediment to a good understanding between the two countries, may be completely and effectually removed, and that the peace may be consolidated on a secure and lasting foundation.

The undersigned requests General Andréossy to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

Downing Street, March 15, 1803.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

His Excellency General Andréossy,
&c. &c. &c.

No. XLVI.

Paris, March 17, 1803.

My Lord,

I CALLED yesterday on M. de Talleyrand, to converse with him on the subject of what had passed on Sunday last at the Thuilleries. He had been since that day so fully occupied with his expeditions to different foreign courts, that I had no opportunity of seeing him sooner. I told him, that I had been placed by the First Consul in a situation which could neither suit my public nor my private feelings. That I went to the Thuilleries to pay my respects to the First Consul, and to present my countrymen, but not to treat of political

political subjects ; and that unless I had the assurance from him, that I should not be exposed to a repetition of the same disagreeable circumstances, I should be under the necessity of discontinuing my visits to the Thuilleries. M. de Talleyrand assured me, that it was very far from the First Consul's intention to distress me ; but he had felt himself personally insulted by the charges which were brought against him by the English Government ; *and that it was incumbent upon him to take the first opportunity of exculpating himself in the presence of the Ministers of the different powers of Europe.* He assured me that nothing similar would occur.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

The Right Honorable Lord
Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

No. XLVII.

Paris, March 18 1803.

My Lord,

I RECEIVED your Lordship's dispatch, with its inclosures, this morning early ; and I learnt at the same time that a messenger had arrived from General Andréossi to M. de Talleyrand ; shortly after, M. de Talleyrand sent to desire I would call upon him, which I accordingly did. He told me that he had not only received your Lordship's note to the French ambassador, but also the sentiments of the First Consul upon it, which he was desirous to communicate to me, before he re-dispatched the messenger. This he did, and I refer your Lordship to the communication, which General Andréossi will make,

according to his instructions, without loss of time.

From the tenor of this note, it appears that this Government is not desirous to proceed to extremities ; that is to say, it is not prepared so to do ; and therefore it expresses a willingness to enter on the discussion of the point, which appears according to their conception, or rather to the interpretation they choose to give to it, the most material. This of course is the safety of Egypt. On this the First Consul declares in the note, as M. de Talleyrand did repeatedly to me, that he would be willing to enter into any engagement, by which such a security as would fully quiet our apprehensions, might be given on the part of the French Government. On the subject of Malta, the First Consul maintains that he cannot listen to any compromise ; with regard to Egypt he is willing to enter into any engagement which may be thought sufficient.

I told him that he had departed from the letter and the sense of your Lordship's note, by confining the question to Malta alone. That note had comprehended other most important considerations. That the best method of bringing the discussion to a speedy conclusion, such as his Majesty's Government appeared to wish, was to take it up on a broader scale. But that at the same time his Majesty's Government would not refuse to lend itself to any thing reasonable which might be suggested. There was however, I told him, one distinction to be made in the situation of the two Governments, in the discussion of this question. By our possession of Malta, France was not threatened, but the reverse was the case,

case, should the access to Egypt be opened by its evacuation.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

The Right Honorable Lord
Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

No. XLVIII.

Downing Street, March 22, 1803.

My Lord,

YOUR Excellency's several dispatches to No. 26 inclusive, have been received and laid before the King.

With respect to the subject of your Excellency's dispatch of March 14, I have it in command to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure, that you take the earliest opportunity to represent to Monsieur de Talleyrand, the surprise with which his Majesty has learnt the conduct which the First Consul had observed towards your Excellency in the instance to which that dispatch refers; and you will add, that as his Majesty has a right to expect that his ambassador should be treated with the respect and attention due to the dignity of the Sovereign whom he represents; it will be impossible for you to present yourself on any days of ceremony to the First Consul, unless you receive an assurance that you will never be exposed to a repetition of the Treatment which you experienced on the occasion.

Although your Excellency appears to have anticipated this instruction in one of your most recent conversations with Monsieur de Talleyrand, I nevertheless think it right to enable your Excellency to state to that minister, the sense

which the King entertains of this transaction.

I am, with great truth and respect, &c.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

His Excellency Lord Whitworth,
K. B. &c. &c. &c.

No. XLIX.

Downing Street, April 3, 1803.

My Lord,

I INCLOSE to your Excellency for your information, copies of the official note delivered to me on the 29th ultimo by General Andréossy, and of the answer which by his Majesty's command, I this day returned to that communication.

I am, with great truth and respect, &c.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

His Excellency Lord Whitworth,
K. B. &c. &c. &c.

(Inclosure referred to in No. 49.)

THE undersigned General of Division, Ambassador and Minister Plenipotentiary from the French Republic, has laid before his Government the note addressed to him by his Excellency Lord Hawkesbury. He has received orders to make the following answer to the observations therein contained.

The object of this note appears to be to explain his Britannic Majesty's message; and to give some elucidations which had been demanded respecting the execution of the Treaty of Amiens.

The First Consul will not make any complaint relative to the extraordinary and unexpected assertions

tions of this act issued, by his Britannic Majesty. Not one of them is founded.

His Britannic Majesty believes that his Kingdom is menaced by preparations made in the ports of Holland and France. He has been deceived: the First Consul has made no preparation.

There were at the time of the message, but two frigates in the Roads of Holland, and but three Corvettes in the Road of Dunkirk.

How can his Britannic Majesty's Ministers have been deceived on facts so evident? his Britannic Majesty's Ambassadors at Paris and at the Hague have seriously to reproach themselves, if they have credited information so evidently false, and if they did not foresee that they thereby exposed their Government to err in the most important deliberations.

Was it not conformable to the usage practised among nations, first to demand explanations, and thus to take means for being convinced of the falshood of the intelligence which the Ministers might have received? must not the least effects of the omission of this practice be, to bring on the ruin of families, and carry confusion, uncertainty, and disorder into all the commercial affairs of both nations? the First Consul knows, both from his own sentiments, and judging of other people by the French, that a great nation can never be terrified. He believes that good policy and the feelings of true dignity ever inspire the sentiment of esteem for a rival nation, and never the design of menacing her. A great nation may be destroyed, but not intimidated.

The second part of his Majesty's

message consists of another assertion no better founded. His Britannic Majesty makes mention of discussions, the success of which is doubtful. What are these discussions? what official notes, what protocole prove the opening, the progress, the vicissitudes of a debate? can a state of difficulties, which leads to an alternative of peace or war, spring up unawares without commencement, without progression, and lead without distinction, to an appeal to arms before all the means of conciliation have been exhausted.

In this case, the appeal has been publicly made before it could be known that there was room for misunderstanding. The termination of the discussions was announced before they had begun. The issue of a difficult discussion has been declared before it arose. What would Europe, what would both nations think, if they knew that these discussions, announced by his Britannic Majesty as so difficult to terminate, were unknown to the French Government; and that the First Consul on reading the message, could not comprehend the meaning of either of the declarations therein contained.

He has also abstained from any ostensible step; and whatever may have been the clamour, the activity, the provocations of war, which have taken place in England since that message, he has given no orders, he has made no dispositions, no preparations. He places his glory in an affair of this nature, wholly in being taken in an unprovided state. He will continue in this system of honest frankness, until his Britannic Majesty has reflected fully on the part he proposes to take.

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In Lord Hawkesbury's note, an opinion is expressed, that the French Republick has increased in power since the Peace of Amiens. This is a decided error. Since that epoch, France has evacuated a considerable territory. The French Power has received no degree of augmentation. If his Britannic Majesty is determined to make war, he may allege all the pretexts he pleases. He will find few less founded.

As to the complaints made respecting the publications which may have appeared in France, they are of an order too secondary to be capable of influencing such a decision. Are we then returned to the age of tournaments? motives of this nature might have authorized, four centuries ago, the combat of thirties; but they cannot, in this age, be a reason for war between the two countries.

It might suffice in this respect to reply to his Excellency, that no representation has been made by him on the subject to the Government of the Republick; and that, if it was but justice to grant satisfaction, the First Consul had a right to expect that which was required by M. Otto, in his note of the 22d Thermidor last, upon grounds more serious and more just.

Is it possible that the English ministry can have been ignorant, that ever since the conclusion of the Treaty of Amiens the English press has not ceased to spread through Europe the rage of war, the discredit of peace, and shameless and boundless outrages against every thing which is the object of the love and veneration of the French people?

A few days after the ratification of peace, one of his Britannic Ma-

jefty's Ministers declared that the peace establishment must be considerable; and the distrust excited by this declaration made in parliament with as much bitterness as impropriety, furnished a commentary for the exaggeration and alarms which were circulated in despicable pamphlets, and in newspapers as contemptible as those libels. Since that time, these writers have found themselves invariably supported in their insolent observations by particular phrases taken from the speeches of some leading members of parliament. These speeches, scarcely to be exceeded by the news-writers themselves, have, for these eighteen months, tended to encourage insult against other Governments to that degree, that every European must be offended, and every reasonable Englishman must be humiliated, by such unheard of licentiousness.

What if we connect with these sallies, proceedings more offensive and serious; the indulgence granted to French criminals, publishing daily outrages in the French language; the still more inexcusable toleration extended to villains covered with crimes, and plotting assassinations incessantly, such as Georges, who still continues to reside at London protected, and having a considerable establishment; in a word, the little justice which has been shewn to all our representations—How are we to account for the publicity of the complaint which his Britannic Majesty has thought proper to make respecting some indefinite wrongs which he has hitherto thought unnecessary to bring before the First Consul?

The First Consul has had cause to be convinced that all his representations on all these points were useless, and that his Britannick Majesty,

jeſty, regardless of the neighbouring powers, was reſolved to authorize every thing within his dominions; but he did not on that account entertain a doubt of the continuance of peace, nor alarm Europe with the notification of war. He confined himſelf to this principle of conduct, to permit or prevent in France with reſpect to England whatever ſhould be permitted or prevented in England with regard to France.

He has, however, expreſſed, and he again expreſſes his wiſh, that means ſhould be adopted to prevent in future any mention being made of what is paſſing in England, either in the official diſcuſſions or in the polemical writings in France, as in like manner in the French official diſcuſſions and polemical writings no mention whatever ſhould be made of what is paſſing in England.

Lord Hawkeſbury mentions an article in a newspaper, containing the report of a French colonel. In ſerious diſcuſſions an answer on this point might be diſpenſed with; but it is neither a long nor difficult matter.

A colonel in the Engliſh army has publiſhed a work in England, filled with the moſt atrocious and diſgufting calumnies againſt the French army and its general. The lies it contains have been contradicted by the reception which Colonel Sebaſtiani experienced. The publicity of his report was at once a refutation and a reparation which the French army had a right to expect. On his arrival in Egypt, this officer, to his great aſtoniſhment, found the Engliſh army there, although they ſhould have evacuated it, and the Turks prodigiouſly alarmed at the continuance of the Engliſh army,

and at its relations with the natives in rebellion and open revolt againſt the ſublime porte.

He muſt have conceived that the treaties which connect us with the porte, and by which we have guaranteed to it the integrity of its poſſeſſions, compelled us to unite ourſelves with that power. It was natural to think that England meant to declare war from the inſtant ſhe reſuſed to execute the articles of the treaty. For after all, France is not reduced to ſuch a ſtate of debaſement as to ſuffer treaties made with her to be executed or not at pleaſure.

Hence the reſearches made by this officer, as to the forces which were in Egypt, and as to the poſition occupied by the Engliſh army.

But Egypt has ſince been reſtored to the dominion of its lawful Sovereign, and the idea of a rupture between the two nations, on account of the engagement contracted with the porte, no longer exiſts.

There remains, therefore, but one object worthy of fixing the attention of the two nations. The execution of the Treaty of Amiens, as far as concerns Malta. His Majeſty has engaged to reſtore it to the order, and to entruſt it to the Neapolitan army till the order ſhould be in a condition to guard it. His Majeſty will reject all ſophiſtry, every diſtinction, every mental reſervation which might be offered to him, to put in doubt the force and the validity of his engagement. His Britannick Majeſty's equity, his conſcience in this reſpect, are guarantees for the French Republick. Were it otherwiſe, what means in future would the two
nations

nations have for coming to an understanding? would not all be chaos? this would indeed be adding another calamity to those which have menaced social order.

The undersigned is directed to declare, in short, that the First Consul will not take up the defiance of war given by England to France; that as to Malta, he sees no subject for discussion, the treaty having provided for every thing, and settled every thing.

The undersigned has the honor, &c.

(Signed) F. ANDRÉOSSY.

Portland Place, 8 Germinal, year
11. (29th March, 1803.)

(Inclosure referred to in No. 49.)

THE undersigned, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for foreign affairs, has laid before the King the note of his Excellency General Andréossy, of the 29th of last month.

His Majesty has been induced, by that spirit of moderation and forbearance which have invariably governed his conduct in every part of his communications with the French Government, to abstain from making many observations, which the perusal of this note may naturally have suggested to his mind.

His Majesty has perceived with great regret, that the French Government continue to withhold all satisfaction and explanation on the points on which he has complained; and that at the time when they

evade all discussion on the subject of his representations, they persist in their requisition that the island of Malta should be forthwith evacuated by his forces.

His Majesty can never so far forget what is due to himself and to his people, as to acquiesce in such a course of proceeding; he has therefore judged it expedient to give instructions to his ambassador at Paris, to ascertain distinctly from the French Government, whether they are determined to persevere in withholding all satisfaction and explanation on the points on which his Majesty has complained,—or whether they are disposed, without delay, to give such satisfaction and explanations upon the present state of affairs as may lead to an arrangement which may be calculated to adjust the differences at present subsisting between the two Governments. It is his Majesty's anxious desire, that by this mode of proceeding an end may be put to that state of suspense and irritation, which must be so injurious to the interests of both countries; and that the two Governments, actuated by the same principles of justice and moderation may be led to concur in such measures as are most likely to conduce to their permanent tranquillity.

The undersigned requests General Andréossy to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

HAWKESBURY.

Downing Street, April 3d, 1803.

His Excellency General Andréossy,
&c. &c. &c.

No.

No. L.

Downing Street, April 4, 1803.

My Lord,

IT is become essential, that the discussions which have been for some time subsisting between his Majesty and the French Government should be brought to an issue within as short a time as is consistent with the deliberation which must be given to objects of so much Importance.

The last note presented by General Andréossy, in the name of his Government, in answer to my note of the 15th of last month, evades all explanation, and even all discussion, of the points on which complaint has been made by his Majesty.

If the French Government should seriously intend to persist in this course of proceeding, there can be no hopes of a successful termination to the present negotiation. It is important, therefore, that you should ascertain distinctly, in the first instance, whether they are disposed to enter into explanation on the points on which his Majesty has complained, and to come to such an arrangement as may be calculated to adjust the differences at present subsisting between the two countries; and for this purpose you will present a note to the effect of that which is herewith inclosed. It is possible that the French Government may continue to evade all discussion on the points in question, and confine themselves to a categorical demand, that Malta should be immediately evacuated. In that case, it is his Majesty's pleasure, that you should declare the impossi-

bility of the relations of amity continuing to subsist between the two countries, and the necessity that you will be under of leaving Paris within a certain time. But if, on the other hand, they should shew a readiness to enter into discussion, and to give reasonable satisfaction and explanation, it is important that you should be informed, without loss of time, of the sentiments of his Majesty's Government, as to what might be considered as an equitable adjustment of the differences between the two Governments at this moment.

I have, therefore, by his Majesty's command, inclosed the project of an arrangement, which, under the present circumstances, would meet the ideas of his Majesty's Government; which would afford security for those objects which are considered as endangered by the unequivocal disclosure of the views of the First Consul, and which at the same time, might entirely save the honor of the French Government.

I am, &c.

HAWKESBURY.

His Excellency Lord Whitworth,
&c. &c. &c.

(First inclosure referred to in No. 50.)

THE undersigned, his Britannic Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary has received the orders of his court to make the following communication to the French Government.

His Majesty has perceived, with great regret, that the French Government continue to withhold all satisfaction and explanation on the points on which he has complained,
and

and that at the time when they evade all discussion on the subject of his representations, they persist in their requisition that the island of Malta should be forthwith evacuated by his forces. His Majesty can never so far forget what is due to himself, and to his people, as to acquiesce in such a course of proceeding. He has therefore commanded the undersigned to ascertain distinctly from the French Government, whether they are determined to persevere in withholding all satisfaction and explanation upon the points on which his Majesty has complained, or whether they are disposed, without delay, to give such satisfaction and explanation upon the present state of affairs, as may lead to an arrangement, which may be calculated to adjust the differences at present subsisting between the two governments.

It is his Majesty's anxious desire that by adopting this mode of proceeding, an end may be put to that state of suspense and uncertainty which must be so injurious to the interests of both countries; and that the two governments, actuated by the same principles of justice and moderation, may be led to concur in such measures as are most likely to conduce to their permanent tranquillity.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

(Second inclosure referred to in No. 50.)

Heads of an Arrangement to be concluded by Treaty or Convention between his Majesty and the French Government.

MALTA to remain in perpetuity in the possession of his Majesty. The Knights of the Order of St.

John to be indemnified by his Majesty for any losses of property which they may sustain in consequence of such an arrangement.

Holland and Swisserland to be evacuated by the French troops.

The island of Elba to be confirmed by his Majesty to France, and the King of Etruria to be acknowledged.

The Italian and Ligurian Republics to be acknowledged by his Majesty, provided an arrangement is made in Italy for the King of Sardinia, which shall be satisfactory to him.

No. LI.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, April 7, 1803.

I RECEIVED your Lordship's dispatches of the 4th instant by the messenger Wagstaff, with their inclosures, yesterday evening; and shall probably in the course of the day have an opportunity of communicating to Monsieur de Talleyrand the note, which I shall translate for that purpose.

No. LII.

Paris, April 7, 1803.

My Lord,

SINCE writing the preceding dispatch, I have seen M. de Talleyrand, and communicated to him the inclosed note, which I trust your Lordship will find as close a translation as possible, of that which I received from your Lordship. He read it over with much attention, and when he had done he appeared to be in expectation of some other communication.

communication. Upon desiring he would explain himself, he said that he was in hopes I should have furnished him with the heads of those points, on which it was affirmed in the note that the French Government had so repeatedly refused all explanation and satisfaction. I told him, that it would have been entirely useless to repeat what had been so often urged in vain; that he could not but know that the explanation required, referred to the conduct of the French Government, and the system of aggrandisement which it had constantly pursued since the conclusion and in direct violation of the Treaty of Amiens, founded as it indisputably was on the state of possession of the two countries at the time; that with regard to the satisfaction, it evidently referred to the unjustifiable insinuations and charges against his Majesty's Government, against the officer commanding his forces in Egypt, and against the British army in that quarter, contained in the official report of Colonel Sébastiani. He was by no means disposed to admit, that either of these cases could justify the assertion of the French Government having refused explanation and satisfaction on the ground that no notice had been taken of these transactions but in a very cursory manner; nor had any explanation ever been required as to any particular transaction whether in Italy or elsewhere, and if it had, it would immediately have been given; and that the language of Colonel Sebastiani was not to be put in any comparison with that used by Major Wilson, in his account of the campaign of Egypt. I urged the difference of a common publication like that to

which he alluded, and a report to the First Consul published by him in his official paper. On this occasion, M. de Talleyrand was disposed to call in question the authenticity of the *Moniteur*. In short, the most ungrounded assertions were substituted for arguments; and amongst these, I cannot but place that so often repeated of the First Consul's having entirely given up all idea whatever of Egypt, consequently we could have no pretext for retaining Malta.

He assured me for the rest, that he would communicate it this evening to the First Consul, and that tomorrow he should in all probability have a communication to make in return.

I have the honor to be, &c.

WHITWORTH.

The Right Honorable Lord
Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

(*Inclosure referred to in No. 52.*)

LE Souffigné, ambassadeur extraordinaire et plenipotentiaire de sa Majesté Britannique, a reçu ordre de sa cour de communiquer ce qui suit au Gouvernement de France.

Sa Majesté a vû à regret que le Gouvernement de France continue à refuser toute satisfaction et toute explication sur les objets dont elle a à se plaindre, et qu'en évitant toute discussion de ce qui fait le sujet de ses représentations il persiste néanmoins à demander l'évacuation de l'Isle de Malthe par les forces de sa Majesté. Sa Majesté fait trop ce qu'elle se doit à elle-même et à son peuple pour acquiescer à de pareils procédés. En conséquence elle

elle a ordonné au Souffigné de favoir distinctement du Gouvernement de France, s'il est déterminé à persévérer dans son refus de toute satisfaction et de toute explication sur les objets de plainte de sa Majesté, ou bien s'il est disposé à donner sans délai cette satisfaction et cette explication sur l'état actuel des affaires de manière à pouvoir conduire à un arrangement qui seroit de nature à ajuster les différens qui actuellement existent entre les Deux Gouvernemens.

Sa Majesté desire sincèrement l'adoption de ce moyen que mettroit fin à un état de suspension et d'incertitude si nuisible à l'intérêt des Deux Nations, et de voir que les Deux Gouvernemens agissant par les mêmes principes de justice et de moderation puissent s'entendre pour concourir aux mesures les plus susceptibles de leur assurer une tranquillité permanente.

Le Souffigné prie son excellence M. de Talleyrand d'agréer l'assurance de sa haute considération.

WHITWORTH.

No. LIII.

Paris, April 9, 1803.

My Lord,

IN my conversation yesterday evening with M. de Talleyrand, I found him, after he had seen the First Consul, more disposed to contest the substance of the note which I had presented the day before, than to afford any further explanation. He said, that in order to proceed regularly, it would be necessary that the French Government should be informed precisely what were the objects which had created such uneasiness, and on which it was alleged

all explanation had been refused. That although this had, perhaps, been touched upon in general conversation, yet no specific charge had been adduced in such a manner as to demand a formal explanation. I told him that if the object of the French Government was to protract the present state of suspense and uncertainty, that object might be answered to the extent indeed of a very few days, by forcing me to such a reference; but I must at the same time declare to him, that it could be productive of no advantage, and would serve only to provoke such a recapitulation of the system and conduct which France had pursued since the Treaty of Amiens, as would have all the appearance of a manifesto, every item of which would carry conviction to every individual in Europe; that it appeared therefore more likely to answer the end which both parties proposed, that of hastening the conclusion of an amicable arrangement, to take up the business on the basis which I should propose, and by which they would admit no more than what was incontrovertible, namely, that if the French Government exercised a right of extending its influence and territory, in violation of the spirit of the Treaty of Amiens, Great Britain had, if she chose to avail herself of it, (which I was confident she would not do further than was necessary as a measure of security,) an undoubted right to seek a counterpoise. He did not seem inclined to dispute this position, but rather to admit that such a right did exist, and might be claimed in consequence of the acquisitions which had been made by France. On the point of satisfaction I found him much more

obstinate.

obstinate. He said that the First Consul was hurt at the expression (*satisfaction*), to which he gave an interpretation I had never understood belonged to it, as implying superiority; so that if the British Government required satisfaction of the French, it arrogated to itself a superiority. I told him, what certainly must be understood by every one, that the demand of satisfaction implied that one party had been offended by another, and of course had a right to demand such satisfaction; that an inferior had an equal right with his superior to demand it; but in the case in question there was perfect equality, and consequently there was no offence to be found but in the conduct which rendered such an appeal necessary. The discussion of this point took up a considerable time without producing any thing decisive.

We at last came to the main point of the business; and on this I cannot say any real progress has been made. M. de Talleyrand repeated to me that the First Consul had nothing more at heart than to avoid the necessity of going to war, and that there was no sacrifice he would not make, short of his honor, to obtain this end. Is there, said M. de Talleyrand, no means of satisfying both parties; for at the same time that the First Consul insists, and will always insist, on the full execution of the treaty, he will not object to any mode by which you may acquire the security you think so necessary. You are not satisfied with the independence of Neapolitan troops; what others will answer the purpose? he then started the idea of a mixed Garrison, composed of English, French, Italian, Germans, &c. He begged

that I would refer once more to your Lordship, and submit the inclosed paper, which he drew up in my presence. I told him that we were only losing time by such a reference; that my instructions were positive, and had certainly not been sent me without the fullest consideration. I could not, however, refuse what he so earnestly required; and your Lordship will see by the paper how the matter rests after this conference. I will confess to your Lordship, that my motive for consenting to forward this sort of proposal is that supposing we should find the First Consul as obstinate as he now appears to be on the point of abandoning Malta to us in perpetuity, and that a temporary possession might be considered as the next best thing, something of this kind might derive from it.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

The Right Honourable Lord
Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

(Inclosure referred to in No. 53.)

THE conversation with M. Talleyrand to-day has led us to this result: every thing which may tend to violate the independance of the Order of Malta, will never be consented to by the French Government. Every thing which may tend to put an end to the present difficulties, or be agreeable to the English Government, and which shall not be contrary to the Treaty of Amiens, the French Government have no objection to make a particular convention respecting it. The motives of this convention shall be inserted

inserted in the preamble, and shall relate to the respective grievances concerning which the two Governments shall think it adviseable to come to an understanding with each other.

No. LIV.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, April 14, 1803.

SINCE my last the negotiation is at a stand, in the expectation, I suppose, of the answer which may arrive, to the overture which I communicated to your Lordship on the 9th instant, and which is expected here to produce a good effect, notwithstanding the little hope I have given. To-morrow I shall, in all probability, be in possession of this answer from your Lordship, and be enabled to speak still more positively.

No. LV.

Downing Street, April 13, 1803.

My Lord,

HIS Majesty has received from his Chargé d'Affaires at Hamburgh, the most extraordinary account of the conduct of Monsieur Reinhard, the French Minister at that place, with respect to a most gross and unwarrantable libel upon his Majesty's Government. He has been assured that the French Minister, having proposed the insertion of that libel in the official gazette of the town of Hamburgh, and the insertion of it having in the first instance been refused, the French Minister went so far as to demand, in his official capacity, the insertion of that ar-

ticle by order of the Senate. His Majesty is unwilling to believe that the French Government could have authorized so outrageous an attack upon his Majesty and his Government, and so daring a violation of the independence of a Neutral State. It is his Majesty's pleasure, that you should communicate these circumstances to the French Government, and state at the same time the impossibility of bringing the present discussions to an amicable conclusion, unless some satisfaction shall be given to his Majesty for the indignity which has thus been offered to him in the face of all Europe by the French Minister at Hamburgh.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

His Excellency Lord Whitworth,
K. B. &c. &c. &c.

No. LVI.

Downing Street, April 13, 1803.

My Lord,

YOUR Excellency's dispatches have been received, and laid before the King.

His Majesty has observed, with great satisfaction, the admission by the French Government of the justice of his claim to some compensation in consequence of the increased power and influence of France, since the period of the conclusion of the definitive treaty.

Although, under the circumstances of your conversation with M. Talleyrand, and particularly after the note verbale which he gave to you, it might have been

expedient that you should have deferred presenting the project, contained in my dispatch No. 7, in the form of a project, it is desirable that you should communicate without delay in some mode or other, the contents of that project, for the purpose of ascertaining distinctly whether the conditions are such as to induce the French Government to give way upon the Question of Malta. These conditions appear to His Majesty so well calculated to save the honour of the French government on the subject of Malta—if the question of Malta is principally considered by them as a question of honour—and at the same time hold out to them such important advantages, that the success of the proposition is at least worth trying, particularly as the result of it might be productive of the most easy means of adjusting the most material of our present differences.

With respect to the assertion so often advanced and repeated by M. Talleyrand in your last conversations of the non-execution of the treaty of Amiens relative to Malta, I have only to observe again, that the execution of that article is become impracticable from causes which it has not been in the power of his Majesty to controul. That the greatest part of the funds assigned to the support of the order, and indispensably necessary for the independence of the order and defence of the island, have been sequestrated since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, in direct repugnance to the spirit and letter of that treaty; and that two of the principal powers who were invited

to accede as guarantees to the arrangement, have refused their accession, except on the conditions that the part of the arrangement which was deemed so material relative to the Maltese inhabitants should be entirely cancelled. The conduct of the French Government since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, gives his Majesty a right, which is now at length admitted by themselves, to demand some compensation for the past, and security for the future. Such compensation could never be considered as obtained by the possession of an Island, which would entail a very heavy expence on this country;—and the degree of security which would be provided by these means, would only be such as his Majesty, under the present circumstances, is entitled to demand.

I observe in the note verbale of Monsieur Talleyrand, he makes use of the expression, *the independence of the order of Malta*. If this is meant to apply to the order exclusively, his Majesty would be willing, for the preservation of peace, that the civil government of the island should be given to the order of St. John; the Maltese enjoying the privileges which were stipulated in their favour in the treaty of Amiens; and that, conformably to principles which have been adopted on other occasions, the fortifications of the island should be garrisoned for ever by the troops of his majesty.

In the event of either of these propositions being found unattainable, his majesty might be disposed to consent to an arrangement by which the island of Malta would

would remain in his possession for a limited number of years, and to wave in consequence his demand for a perpetual occupation, provided that the number of Years was not less than ten, and that his Sicilian Majesty could be induced to cede the sovereignty of the island of Lampedosa for a valuable consideration. If this proposition is admitted, the island of Malta should be given up to the inhabitants at the end of that period, and it should be acknowledged as an independent state. In this case, his Majesty would be ready to concur in any arrangement for the establishment of the order of St. John in some other part of Europe.

You will not refuse to listen to any proposition which the French government may be disposed to make to you with a view to an equivalent security for those objects in regard to which his Majesty claims the possession or occupation of Malta; but the three propositions to which I have above alluded, appear, at the present moment, to furnish the only basis for a satisfactory arrangement; and you will decline receiving any proposition which does not appear to you to offer advantages to his Majesty as substantial as that which I have last stated.

It is very desirable that you should bring the negociation to an issue, if possible, without referring to his Majesty's Government for further instructions, after the receipt of this dispatch; and if you should be of opinion, that there is no hopes of bringing it to a favourable conclusion, you may inform M. Talleyrand of the ne-

cessity you will be under, after a certain time to leave Paris.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

His Excellency Lord Whitworth,
K. B. &c. &c. &c.

No. LVII.

Paris, April 18, 1803.

My Lord,

I did not fail to put into immediate execution the instructions contained in your Lordship's dispatch (No. 11). on the subject of the libel inserted by the French minister in the *Hamburgh gazette*. I represented the outrageous and unprecedented conduct of M. Rheinhardt in such terms as it deserves; and fairly declared to M. de Talleyrand, that, until satisfaction shall be given to his Majesty for the indignity which has been offered him by the French minister in his official character, there could be no possibility whatever of bringing the present discussion to an amicable issue. M. de Talleyrand assured me, that the French government saw the conduct of M. de Rheinhardt in the same light as his Majesty's ministers, and that they could not be more surprised than the first Consul had been at seeing such an article inserted by authority; that an immediate explanation had been required of M. Rheinhardt, five days ago, and if his conduct had been such as had been represented, he would, doubtless, feel the effect of the first Consul's displeasure; and that, in the mean time, I

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might

might inform your lordship that he was completely disavowed. I told M. de Talleyrand, that, as the insult had been public, it would be necessary that the reparation should be so also. He answered me again, that the first Consul considered M. Rheinhardt's conduct as so reprehensible that every satisfaction might be expected.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

Right Honourable Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

No. LVIII.

Paris, April 18, 1803.

My lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your lordship's dispatches of the 13th instant.

I saw Joseph Bonaparte immediately on the receipt of your lordship's dispatch; and without troubling your lordship with a repetition of the arguments I used to hasten the conclusion of the negotiation, amongst which I endeavoured to convince him of the importance of preventing the ultimatum which would inevitably follow the rejection of what I had to propose, I will briefly state, that on finding it perfectly impracticable to establish the principle of our keeping possession of Malta in perpetuity, I delivered to him in writing the second proposal I had to make. He did not fail to observe, that by this modification the difficulty which he considered as insurmountable was not removed; that although the order was ref-

tored, it could not be considered as independent, and, in fact, Malta would belong to that power which had possession of the forts. I enforced the adoption of this plan by every reason which could serve to recommend it; but the possession in perpetuity was constantly urged as a difficulty which nothing could remove. Our conversation lasted near two hours. I confess that I gained no solid ground of hope that the project, which he assured me he would take to the first Consul at St. Cloud, would be adopted. But he said that he was not without hope that he might be authorized to propose to me the occupation of the fortresses for a term of years. It was my wish, that such a proposal should come from him rather than from me. I told him that I did not well see how such a tenure would suit us; but that I wished too sincerely to avoid the fatal extremities to which I saw the discussion was tending, not to give any reasonable proposal which might be made on their part every assistance in my power. This proposal originated with him, and was therefore received by me merely as a matter which I would refer to your lordship. If however I can bring the matter to an immediate conclusion, and without further reference to your lordship on the principle of our retaining possession of the fortresses of Malta for a term of years not less than that pointed out by your lordship, and with the assurance that this government will not oppose the cession of the island of Lampedosa, I shall have great pleasure in announcing to your lordship such a conclusion.

I do not enter into detail of the con-

conversation which I had the same morning with M. de Talleyrand, immediately upon leaving Joseph Bonaparte, as it differed in no wise from what I have above mentioned. He suggested also the possibility of coming to an arrangement on the ground of a temporary occupation, and I made him the same answer.

Such is the state of the discussion at this moment. I am in expectation of hearing very shortly either from Joseph Bonaparte or M. de Talleyrand; and I am not without hopes that I may be able to announce to your lordship, that such an arrangement is made, as may answer his Majesty's expectations, in a very few days. Your lordship may be assured, that I feel the necessity of expedition. Were it less urgent, I might perhaps hope to bring the discussion to even a more favourable issue.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

Right Honourable Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

(*Inclosure referred to in No. LVIII.*)

HIS Majesty will consent, for the sake of preserving peace, that the government of the island of Malta shall be given to the order of St. John; the Maltese enjoying those privileges which have been granted on former occasions. The fortifications of the island shall be occupied in perpetuity by the troops of his Majesty.

No. LIX.

Paris, April 20, 1803.

My Lord,

I HAD hoped that the first extraordinary messenger I should

have had occasion to send, would have been to announce to your lordship, that the differences between the two governments were adjusted on one of the modifications pointed out to me by my last instructions from your lordship. In this expectation I am deceived. I saw Joseph Bonaparte the night before last, before I had sealed up my dispatches of that evening to your lordship; but as all he said, tended only to justify the hope I had given your lordship in those dispatches, I added nothing to them. He assured me positively, that I should hear from M. de Talleyrand in the course of yesterday morning, and that a meeting would be appointed in order to settle the term of years for which the first Consul might be induced to consent to the cession of Malta. It is true that he declared, that in order to gain his consent, it would be necessary to hold out the advantages which the British government was willing to offer in return, meaning the acknowledgments of the new governments in Italy. I told him that this offer was made only with a view to the possession of Malta in perpetuity; but after some conversation, I gave him to understand, that I would not refuse to admit the demand, *sub sperati*, on the condition, that the cession should be made for a considerable term of years; that Holland and Switzerland should be evacuated; and that a suitable provision should be made for the king of Sardinia. He seemed to think there could be no difficulty in this arrangement; and I left him in the persuasion, that I should the next day, yesterday, or this morning, receive the summons from M. de Talleyrand,

* T 4

which

which he had given me reason to expect.

I am sorry to say, that no such summons has been received by me, neither has any further notice been taken of the business. So that I feel, that I should betray the confidence your lordship may place in me were I to delay any longer requesting, that I may be immediately furnished with the terms on which his majesty's ministers would be willing to conclude, and which probably will not differ much from those above stated, in order that I may propose them in the form of an ultimatum; and that at the expiration of the period allowed for deliberation, I may be authorized not only to declare that I am to leave Paris, but actually so to do, unless in the intermediate time, the French government should accede to our demands.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

Right Honourable Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

No. LX.

Downing-Street, April 23, 1803.

My Lord,

YOUR excellency's dispatches of the 18th and 20th instant have been received, and laid before the king.

It is necessary for me to do little more on the present occasion than to refer you to my dispatch of the 13th of April, in which I stated to you the several propositions on which alone, in the judgment of his Majesty, the differences between the country and France could be satisfactorily adjusted.

If, upon the receipt of this dispatch, it shall not have been in your power to bring the negotiation to a conclusion on any of the propositions to which I have above referred, it is his Majesty's pleasure that you should communicate, officially, to the French government, that you have gone, in point of concession, to the full extent of your instructions; and that, if an arrangement, founded upon one of these propositions, cannot be concluded without further delay, you have received his Majesty's commands to return to England.

His Majesty can only consent to relinquish the permanent occupation of Malta by his forces, on the conditions that the temporary possession shall not be less than ten years; that the authority, civil and military, shall, during that period, remain solely in his Majesty; and that, at the expiration of that period, the island shall be given up to the inhabitants, and not to the order; and provided likewise, that his Sicilian Majesty shall be induced to cede to his Majesty the Island of Lampedosa. It is indispensable that, as a part of this arrangement, Holland should be evacuated by the French troops within a short period after the conclusion of a convention by which all those provisions are secured. His Majesty will consent to acknowledge the new Italian states, upon the condition that stipulations in favor of his Sardinian Majesty, and of Switzerland, form a part of this arrangement.

It is his Majesty's pleasure that, in the event of the failure of the negotiation, you should delay your departure from Paris no longer than may be indispensably necessary

necessary for your personal convenience; and that you should in no case remain there, after the receipt of this dispatch, more than seven days.

I have the honor to be, &c.

HAWKESBURY.

His Excellency Lord Whitworth,
K. B. &c. &c. &c.

No. LXI.

Paris, April 23, 1803.

My Lord,

AS I heard nothing from M. de Talleyrand, I called on him on Thursday, in order to learn the effect of the proposal which I had made conformably to your lordship's instructions, on the basis of a perpetual possession of the forts of Malta, on re-establishing the order in the civil government of the island. He told me, that if I had called on him sooner, he should two days ago have communicated to me the first Consul's answer, which was, that no consideration on earth should induce him to consent to a concession in perpetuity of Malta, in any shape whatever: and that the re-establishment of the order was not so much the point to be discussed, as that of suffering Great Britain to acquire a possession in the Mediterranean. I told him that I did not call sooner because I had been given to understand, that he would have himself proposed it to me, for the purpose of communicating the answer of the first consul; and that it did not in any shape become me to put myself on the footing of a solicitor in this transaction. After some con-

versation, and finding (what I most sincerely believe to be the case) that the first Consul's determination was fixed on the point of a possession of Malta in perpetuity; I repeated to him what I had previously suggested to Joseph Bonaparte, the modification which I had to propose, namely, that for the sake of peace, his Majesty would be willing to wave his pretensions to a possession in perpetuity, and would consent to hold Malta for a certain number of years to be agreed upon, on the condition that no opposition should be made on the part of the French Government to any negotiation his majesty might set on foot with his Sicilian Majesty for the acquisition of the island of Lampedusa. We discussed this proposal in a conversation of some length, and I made use of all the arguments which have been furnished me by your lordship, or which occurred to me in its favour. I begged him particularly to recollect that we were in actual possession of the object, and that therefore every modification tending to limit that possession was in fact a concession on the part of his Majesty, and a proof of his desire to sacrifice to his love of peace, the just claim which he had acquired in consequence of the conduct of France and which had recently been admitted, of a much more considerable compensation and counterpoise. M. de Talleyrand did not seem disposed to dispute any of my positions, and I left him, I confess, fully impressed with the idea that the next day (Friday) I should find him prepared to treat on this ground, and that the only difficult point to be arranged would be the number

number of years for which Malta should be ceded to his Majesty.

Your lordship will conceive my surprise when on seeing him the next day, he told me that although he had not been able to obtain from the first Consul all we wished, still the proposition he had to make would, he trusted, be such as fully to answer the purpose. He then said that the first Consul would, on no terms hear either of a perpetual or a temporary possession of Malta; that his object was the execution of the treaty of Amiens; and that rather than submit to such an arrangement as that I had last proposed, he would even consent to our keeping the object in dispute for ever. In the one, there was an appearance of generosity and magnanimity; but in the other, nothing but weakness and the effect of coercion: that therefore his resolution was taken, and what he had to propose was the possession we required of the island of Lampedosa, or of any other of the small isles of which there were three or four between Malta and the coast of Africa; that such a possession would be sufficient for the object we had in view, which was a station in the Mediterranean as a place of refuge and security for any squadron we might find it convenient to keep in that sea. I suffered him to expatiate a considerable time, and without interruption, on the great advantages we were to derive from such an acquisition, as well as on the confidence which the first Consul reposed in our pacific intention in lending a hand to such an establishment. He concluded by desiring I would transmit this proposal to your lordship. I told

him that I was extremely sorry indeed to find that we had made such little progress in the negotiation; that my orders were positive; that I could hear of nothing short of what I had proposed, neither could I possibly undertake to make such a proposal to his Majesty, since every word of my instructions (from which I certainly should not depart) applied positively to Malta, unless an equivalent security could be offered, and surely he would not pretend to tell me that Lampedosa could be considered as such; that the possession of Malta was necessary for our security, and was rendered so not from any desire of aggrandizement on the part of his Majesty, but by the conduct of the French Government; and that so strongly were we impressed with the necessity, that rather than abandon it, we were prepared to go to war. That it was on this ground I must declare to him, that I could neither take upon myself to forward such a proposal as he had made to me, or indeed any thing short of what I had last proposed as a fair equivalent. That in so doing, I acted in conformity to his majesty's views, who would most assuredly disapprove of my conduct, were I, by unnecessarily protracting the negotiation, to add one day, or one hour, if it could be avoided, to the suspense and anxiety under which his own subjects, and all Europe must labour at such a crisis; that I had hoped the French government, actuated by the same generous motives, would have acted in the same manner; that it might, by pursuing a contrary line of conduct, gain still a few days; but I must declare, that

that in a very short time I should have to communicate to him those very terms from which his were so wide, but to draw nearer to which was, perhaps, the object of his negotiating, in the form of an ultimatum, which would at least have one good effect, that of bringing the matter to an issue, and the certainty even of war was preferable to the present state of indecision.

To all I could say M. Talleyrand objected the dignity and honour of the first Consul, which could not admit of his consenting to any thing which might carry with it the appearance of yielding to a threat. I told him that it never could be admitted that the first consul had a right to act in such a manner as to excite jealousy and create alarm in every state of Europe, and when asked for explanation or security, say that it was contrary to his honour or his dignity to afford either. Such arguments might perhaps do when applied to some of those Governments with which France had been accustomed to treat, or more properly to dictate to, but never could be used to Great Britain; that his Majesty had a right to speak freely his opinion, and possessed also the means, whenever he chose to employ them, of opposing a barrier to the ambition of any individual, or of any state which should be disposed to threaten the security of his dominions, or the tranquillity of Europe.

Our conversation concluded by M. de Talleyrand's assuring me that he would report the substance of it to the first Consul in the evening, and that probably he should

have occasion to see me on the following day.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

The Right Honourable Lord
Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

No. 62.

Paris, April 25, 1803.

My Lord,

THE conversation I had on Saturday Morning with M. Talleyrand, has produced nothing from which I can draw a more favourable conclusion as to the result of the negotiation, than when I last addressed your lordship. He told me, that although he had seen the first Consul the night before, he had nothing to add to what he had communicated to me on Friday; that the first Consul was determined not to give his consent to our retaining Malta, either in perpetuity or for a term, although of the two he would prefer the former tenure as the less repugnant to his feelings; that he was therefore ordered to repeat the proposal he had lately made me, of acceding to our demand of Lampedosa or any of the neighbouring islands; and that as our object was to obtain a settlement in the Mediterranean, he imagined that which we had ourselves pointed out would answer every purpose we might have in view. But at all events, the first Consul neither could nor would relinquish his claim to the full execution of the treaty of Amiens. To this I could only repeat what I had already said to him on the inadequacy of such a proposal, and of the impossibility

possibility in which I found myself to transmit it to your lordship. I lamented the course which the negotiation was taking, and that the first Consul should have so little regard to the dreadful consequences which must ensue, as to suffer them to be outweighed by a mistaken notion of dignity. And I added, that notwithstanding the acquiescence which he might have met with from others, the plea of its being incompatible with the dignity of the French government to give satisfaction or security, when both might with justice be demanded, could never be admitted by Great Britain.

M. de Talleyrand heard every thing I could say with the utmost patience, notwithstanding he had nothing satisfactory to say, and seemed unwilling to break up the conference. He constantly brought forward the same inadmissible proposal, requesting that I would at least communicate it to your lordship. This I told him I could not refuse to do, since every thing which passed between him and me must of course make the subject of my reports to your lordship. I declared however, at the same time, that I should not think myself by any means authorized to suspend the execution of any instructions I might receive, tending to bring the negotiation to an issue, in the expectation of any change which such a proposal might produce. All I could do, and that I would certainly do, would be to communicate the ultimatum, if his Majesty should think proper to furnish me with it, confidentially to M. de Talleyrand, before I presented it officially to him, as minister

for foreign affairs. He assured me that he should consider such a conduct as a further proof of my desire to conciliate, and that he could not yet forbear hoping that the differences might be adjusted. I repeated that if his hope was founded on the expectation of his Majesty's being induced to recede from his demand, it would be deceiving himself to cherish it.

The remainder of the conversation turned on the calamities which would follow the failure of our endeavour to avoid a rupture. He insinuated that Holland, Naples, and other countries connected with Great Britain, would be the first victims of the war. I asked him whether he thought that such a conduct would add to the glory of the first Consul, or whether the falling on the innocent and defenceless would not rather tarnish it, and ultimately unite against him, not only the honest men in his own country, but every government in Europe. That it certainly would excite more detestation than terror in England, at the same time that it would serve to impress upon us still more strongly the necessity of omitting no means of circumscribing a power so perniciously exerted. I could not help adding, that although no act of hostility had actually taken place, yet the inveteracy with which our commerce, our industry, and our credit had been attacked in every part to which French influence could be extended, did in fact almost amount to the same, since it went to prove, in addition to the general system of the first Consul, that his object was to pursue

sue under the mask of peace, the same line of conduct in which the preceding governments had acted.

I now trust entirely to the effect of the ultimatum, which will at least convince him that we are in earnest, and that he has nothing to expect from protraction. I shall not however, as I said before, make use of this officially, until I have tried its effect in a more conciliatory manner.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

The Right Honourable Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

P. S. Your lordship's dispatches of the 23d with their inclosures, were delivered to me by Shaw this evening at nine o'clock. I shall see M. de Talleyrand to-morrow morning; and I trust your lordship will not disapprove my following the line of conduct I had proposed, and which I have mentioned to your lordship of informing him of the nature of my instructions a few hours before I carry them officially into execution.

W.

No. LXIII.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, April 27, 1803.

I AVAIL myself of the opportunity of a messenger passing through from Constantinople and Vienna, to inform your lordship, of the state of the negotiation at this moment. I communicated to M. de Talleyrand the purport of my instructions of the 23d, yesterday at four o'clock. He im-

mediately asked me if the possession of Malta was still insisted upon. I told him most certainly it was; and I repeated to him the particulars of the terms on which it was yet possible to conclude the business. That these were, the possession of Malta, for ten years, during which period the authority, civil and military, was to remain solely in his Majesty, and that at the expiration of that term, it was to be given up to the inhabitants, and not to the order; provided also that his Sicilian Majesty shall be induced to cede to his Majesty the island of Lampedosa; that Holland should be evacuated by the French troops within a month after the conclusion of a convention by which all these provisions shall be secured; and that his Majesty would consent to acknowledge the new Italian states, provided stipulations were made in favour of his Sardinian Majesty and of Switzerland.

I had no sooner made known these conditions than M. de Talleyrand told me it would be perfectly unnecessary to delay the official communication; for, as the possession of Malta was still insisted upon, although for a term, the first consul would not consent to them. I accordingly did repeat them to him in the manner he desired; when he told me that he comprehended perfectly what we required, but that in similar cases it was usual to state the demand in writing, and he desired I would give him a note upon the subject. I told him that I would repeat to him, once more, or as often as he pleased, the express terms which I had stated to him, and that as my communication to him

him was verbal, I should of course be content with an answer in the same form. He consented at length to receive it, and to communicate to me the first Consul's answer as soon as possible. I desired that he would recollect that Tuesday next must be the day of my departure.

No. LXIV.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated April 29, 1803.

MY last letter to your lordship was of yesterday evening. This morning a person came to me whom I suspect of being employed by the first Consul for the purpose of ascertaining my sentiments, and told me that I should, in the course of the day, receive a letter from M. de Talleyrand, drawn up under the inspection of the first Consul, which although not exactly what I might wish, was however so moderate as to afford me a well-grounded hope, and might certainly be sufficient to induce me to delay, for a short time, my departure. I told him that it would be a matter of great satisfaction to me to perceive a probability of bringing the negotiation to a favourable issue; and that I should be extremely sorry to spoil the business by any useless precipitation. But it must be recollected that I acted in conformity to instructions; that those instructions were positive; that by them I was enjoined to leave Paris on Tuesday next, unless in the intermediate time certain conditions were agreed to.

Having received no letter in the course of the day, about four o'clock I went to M. de Talleyrand; I told him that my anxiety to learn whether he had any thing favourable to tell me, brought me to him, and in case he had not, to recall to his recollection that Tuesday was the day on which I must leave Paris, and to request that he would have the necessary passports prepared for me and my family. He appeared evidently embarrassed, and after some hesitation observed, that he could not suppose I should really go away; but that at all events the first Consul never would recall his ambassador. To this I replied, his Majesty recalled me in order to put an end to the negotiation, on the principle that even actual war was preferable to the state of suspense in which England, and indeed all Europe, had been kept for so long a space of time.

From the tenour of his conversation, I should rather be led to think that he does not consider the case as desperate. Upon my leaving him he repeatedly said, *J'ai encore de l'Espoir.*

Saturday Evening.

P. S. This day has passed without any occurrence whatever. The letter in question is not yet arrived.

No. LXV.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated May 2, 1803.

ANOTHER Day has passed over without producing any change.
I de-

I determined to go myself to M. de Talleyrand, and to deliver, instead of sending, the inclosed letter. I told him that it was with great reluctance that I came to make this last application to him. That I had long since informed him of the extent of the term which had been assigned for my stay at Paris, and that as I had received to this moment no answer whatever to the proposal I had repeatedly made, I could no longer delay requiring him to furnish me with the necessary passports for the return of myself, my family, and the remainder of the mission to England. Upon this I gave him the letter, a copy of which I inclose, and on reading it he appeared somewhat startled. He lamented that so much time had been lost; but said that enough remained, if I was authorized to negotiate upon other terms. I could of course but repeat to him, that I had no other terms to propose, and that therefore unless the first Consul could so far gain upon himself as to sacrifice a false punctilio to the certainty of a war of which no one could foresee the consequence, nothing could possibly prevent my departure to-morrow night. He hoped, he said, this was not so near; that he would communicate my letter, and what I had said to the first Consul immediately, and that in all probability I should hear from him this evening. I thought it, however, right to apprise him that it was quite impossible I could be induced to disobey his Majesty's orders, and protract a Negotiation on terms so disadvantageous to ourselves, unless he should furnish me with such a justification as would

leave me no room to hesitate; and that I did not see any thing short of a full acquiescence in his Majesty's demands could have that effect.—He repeated that he would report the conversation to the first Consul, and that I should shortly hear from him.

In this state the business now rests; I am expecting either a proposition or my passports, and am consequently taking every measure for setting out to-morrow night.

(Inclosure referred to in No. 65.)

Paris, May 2, 1803.

Sir,

WHEN I had the honor on Tuesday last of communicating to you officially the last propositions which I was instructed by my Court to submit to the French Government, for the sake of removing the present difficulties, I had the honor to announce to you, that in case the First Consul should not consent to these propositions I should find myself under the necessity of leaving Paris in eight days. We are nearly arrived at the end of this period, without my having received any answer to this communication. It remains for me only, therefore, to obey the orders of the King my master to return to him; and for this purpose I entreat you, Sir, to have the goodness to furnish me with the necessary passports.

I seize this opportunity of renewing to your Excellency the assurances of my high consideration.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

His Excellency M. de Talleyrand.
No.

No. LXVI.

(First Inclosure referred to in No. 66.)

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, Wednesday Morning, May 4, 1803.

SOON after I had dispatched the messenger the night before last, with my dispatches of the 3d, I received a communication from M. de Talleyrand, of which I inclose a copy, the purport of which was so completely short of every thing which could be satisfactory, that I did not think myself authorized to enter into any discussion upon it; and as early as I could on the following morning I returned the answer of which the inclosed is a copy.

After this I concluded, of course, that there was an end to the negotiation. I had for some days past been preparing for my departure; every measure was taken for setting out at four o'clock this morning, and we were expecting only the passports which I had demanded, for the purpose of ordering the post horses. The day and the evening passed without the passports having been sent; and whilst we were deliberating on the motives of such a delay, about 12 o'clock at night, a gentleman who was with me received a communication which convinced me that it was not meant to give me my passports without another attempt, and I was, therefore, not surprized when about one o'clock I received the inclosed note from M. de Talleyrand.

In this situation I am waiting the hour of rendezvous with M. de Talleyrand.

THE undersigned has reported to the First Consul the conversation which he had with his Excellency Lord Whitworth on the 6th of this month, and in which his Excellency announced, that his Britannic Majesty had ordered him to make, verbally, in his name, the following demands:

1st. That his Britannic Majesty should retain his troops at Malta for ten years.

2d. That the island of Lampedusa should be ceded to him in full possession.

3d. That the French troops should evacuate Holland.

And that if no convention on this basis should have been signed within a week, his Excellency Lord Whitworth had orders to terminate his mission, and to return to London.

On the demand made by the undersigned, that Lord Whitworth would, in conformity to the usage of all ages and of all countries, give in writing what he himself called the *ultimatum* of his Government, his Excellency declared, that his instructions expressly forbade him to transmit on this object any written note.

The intentions of the First Consul being entirely pacific, the undersigned dispenses with making any observation on so new and so strange a manner of treating on affairs of this importance.

And, in order to give a fresh testimony of the value which he attaches to the continuance of peace, the First Consul has directed the undersigned to make the following notification in the accustomed style and forms.

As the Island of Lampedosa does not belong to France, it is not for the First Consul either to accede to or to refuse the desire testified by his Britannic Majesty, of having this island in his possession.

With regard to the Island of Malta, as the demand made respecting it by his Britannic Majesty would change a formal disposition in the treaty of Amiens, the First Consul cannot but previously communicate it to his Majesty the King of Spain, and to the Batavian Republic, contracting parties to the said treaty, in order to know their opinion; and besides, as the stipulations relative to Malta have been guaranteed by their Majesties the Emperor of Germany, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, the contracting parties to the treaty of Amiens, before they agree to any change in the article of Malta, are bound to concert with the guaranteeing powers.

The First Consul will not refuse this concert, but it belongs not to him to propose it, since it is not he who urges any change in the guaranteed stipulations.

With regard to the evacuation of Holland by the French troops, the First Consul has no difficulty in directing the undersigned to repeat that the French troops shall evacuate Holland at the instant that the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens shall be executed in every quarter of the globe.

The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to renew to his Excellency the English Ambassador, the assurance of his high consideration.

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

Paris, 12 Floreal, Year 11, (2d May 1803.)

VOL. XLV. or VOL. III. NEW SERIES.

(*Second Inclosure referred to in No. 66.*)

THE undersigned, in answer to the note which M. de Talleyrand transmitted to him yesterday evening, has the honour to observe to him, that the king has had no other motive in seeking to accelerate the proceedings of the negotiation, than to relieve as soon as possible the two countries the most interested, and Europe in general, from the state of suspense in which they are placed. It is with great regret that he perceives nothing in his Excellency's note which can correspond with this intention, and consequently nothing that can justify him in delaying to obey the orders of his court. It remains, therefore, only to request the Minister for Foreign Affairs to give him the means of obeying them, by furnishing him with the necessary passports for his return. It is, however, necessary for him to rectify a mistake which has crept into M. de Talleyrand's note. The undersigned did not say he was expressly forbidden to transmit any written note on the object of the discussion, but that he was not authorized to do it, and that he would not take that responsibility on himself.

He avails himself on this opportunity to renew to his Excellency M. de Talleyrand the assurances of his highest consideration.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

Paris, 3d May 1803.

(Third Inclosure referred to in No. 66.)

Paris, May 3, 1803.

My Lord,
HAVING to-morrow morning to make to you a communication of the greatest importance, I have the honor to inform you of it without delay, in order that you may not expect this evening the passports which you had demanded. I propose that you should call to-morrow at half-past four at the foreign department.

Receive, my Lord, the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed)

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

No. LXVII.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkebury, dated Paris, Wednesday Evening, May 4, 1803.

I AM this moment come from M. de Talleyrand. The inclosed note will shew your lordship, that the idea which has been thrown out, is to give Malta to Russia.

My only inducement for having undertaken to refer again to your lordship, is to avoid every reproach of precipitation. The difference will be but five days, and I have declared, that I see so many objections to the plan, that although I would not refuse their solicitation to send it, I could give no hope whatever of its being accepted as a ground of negotiation.

(Inclosure referred to in No. 67.)

THE undersigned has submitted to the First Consul his Britannic Majesty's Ambassador's note of the 3d instant.

After the last communication addressed to his excellency, it is more difficult than ever to conceive how a great, powerful, and enlightened nation, can be willing to take upon itself to declare a war which would be accompanied by such heavy calamities, and the cause of which would be so insignificant, the object in question being a miserable rock.

His excellency must have been aware that the two-fold necessity of making an agreement with the guarantying powers of the treaty of Amiens, and of not violating a compact in the execution of which the honor of France, the security for the future, and the good-faith of the diplomatic intercourse between the nations of Europe, were so deeply interested, had imposed a law upon the French Government of discarding every proposition diametrically contrary to the Treaty of Amiens. Nevertheless the First Consul, accustomed for two months to make every species of sacrifice for the maintenance of peace, would not reject a Mezzo-termino of a nature to conciliate the interests and dignity of the two countries.

His Britannic Majesty appears to have been of opinion, that the Neapolitan Garrison which was to be placed at Malta, would not afford a sufficient force for securing the actual independence of the island.

This

This motive being the only one which can explain his Majesty's refusal to evacuate the island, the First Consul is ready to consent that the island of Malta shall be placed in the hands of one of the three powers who have guarantied its independence, either Austria, Russia, or Prussia, with a proviso that as soon as France and England shall have come to an agreement upon this article, they shall unite in their requisitions to engage the other powers, either contracting, or acceding to the Treaty of Amiens, to consent to it.

Were it possible that this proposition should not be accepted, it would be manifest not only that England never intended to comply with the terms of the Treaty of Amiens, but that she has not been actuated by good-faith in any of her demands, and that in proportion as France conceded one point, the British Government advanced another. If this should be demonstrated, the First Consul will at least have given another proof of his sincerity, of his anxiety to devise the means of avoiding war, of his eagerness to embrace them, and of the value which he would place on their being adopted.

The undersigned embraces this opportunity of renewing to his Excellency Lord Whitworth the assurance of his high consideration.

CHA. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

Paris 14th, Floréal xi.

No. LXVIII.

Downing Street, May 7, 1803.

My Lord,
YOUR Excellency's Dispatches

have been received, and laid before the king.

The propositions which have been made to you on the part of the French Government, and which have induced your excellency to delay your departure until the return of the Messenger Sylvester, are in every respect so loose, indefinite, and unsatisfactory, and fall so far short of the just pretensions of his Majesty, that it is impossible that the French Government could have expected them to have been accepted. During the whole of the discussions which have lately occurred, his Majesty has had a right to consider himself in the character of the injured party. No means have been omitted on his part to induce the French Government to make a full and early explanation of their views, and to afford to his Majesty that satisfaction and security to which he considered himself to be intitled. It was in consequence of the apparent determination of the French Government to evade all discussion on the points of difference between the two countries, that his Majesty was induced to state the grounds on which, according to his views, an arrangement might be concluded satisfactory to both Governments; and he accordingly authorized your excellency to communicate the three projects which, at different times I had forwarded to you.

Until the very moment when your excellency was about to leave Paris, the French Government have avoided making any distinct proposition for the settlement of the differences between the two countries, and when at the very instant of your departure, the French Government felt themselves compelled to bring forward some proposition,

they confined that proposition to a part only of the subject in discussion, and on that part of it, what they have brought forward is wholly inadmissible.

The French Government propose that his Majesty should give up the Island of Malta to a Russian, Austrian, or Prussian Garrison. If his majesty could be disposed to wave his demand for a temporary occupation of the Island of Malta, the Emperor of Russia would be the only sovereign to whom, in the present state of Europe, he could consent that the island should be assigned; and his Majesty has certain and authentic information, that the Emperor of Russia would on no account consent to garrison Malta. Under these circumstances his majesty perseveres in his determination to adhere to the substance of his third project as his Ultimatum: As, however, the principal objection stated by the French Government to his Majesty's proposition is understood to be confined to the insertion of an article in a public treaty by which his Majesty shall have a right to remain in the possession of the Island of Malta for a definite number of years, his Majesty will consent that the number of years (*being in no case less than ten*) may be stated in a secret article; and the public articles may be agreed to conformably to the inclosed project. By this expedient, the supposed point of honour of the French Government might be saved. The independence of the Island of Malta would, in principle, be acknowledged, and the temporary occupation of his Majesty would be made to depend *alone on the present state of the Island of Lampedosa*.

You may propose this idea to M. Talleyrand, at the same time assu-

ring him, that his Majesty is determined to adhere to the substance of his Ultimatum. And if you shall not be able to conclude the minute of an arrangement on this principle, you will on no account remain in Paris more than thirty-six hours after the receipt of this dispatch.

I observe by your dispatch, you did not consider yourself as authorized to deliver to the French Government any note or project in writing. The words of my dispatch were, that you were to communicate the terms *officially*, which left it at your own discretion to communicate them verbally or in writing, as you might judge most expedient. You were certainly right in communicating them, in the first instance, verbally; but as so much stress has been laid by M. Talleyrand on this distinction, it is important that I should inform you, that his Majesty neither had nor has any objection to your delivering the inclosed project as an Ultimatum, accompanied by a short note in writing.

I cannot conclude this dispatch without recalling again your attention to the conduct of the French Minister at Hamburgh, and referring you to my instructions, by which you should abstain from concluding the arrangement, unless you have received from M. Talleyrand an assurance that his conduct would be publicly disavowed.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

To his Excellency Lord Whitworth,
&c. &c. &c.

No.

No. LXIX.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, May 9, 1803.

THE Messenger Sylvester is arrived with your Lordship's Dispatch, No. 15, of the 7th of May.

As soon as I received your Lordship's instructions, I prepared a translated copy of the project furnished me by your Lordship, and a short note with which it is my intention to accompany the communication. I then sent a person to Monsieur de Talleyrand, to know when I could see him, and I was informed that he was at St. Cloud. I soon after learnt, that he was gone there in consequence of the accident which happened yesterday to the First Consul. I understand that no bad consequences are likely to ensue; and that he is able to transact business. I cannot, however, expect to see M. Talleyrand before to-morrow morning. Although this circumstance may cause a delay of a few hours, your Lordship may be assured, that the execution of those instructions with which you have furnished me, shall not be protracted. I shall leave Paris most assuredly, or have concluded a satisfactory arrangement, within the time specified by your Lordship, reckoning from the moment of my being able to make an official communication, rather than from that of the receipt of your Lordship's letter.

No. LXX.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, May 12, 1803.

THE Messenger Sylvester, as I mentioned in my last dispatch, returned on the 9th at 12 o'clock; and I wrote to M. de Talleyrand informing him of it, and desiring him to name an hour when I might wait upon him in order to communicate to him the purport of my instructions. To this letter I received no answer that evening or the following morning. Anxious to execute my orders, and to lose no time, I inclosed the project furnished me by your Lordship, accompanied by an official note and a private letter to M. de Talleyrand, and sent it to the Foreign Department by Mr. Mandeville, with directions to deliver it to M. de Talleyrand, or in his absence to the *Chef du Bureau*. He delivered it accordingly to M. Durand, who promised to give it to his chief as soon as he came in, which he expected, he said, shortly. At half past four, having waited till that time in vain, I went myself to M. de Talleyrand; I was told that the family was in the country, and that they did not know when the minister would be in town. Half an hour after I had returned home, the packet which Mr. Mandeville had given into the hands of M. Durand, was brought to me, I believe by a servant, with a verbal message that as M. de Talleyrand was in the country it would be necessary that I should send it to him there. In order to defeat as much as depended upon me, *their intention of gaining time*, I wrote again to M. de Talleyrand, recapitulating the steps I had taken since the return of the messengers; and desired Mr. Talbot, the secretary of the embassy, to take it himself at nine o'clock at night, when I thought M. de Talleyrand would be at home,

home, to his house at Meudon, He was, however, not at home. Mr. Talbot was told that he was at St. Cloud, where he had been all day, and that he would not be back until very late. He therefore left my private letter, with his name, and returned with the packet. It was my intention to have sent it on the following morning to the Bureau, with orders that it should be left there; at one o'clock in the morning I received a note from M. de Talleyrand accounting for his not having been able to answer me sooner; and appointing me at twelve o'clock at the *Bureau des Relations Extérieures*. I went at the appointed time. He began by apologizing for having so long postponed the interview, which he attributed to his having been the whole day with the First Consul. We then entered upon business. I told him that, limited as I was by your Lordship's instructions, he could not be surprised at my impatience to acquit myself of my duty. I explained to him the nature of your Lordship's observations on the proposal of the 4th, and that it was considered as on one hand impracticable from the refusal of the Emperor of Russia to take charge of Malta, and on the other, as being wholly inadequate to his Majesty's just pretensions. I gave him the note in which this was expressed, and the project, on which alone a satisfactory arrangement could be framed. He read them with apparent attention, and without many remarks; and after some time he asked me if I felt myself authorized by my instructions to conclude with him a Convention, framed on the basis of my project, or indeed extending that basis, since the first article of it would be the perpetual possession

of Malta to England, in return for a consideration. I told him I most certainly was not authorized to enter into any engagement of such a nature, which would make the negotiation one of exchange, instead of a demand of satisfaction and security. To this he replied, that the satisfaction and security which we required was Malta, and that this we obtained. That the First Consul could not accede to what he considered, and what must be considered by the public and by Europe, as the effect of coercion, but if it were possible to make the draft palatable, did I think myself justifiable in refusing to do so. I told him that acting in strict compliance with my instructions, I could have no need of justification, and that I came to him with the determination of abiding strictly by them. He contended, that by communicating a project, I merely stated on what grounds we would be willing to conclude; and that a counter-project, founded on the basis of giving us what we required, could not be refused a fair discussion. To this, I urged the resolution of his Majesty's Ministers, to avoid every thing which could protract the negotiation. That I saw no other means of acting up to those views, than by making my stand on the project at all events. I urged him repeatedly to explain himself more fully on the nature of the demand which he should make for Malta, *but he could not, or would not explain himself*. After much contest, it was agreed that the proposal should be submitted to me in the course of a few hours, and that I should determine on the line of conduct I might feel myself justified in pursuing, either to sign it, to send it home, or to leave Paris.

The

The remainder of this day passed without receiving any communication from M. de Talleyrand. Upon this, I determined to demand my passports, by an official note, which I sent this morning by Mr. Mandeville, in order that I might leave Paris in the evening.

At two, I renewed my demand of passports, and was told I should have them immediately. They arrived at five o'clock, and I propose setting out as soon as the carriages are ready.

(First Inclosure referred to in No. 70.)

THE undersigned, his Britannic Majesty's Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the French Republic, having transmitted to his court the proposal which was made to him by the Minister for Foreign Affairs on the 3d instant, has just received orders to transmit to his excellency the accompanying project of a Convention, founded on the only basis which his Majesty conceives, under the existing circumstances to be susceptible of a definitive and amicable arrangement. The Minister for Foreign Affairs will not fail to observe to what degree his Majesty has endeavoured to conciliate the security of his interests with the dignity of the First Consul. The undersigned flatters himself, that the First Consul, doing justice to these sentiments, will adopt in concert with his Majesty an expedient so suitable for restoring permanent tranquillity to both nations, and to all Europe.

The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity, to renew to his excellency the assurance of his highest consideration.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

(Second Inclosure referred to in No. 70.)

PROJECT.

I.

THE French Government shall engage to make no opposition to the cession of the Island of Lampedosa to his Majesty by the king of the two Sicilies.

II.

In consequence of the present state of the Island of Lampedosa, his Majesty shall remain in possession of the Island of Malta until such arrangement shall be made by him as may enable his Majesty to occupy Lampedosa as a naval station; after which period the Island of Malta shall be given up to the inhabitants, and acknowledged as an independent state.

III.

The territories of the Batavian Republic shall be evacuated by the French forces within one month after the conclusion of a Convention founded on the principles of this projet.

IV.

The king of Etruria, and the Italian and Ligurian Republics, shall be acknowledged by his Majesty.

V.

Switzerland shall be evacuated by the French Forces.

VI.

A suitable territorial provision shall be assigned to the King of Sardinia in Italy.

SECRET ARTICLE.

His Majesty shall not be required by the French Government to evacuate the Island of Malta until after the expiration of ten years.

Articles IV. V. and VI. may be entirely omitted, or must all be inserted.

(Third Inclosure referred to in No. 70.)

Paris, May 10, 1803.

Sir,

IN order not to lose an instant of so precious a time, I have the honor to convey to you the project which I have received from my court, with the note which accompanies it. I shall have the honor of calling on your excellency at any hour you may appoint, in consequence of the request I made yesterday. But in the mean while, you will be in possession of the contents of my instructions. I hope to God that they may be of a nature to insure the tranquillity of both countries and of Europe.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to your excellency the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

To his Excellency M. de Talleyrand,
&c. &c. &c.

(Fourth Inclosure referred to in No. 70.)

Paris, May 10, 1803.

Sir,

HAVING yesterday morning received some important instructions to communicate to you, I wrote to you that evening to ask

your excellency at what hour I could have the honour to acquit myself of this duty. That letter has not been answered. At two o'clock this afternoon, I sent Mr. Mandeville, attached to the embassy, to the office for Foreign Affairs, in order to deliver to your excellency, or in your absence to your First Secretary, a sealed packet, containing the papers which I had to communicate to you, and I added a second letter to your excellency. Mr. Mandeville delivered this packet into the hands of M. Durand, who assured him, that it should be communicated to you without delay. At half past four, not having received any answer to my letters, I went to the foreign office, and I there learnt that you were in the country, and that it was not known when you would return to town.

Half an hour afterwards having returned home, the papers which my secretary had taken and delivered to M. Durand were brought to me, with a message that I must send them to the minister in the country.

In this state of things, since your excellency does not give me an opportunity of making you this communication, I have no other alternative than to give it in charge to Mr. Talbot, secretary to the embassy. He will have the honour to deliver to you the project of a Convention, which, I hope, will serve as a basis to an amicable arrangement between our two governments.

I have only to add, that the term of my stay in Paris is limited, and I must set out on my journey for England on Thursday morning, if the negotiation is not favourably terminated before that time.

I request

I request you, Sir, to accept the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

(Fifth Inclosure referred to in No. 70.)

IT being impossible for the undersigned to delay any longer executing the orders of his court, he finds himself obliged to request the Minister for Foreign Affairs to have the goodness to expedite the necessary passports for his return to England.

He requests his excellency to accept the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

Paris, 12th May 1803.

No. LXXI.

Extract of a Dispatch from Sir. George Rumbold Bart. to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Hamburg, March 29, 1803.

LATE last night it was determined that the senate should be convened extraordinarily on this day, in order to consider of a requisition from the French Minister, to insert in the Hamburg Paper a most offensive article, intended as a justification of the First Consul, and an attack on the measures of the British Government. It is with great regret that I inform your Lordship, that the senate have judged it prudent to comply with this demand; and that the article will be inserted in the paper of tomorrow; it is now in the hands

of the publisher for that purpose. It was the wish of the senate that they might at least be allowed to omit or qualify the most offensive passages, but Mr. Rheinhardt said his orders were positive, for the full and exact insertion of the whole.

No. LXXII.

Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Hill to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Copenhagen, April 2, 1803.

THE French Minister at Hamburg received orders from his government to have inserted in the public papers of that city, an article which was sent to him, containing a commentary upon his Majesty's communication to Parliament, respecting the necessity of increasing the military forces of the country in the present circumstances. The senate of Hamburg consented with much repugnance to the insertion of this paragraph. The French Minister desired that the same should be published in the papers at Altona; but the Danish Magistrates said that they could not possibly permit it without an express order from this government. In consequence of this refusal, M. Daguesseau, the French Minister at this court, received from his colleague at Hamburg a copy of the article, with a request that he would solicit the permission of its publication in the Danish Papers. To my knowledge he had no answer yesterday, and I have every reason to suppose that this government will show the greatest reluctance in acceding to the French Minister's request.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Report made to the French Consul by Colonel Sebastiani, extracted from the Moniteur of the 30th of January 1803.

ON the 16th of September I embarked at Toulon on board the *Cornélie*; and on the 30th I arrived at Tripoli. I immediately wrote to Baron Cederstrom, the Swedish Rear-Admiral, as well as to the Minister of the Pacha, to offer them my mediation to terminate the differences existing between the Swedish Court and the Regency. My mediation was accepted: the Minister and the Rear-Admiral repaired to the Commissarial House of France, and we entered on the negociation. The two parties were far asunder; the Pacha demanded a considerable sum, and an augmentation of the annual tribute. He urged a treaty made two years ago by an Envoy of the King of Sweden, which assured the payment of 245,000 heavy piastrres, and of an annuity of 20,000; he added, that two years of war had subjected him to extraordinary expences, and that he used great moderation in conforming himself to the treaty in question. M. de Cederstrom only offered in the name of his court, 100,000 piastrres for the redemption of the Swedish slaves, who were to the number of a hundred and fifty, and an annuity of 5000 piastrres. After much debate, I succeeded in making them sign a treaty which fixed the payment of the ransom at 150,000 piastrres, and the annuity at 8000. —On the 1st of October I was presented with much pomp to the Pa-

cha, who received me in the most distinguished manner. The exchange of the ratification of the treaty of peace took place, and the Italian Republic was formally acknowledged. I caused its flag to be hoisted on the Commissarial House of France, and it was saluted by the frigate and the place with 21 guns.—It was not without difficulty that the Pacha consented to acknowledge that Republic. He feared that all Italy was comprized in this new Republic, and that, in consequence, he would be obliged to respect indiscriminately all the ships of commerce of that part of Europe:—this would destroy his marine. I gave him the necessary explanations, and particularly those which related to the object of his apprehensions, and he replied to me, ‘Certainly I wish to be at peace with the Italian Republic, without too much injuring my interest; but if it were still more difficult, I would do it, since the great Bonaparte desires it.’—The Pacha of Tripoli is a brave and enterprizing man, the friend of France. The English have furnished succours to his brother, who is at present at Derue, without means or credit. His plan is to raise the country against the Bey. The political and administrative affairs of the regency are conducted by Seid-Muhammed-el-Deghais, Minister of the Pacha. This man is full of sagacity, and has even some notions of European politics. He has been in France, and preserves for our country a predominant sentiment of affection. On the 2d of October I set out from Tripoli, and on the 16th arrived at Alexandria: the same day I waited upon General Stuart, Commandant

mandant of the English forces by land and sea. I communicated to him the order of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, which enjoined me to proceed to Alexandria, and if the English still occupied that place, to demand a speedy evacuation, and the execution of the treaty of Amiens. General Stuart then told me, that the evacuation of the place would shortly be effected; but seeing that I insisted, and that I desired an answer less vague, he declared to me, that he had no orders from his Court to quit Alexandria, and that he even believed he should pass the winter there. General Stuart is a man of *médiocre* talents: he has for his aide-camp a French emigrant, called the Chevalier de Sades, a man of talent, and an enemy of France, who has much influence over the General. I went the same day to see Khourchid-Ahmid, the Pacha of Alexandria and the Capitan Bey, Commander of the Forces of the Ottoman Porte. After the customary compliments, and some language agreeable to the Sublime Porte, I announced to them, that the agents of French commerce would assemble in Egypt. This communication gave them the greatest pleasure, and they did not conceal that they saw with grief the stay of the English in the country. I told them, that their stay could not be much longer, and that the general peace left no doubt of their approaching departure. On the 17th I visited the Cheik El-Meffiry. The same day I also visited the Cheik Ibrahim Mufti. On the 18th I visited the Coupure du Khalidj, which has formed the Lake Mareotis. The current of the waters of the Lake Madié is

still very strong, and if the Porte does not make haste to re-establish this important canal, the overflows which take place on the little tongue of land that separates the two lakes, will render the opening so considerable, that it will be impossible to travel. I do not think that the Swedish engineer sent by the Porte to direct these labours, has the necessary talents. The formation of the Lake Mareotis appears to have contributed to the salubrity of the air. The city has no other water than what it draws from the wells of Marabouf. This little fort I found guarded by an English and Turkish garrison, in order to protect the inhabitants who came to draw water. I employed the day of the 19th in perambulating the town, and receiving different individuals who came to visit me. On the 20th, I set out for Cairo, escorted by two Turkish officers, and six French soldiers, whom I had taken on board the frigate, but contrary winds obliged me to return to the port. The next day I was at Aboukir, where I passed the night. I profited by this opportunity to visit the fort, which is in a very ruined state. On the 22d I arrived at Rosetta, after having visited the fort Julien; I saw the same day Osman, Aga, and Duvanny of the town, as well as all the christians who reside there. The 23d I was at Faoné, where I visited the commandant of the place, the cadì, and the Cheiks; I received from the latter, and from all those whom I entertained, protestations of attachment to the First Consul. I passed the next day at Ralimanie, where I visited the Cheik Muhammed Abou-Aly; the fort of



of the town is almost entirely destroyed. I visited on the 25th, at Menouf, the Cheik Abdin, whom the First Consul had appointed cadi. The other Cheiks of that town who came to visit me, held the same language as those of Faoné. I said to them, "The First Consul loves your country much, he speaks of it often; he interests himself in your happiness; he did not forget you, and recommended you to the Porte. He has made peace with Europe, and this country will feel the interest which he takes, and the recollection which he has preserved of the poor Cheiks of Egypt"—Muhammed Kachef-Zourba Matzellem, who commanded at Menouf on my journey through that town, has been beheaded in consequence of being accused of communications with the Mamelouks. The two forts of Menouf are destroyed. I arrived the same day at Boulak. I sent immediately Citizen Joubert to inform the Pacha of Cairo of my arrival. The next morning, the 26th, the Pacha sent 300 cavalry and 200 infantry, commanded by the principal officers of his household, to accompany me to him, amidst a great many discharges of artillery. Having arrived at the Pacha's, I said to him, 'Peace has been concluded between the French Republic and the Sublime Porte; the ancient relations of amity and commerce have been re-established, and I am charged by the Great Consul Bonaparte, to assure you of his benevolence, and to announce to you the arrival of commissaries of the French commerce in Egypt.' The Pacha answered me, 'The benevolence with which the First Consul has honoured me,

penetrates me with gratitude, and his commercial agents shall meet here the most friendly reception.' I proceeded then to the house which the Pacha had prepared for me. I received the same day the visits of all the principal men of the country, and of the Copt intendants. On the 27th I again repaired to the Pacha, with whom I had a long conference. I spoke to him in these words: 'The First Consul takes in you, and the country which you govern, a very lively interest, and desires to contribute to your happiness; he has charged me therefore to offer you his mediation, in order to make peace between you and the Beys.'

The Pacha thanked me warmly and sincerely for the interest which the First Consul took in his behalf, but he protested to me, that he had the most positive orders from his Court to make a war of extermination upon the Beys, and not to enter into any arrangement with them. I observed, that the unfortunate circumstances which had happened to the Ottoman troops (they had been beaten five times successively by the Mamelouks), rendered their position very critical, and that obstinacy exposed them to the loss of the Province. He then communicated to me the order of the Porte, and I saw beyond a doubt that it was not possible for him to enter into any accommodation. I informed him that I intended to visit the different Cheiks of Cairo, and also Madame Murad Bey, and to inspect the environs and fortifications of the city. He ordered immediately that the guard which he had sent should accompany me, wherever I wished to go, informing me, that he would use every means

means, in his power to render my stay at Cairo agreeable. — The same day I commenced my visits, beginning with the Cheik Abdallah-el-Chefcanoi, of the Great Mosque. As I was expected by him, he had assembled a considerable number of Cheiks. The conversation turned upon the interest which the First Consul took in Egypt, on his power, his glory, and on his esteem and benevolence for the learned Cheiks of Cairo. Their answers expressed their attachment to his person. He must have been a witness like myself to the enthusiasm excited at the view of the portrait of the First Consul, to form an idea of the exaltation of their sentiments. I have given it to all the principal Cheiks of Cairo, and of the towns where I have travelled.—On the 28th I invited the Cheik Omar El-Berky, Prince of the Shirifs: he was ill, and I saw only his son.—The Cheik Suleiman El-Fargoumy received me with much friendship, and assured me of his boundless admiration for the First Consul.—The citizen Joubert and Beye have certified to me that the inhabitants of Cairo never testified so much attachment to France as on my arrival.—When we pass along the streets, every body salutes us. Their astrologers make predictions every day as to what concerns the the First Consul. On the 29th, I went to visit Madame Murad Bey: her intendant had already prayed of me that I would grant her an interview. I informed her, that the First Consul had charged me to interpose my mediation, in order to make their peace with the Sublime Porte; but that the Pacha had ordered that no negociation should be entered into. I employed that day and the fol-

lowing in visiting the citadel, the Isle of Ro da Gizé, Boulak, and all the other little forts which surround the city. The Turkish soldiers murmured to see me visit their forts, but I feigned not to hear them, and continued my course and my observations.—On the 29th, in returning to Fort Dupuy, a soldier menaced me with his Attagan; but as the inhabitants of the city testified highly their indignation against him, I did not stop at his menaces, and continued my route. A moment afterwards Mustapha Oukil, one of the chiefs of the city, passed before me on horseback. In passing, he reproached my guides with marching before a christian, and above all, before a Frenchman, and menaced them with the bastinado after my departure. I could not be silent under such an insult; and upon my return I sent Citizen Joubert to the Pacha, to make my complaint, and demand a prompt redress. I declared to him that I expected this man would come publicly to me to ask my pardon, place himself at my disposal, and implore my pity. He found that Mustapha was greatly protected by the Pacha, and wanted to arrange it otherwise; but I persisted by declaring formally to the Pacha; that if this reparation was not made in the manner in which I demanded it, I should instantly depart, and immediately write to Paris and Constantinople to state my complaint. This declaration produced all the effect which I expected; and Mustapha, alarmed, came on the following day to me, conducted by Rosetti, and he publicly asked my pardon, and put himself at my disposal. I told him that my first intention had been to cut off his head, and that I only gave him his life

at the solicitations of the Pacha and M. Rosetti; but if in future he should ever insult the French, or those in their suite, his destruction would be inevitable. This affair, which was instantly spread throughout the whole city, produced the best effect.—The same day an attempt was made to excite the Albanese against me. Two letters from Rosetta, written by English Protégées, assured that there had been seen upon the coasts of Naxos a French Fleet of 300 sail; that we were marching against Constantinople, and that my visit to Egypt had no other object but to deceive them, and blind them to their dangers. I made the merchant come to me who had received the letter: I made him give it me—I instantly sent it to the Pacha himself, telling him that this absurd news was spread to occasion disorders, and to endeavour to alter the good understanding which existed between France and the Sublime Porte; and I guaranteed the falsehood of it with my head. The Pacha had discovered the snare, and did not fall into it. He even communicated to me a letter from General Stuart; which he had just received, and to which was joined an order of the day, of the First Consul, when he commanded the Army of Egypt. This order of the day was dated in August 1799, and recalled to the recollection of the Egyptians, that Constantinople was tributary to Arabia, and that the time was now come to restore Cairo to its supremacy, and to destroy the Eastern Empire of the Ottomans. General Stuart begged the Pacha to consider the spirit of that order, and to judge from it of our attachment, and of our peace with the Turks. I was indignant to find

that a foldier of one of the most polite nations of Europe should degrade himself so far as to instigate assassination, by means of such an insinuation—the Pacha treated me with the greatest politeness, and the English at Cairo were witnesses of the attachment of that city to the French. I received a deputation from the Monks of Mount Sinai, whom I recommended to the Pacha: I wrote to their superior, to assure them of the friendship and protection of the First Consul. The Monks of the Propaganda at Cairo, whom I placed under the national protection which they enjoyed before the war, celebrated a Te Deum for the prosperity of the First Consul. I assisted at this ceremony, at which all the christians of Cairo were present. The evening before my departure (the 2d of November) I had another interview with the Pacha, and recommended all the christians of Cairo to his protection, as well as the Turks, who during the residence of the French in Egypt, were connected with them. He not only promised to respect them, but even to treat them with bounty. On the 3d, I set out in a conveyance of the Pacha's in order to repair to Damietta. The Pacha ordered me to be escorted to Boulak, with the same honours that I received on the day of my arrival. I had written to Captain Gourdin, to repair to Damietta with the frigate, in order to convey me to Syria. On the 5th I stopped a short time at Simenoud, and afterwards at Mansoura, where I saw the commandant of the city and the Cheik Esseid-Muhammed-El-Chenaoni, who came to see me, as well as all the other Cheiks. I spoke to them in the same manner

as the other Cheiks of Egypt, and received the same promises of attachment. The Tower of Mansoura is destroyed. The same day I arrived at Damietta. The next day I went to Ahmed-Pacha-Behil, a creature of the Grand Vizier's; he returned my visit the same day. He conducted himself perfectly well to me during my stay in that city. On the 7th I went to visit the Fort of Lesbe and the Towers of Bogaz. They have not continued the works of that Fort, which is in a bad state: those of Bogaz are in a good condition. There is a garrison of 200 men in the Fort and in the towers. On the 8th I received the visit of Hassan Toubar: His influence over the inhabitants of Mensale is still the same. On the 9th I went to Sencnie, where I saw the Cheik Ibrahim-El-Behlout, he who behaved so well to the French under the orders of General Vial, when they were taken and imprisoned. The First Consul had exempted his village from all contributions. I saw all the Cheiks at Damietta, particularly Ali Khafaki, whom the First Consul had invested with a pelisse: He is possessed of great credit, and is much attached to the French. There are at Damietta two christians, who are men of merit, and may be very useful to us: They are M. Bazile and Don Bazile. They are possessed of good information, have very considerable fortunes, and are very highly respected. In Egypt, chiefs, merchants, people, all like to talk of the First Consul—all offer up prayers for his happiness. All the news which concerns him spread from Alexandria or Damietta to the pyramids and the grand cataracts with astonishing rapidity. On the 14th

the frigate arrived at Bogaz from Damietta: I immediately set out for Acre, at which place I arrived on the 19th.

The 20th of November, in the morning, I dispatched Citizens Joubert and Legrange to Dgezzar-Pacha, with a letter, in which I stated to him, that peace being concluded between France and the Porte, the relations of commerce should be re-established on the footing they stood before the War, and that I was charged by the First Consul to confer with him on these objects. I begged of him to answer me in writing, if he was inclined to treat with me. In some hours the messengers returned: Dgezzar had received them coldly. He expressed his desire to see me personally, but was unwilling to write. Every body advised me not to see him, without an assurance written by himself; but this he appeared unwilling to do: But notwithstanding this cautionary advice, and his obstinate refusal to write, I determined to repair myself immediately to Acre.—I repaired to the house of the commissary of the Seven Isles. Very soon after, the Drogoman of the Pacha, informed of my arrival, came to conduct me to the Pacha, who received me in an apartment where he was unattended, and which was without any other furniture than a carpet. He had on one side of him a pistol with four barrels, a small air-gun, a Sabre, and a hatchet. After inquiring as to my health, he asked me, whether I was not persuaded that our end is pre-ordained in heaven, and that nothing could change our destiny. I answered that I believed, as he did, in predestination. He continued to speak for some time on that subject.

ject. I perceived, however, that he affected a degree of simplicity, but that, at the same time, he wished to pass for a man of wit, as well as for a just man. He repeated several times, 'It is said, that Dgezzar is barbarous: this is false; he is but just and severe. Request of the First Consul, not to send me, as commissary of Commercial Relations, a lame or a blind man; because such a person would be sure to say, that Dgezzar had made him so.' Soon after he said, 'I desire that the commissary you may send shall reside at Seide, as that is the most commercial port in my dominions: besides, it is not necessary he should reside here, where I shall be myself the French Commissary, and shall take care that your countrymen be well received. I highly esteem the French. In stature Bonaparte is small, but he is nevertheless the greatest of mankind. I know that he is greatly regretted at Cairo, where they wish to see him again.' I made a few observations on the peace between France and the Porte; to which he answered, 'Do you know why I have thus received, and feel so much pleasure at seeing you? It is because you come unauthorized by a *Firman*, and without any orders from the Divan. I have the greatest contempt for its blind Vizier. They say that Dgezzar is a Bosnian, a man of straw, and cruel to excess; but nevertheless, I can stand the ordeal. I was once poor. My father had nothing to bequeath me but courage. I have achieved my own elevation by dint of exertion. This, however, does not make me proud, and Dgezzar, perhaps, will soon finish his career; not that he is old, as his enemies report, (he then performed some of

the manœuvres of the Mamelukes, in their mode of rising their arms, &c. which he really executed with surprising adroitness and agility,) but because, most likely, God will have it so. The King of France, once so powerful, has perished. Nebuchadnezzar, the greatest of all kings, was, when his time was come, killed by a fly, &c.' He made several other observations in this strain, and afterwards spoke of the motives which induced him to make war upon the French army: from the whole of his demeanour it could easily be seen, that he wished to be on good terms with the First Consul, and that he stifled his resentments. The following is the Apologue, which he used to demonstrate the causes of his resistance. 'A black slave,' he said, 'after a long journey, in which he had suffered the greatest privations, arrived at a little field of sugar canes: he stopped therein, and indulged himself in partaking of the delicious liquor they afforded; and at length was determined to remain on the spot. Very soon after, two travellers, who had followed him, came up. The first said to him, Salamallee (the mode of wishing health.) The devil take it, answered the black. The second traveller then approached, and inquired why he had answered in such a way to so good a wish. I had very good reason for it, replied he; if I had answered in a friendly manner, the man would have entered into conversation with me, and afterwards sat down beside me; he would have partaken of my refreshments, and finding them desirable, would have endeavoured to obtain exclusive possession.' I recommended to the favourable attention of Dgezzar the christians
and

and the Convents at Nazareth and Jerusalem: He assured me that he would treat them with much regard. I did not forget the *Mutuales*, and received the same assurance in their behalf. Dgezzar frequently observed to me, that his word was with him, more sacred than treaties. Our conversation was interrupted for some moments by a kind of military music, which he performed in a very agreeable style. The Palace of Dgezzar is built with much taste and elegance; but, in order to arrive at the apartments, a number of turnings are necessary. At the foot of the staircase, however, is situated a Prison, the gate of which is allowed to be open from noon till evening. I saw a number of the unfortunate inhabitants. In the courts I observed twelve field pieces well mounted, and in admirable order. Never did I encounter a sight more hideous or repulsive than that of the minister of Dgezzar, whom I met in going out. The Pacha had caused one of his eyes to be put out, and his nose and ears to be cut off. I saw in the town more than a hundred individuals in the same state. On beholding the domestics of Dgezzar, and even the inhabitants of Acre, one would imagine himself in the resorts of brigands ready to assassinate. This monster has imprinted the mark of his atrocious character upon every thing within the limits of his power. I had an opportunity of seeing, while at Acre, the procurateur of the Propaganda, as well as that of the Holy Land. Of the former, and of the commissary of the Seven Isles, I collected some information concerning the present state of Syria, and the fortifications

of Acre, of which I had seen but a part: I was not suffered to visit them. The procurateur of the Holy Land is grateful to the first Consul for the protection he had afforded the Monks. He assured me that my recommendation to Dgezzar would be very useful. He hinted to me Dgezzar's earnest wishes to be on good terms with the first Consul. It is certain that the former behaved very well to the crew of a French vessel which put into Acre shortly before my arrival. Dgezzar occupies all Palestine, with the exception of Jaffa, where Aboumarak Pacha has been besieged nearly five months, by a force of 9000 Men. This operation prevents Dgezzar from carrying on hostilities with the desired vigour against the emir of the Druses; who, for the space of a year, had paid him no tribute. Tripoli is tranquil at present: it is different at Aleppo, whence the Pacha has been driven. Damascus is in open rebellion against the Porte:—not only has the Pacha of the Divan been expelled, but the Aga, who commanded the citadel for the Turks, has been delivered up by the soldiers to the insurgents, who have decapitated him. Tripoli is now under a rebellious Pacha, who is a creature of Dgezzar; who has lately ordered him to protect the pilgrims from Mecca. In a word, all Syria, is with Dgezzar, and the Ottomans are as much detested here as in Egypt. The *Mutuales* live peaceably in their villages; they have, however, been obliged to retire from the borders of the sea. Aboumarak is now at the last extremity: this man is equally inconsiderate and cruel, and is fur-

passed only by Dgezzar. The Christians are even more in dread of him, and tremble for their future situation. The Monks of the Convent of Jaffa have withdrawn to Jerusalem. The 21st November I quitted Acre. As the winds were unfavourable to a Voyage to Jaffa, I set sail for Zante, where I arrived the 4th December. I landed the same day, but the ship's company were put under Quarantine. I repaired to the house of the French commissary, escorted by the officers of health. I soon learned that the Isle and the Republic were split into different parties, and that even the tranquillity of the place was threatened. I assembled the members of the constituted authorities, and the principal persons of the town, at the house of the Governor M. de Calishipode. After having represented to them the interest which the first Consul took in their welfare, I induced them to lay aside that spirit of party which distracted them, and to wait without passion, and in silence, the new constitution. These few words were received with enthusiasm, and all of them exclaimed, 'France for ever! Bonaparte for ever!' These cries were reiterated on my going out by more than 4000 Men, who followed me to the door. The Governor and the Russian commandant were alarmed at it; and I learned by the French commissary, on the following day, that two of the leading men were sent to prison, but that, on his solicitations, and fearful of my reproaches, they were set at liberty in the course of the night. I went to the Conciergerie, and had the Governor brought there. I spoke to him strongly on the irregularity

of his conduct: he was alarmed, and promised that he would look upon those who cried out, 'Live the first Consul!' as good citizens, and should in future treat them as such. As he sent, in the course of the night, a courier to his Government, and I had reason to believe he had made a wrong report, I immediately wrote to the Charge d'Affairs of the Republic at Corfou, to inform him what had passed, and that I was setting off for Messina. I do not stray from the truth in assuring you, that the Islands of the Ionian Sea will declare themselves French as soon as an opportunity shall offer itself.

English Army in Egypt.—That army, commanded by General Stuart, consists of 4430 Men. They wholly and exclusively occupy Alexandria and the neighbouring forts. The Turks, who formed the Garrison of some of these forts, have been removed. Lately the English General has occupied Demanhour with 100 infantry and 100 horse, under the pretext of curbing the Arabs. The English have made no necessary works for the maintenance of the forts; the palisades are almost entirely destroyed, and the branches occasioned by the rains have very much damaged all the new fortifications. They occupy none of the works which are beyond the line of the Arabs, and all the redoubts which existed at the departure of the French Army are destroyed. The Pacha of Cairo furnishes to the English Army corn, rice, wood, and provisions, without any payment. The consumption is treble what it should be: they commit great waste. A great misunderstanding reigns between General Stuart and the Pacha.

STATE

STATE OF THE ARMY.

Dillon's Regiment—Emigrants	-	-	450
British Chasseurs—Ditto			550
Role's Regiment—Swifts			600
Wetteville's—Ditto	-		680
The 10th Regiment of Infantry—English	-		600
The 61st Regiment Infantry—Ditto	-		650
The 88th Regiment Infantry—Ditto	-		400
Dragoons of the 26th Light—Ditto	-		350
Artillery—Ditto	-		150
			—
Total	-		4430
			—

The Turkish Army.—Muhammed, Pacha of Cairo, who has taken, it is not known why, the title of Viceroy of Egypt, does not command the troops in person. Muhammed Aly-Serr-Cherfme, who had the command since my arrival, was killed before Gaza; they are now under the orders of Jussef Kiahia. Tair is Pacha of the Arnaoutes, who compose the greatest part of this army, amounting to about 16,000 Men. They from time to time receive reinforcements.—Chourchid-Ahmed, a Pacha of two tails, is at Alexandria with 600 men, who occupy no fortification. This Pacha is, as one may say, a prisoner with the English. The Turkish Army consists of 7640 Men, and that of the Arnaoutes of 8500, making a whole of 16140.—It is useless to add, that this is not an army, they are men ill armed, without discipline, without confidence in their chiefs, and enervated by excessive debauchery.

The chiefs are in every thing like their foldiers; ignorant even of the first principles of the military art; and uniformly actuated by the love of wealth, they think of nothing but of obtaining it, and of finding the means of carrying it off in safety. Six thousand French would at present be enough to conquer Egypt.

Army of the Mamelukes.—The Army of the Beys is composed of 3000 Mamelukes, of 3500 Arabs of the Tribe of Ababde of Chark, and of 3500 of the Tribe of Binialy. Muhammed Bey Elfy married the daughter of the Cheik of the first, and Maarzouk Bey son of Ibrahim Bey, the daughter of the Cheik of the Tribe of Binialy. The power in this Army is divided between Ibrahim Bey, who is the chief, Eley Bey and Osman Bey, who has succeeded Murad Bey. Their head-quarters are at Djergé. They have 80 French deserters, which form a small Corps of Artillery. To the present time they have beat the Turks in every action, and the Egyptians prefer them to the Osmanlis. The whole of Upper Egypt has submitted to them.

Syria.—Acre. The body of this place has been repaired; the Port has been covered with a small horned work, and the Tower of the angle by a half-moon. They have likewise made a small Fleche, in front of the Palace of the Pacha.—All the works are well kept. The weakest part is that towards the Sea, and particularly the point which defends the entrance of the Port. The forces of Degezzar are at present 13 or 14,000 Men, of which 9,000 are employed at the

the siege of Jaffa. Jerusalem and Nazareth are occupied by the troops of the Pacha of Acre. The Naplonsains serve against Aboumarak.—Jaffa. The Vizier, after the taking of Egypt, caused the body of the place to be re-constructed, which is at present in a very good state. Aboumarak, Pacha of Palestine, who defends this place, has a garrison of 4000 men.—Gaza is occupied by 400 troops of Aboumarak.—The Emir of the Druses has refused to Degezzar, his annual contribution, and has raised a respectable Armament. The Pacha waits till the fall of Jaffa to attack him. The English wished to interfere as mediators between the Emir and Degezzar, but the last refused their mediation. The Porte has, at this moment, little connexion with Syria.

(Signed) HORACE SEBASTIANI.

No. II.

Paris, 3 Ventose, Feb. 22.

ACTS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Decree of the Government of the 21st February.

THE Government of the Republic decrees, that a view of the present situation of the Republic shall be carried to the legislative body by the messengers of the Government, and also the same be inserted in the bulletin of the laws.

(Signed)

BONAPARTE, First Consul.

By Order of the First Consul,

(Signed)

H. B. MARET, Secretary of State.

VIEW OF THE STATE OF THE REPUBLIC.

EVENTS have neither frustrated the wishes, nor disappointed the expectations of Government. The legislative body, on resuming its labours, has the satisfaction of finding the republic strengthened by the union of its citizens, more active in its pursuits of industry, and more confident in its prospects of prosperity.

The execution of the Concordat, from which the enemies of public order still ventured to conceive criminal hopes, has almost everywhere produced the most beneficial effects. The principles of an enlightened religion, the voice of the sovereign Pontiff, the firmness and perseverance of Government have triumphed over every obstacle. Mutual sacrifices have re-united the ministers of religion; enlightened reason, and cordial unanimity have revived the Gallican Church; and the happiest change has already manifested itself in the public morals. Every day produces a more perfect coincidence of opinion and of sentiment. Childhood is more docile to the instructions of parents, and youth more submissive to the authority of Magistrates. The Conscription goes on smoothly in those very places, where the mere name of Conscription was sufficient to stimulate insurrection, and to serve the Country is now become a duty of religion.

In those departments which the first Consul visited, he every where received pledges, and observed proofs of a return to those principles which

which constitute the strength and the happiness of society.

In the departments of the Eure, the Lower Seine, the Oise, the inhabitants proudly exult in the national glory. They are sensible to their full extent of the advantages of equality. They hail with blessings the restoration of Peace; they receive with blessings the re-establishment of public worship. These are the ties that bind down every heart to the state and the constitution.

It is the duty of Government to cherish and direct these auspicious dispositions.

Other forms of worship have been regularly organized. Confraternities are formed of enlightened citizens, tried and acknowledged defenders of public order, of civil and religious liberty.

Public instruction, that indispensable support of society, is every where sought after with eagerness and alacrity. Several Lyceums have already been opened; already, as government had well foreseen, a number of private schools aspire to the rank of the secondary schools. The whole body of citizens shew their conviction that there can be no happiness without the light of education; that, without talents and information, there can be no equality but that of misery and servitude.

A military School is opened to receive the young defenders of the country. Soldiers, they will learn to support the life of Camps, and endure the fatigues of War. By long habits of obedience they will be trained up to the art of commanding, and they will bring to the armies courage and discipline, united with talents and with knowledge.

In the Lyceums, as well as in the military School, the youth of the departments, newly incorporated with the Republic, will live mingled without any distinction with the youth of Old France. From this confusion of minds and manners, from this communication of habits and of dispositions, from this commixture of interests, of projects, and of hopes, will spring up that fraternity, which of several nations will make but one people, destined by their position, by their courage, and by their virtues, to form the centre of union, and the examples of Europe.

The National Institute, which has its ascendancy over public instruction, has received a more useful direction, and henceforward will exert a more active influence over the National Character, over the language of the country, and over the arts, sciences, and literature.

In order to insure the stability of our infant Institutions, in order to remove from the eyes of the public the spectre of discord which appeared to them in the periodical return of elections to the supreme magistracy, the friends of the country called for the consulate for life to be granted to the first Magistrate. The people upon being consulted answered to their call, and the senate proclaimed the will of the people.

The system of lists of eligibility could not resist the test of experience, and the force of public opinion.

The organization of the Senate was incomplete.

The National Justice was left to be administered by tribunals without harmony, and without dependence on each other. There was no authority to protect or to

reform them; no tie of restraint to subject them to one common discipline.

In fine, there was wanting to France a power to reclaim Justice itself, the power of granting pardon. How often these twelve years past has that power been implored! How many unfortunates have fallen the victims of an inflexible sternness with which wise men reproached our laws! How many criminals have been acquitted through a false indulgence, because our punishments were too severe!

A *Senatus Consultum* has restored to the people the exercise of those rights which the Constituent Assembly had acknowledged; but it has restored them surrounded with precautions, which preserve the people from errors or precipitation in their choice; with precautions which guard the influence of property, and the preponderance of enlightened talents.

Should the first magistracy become vacant, the duties and the proceedings of the senate are traced out for such an emergency: forms of certain operation guide the wisdom and the liberty of their choice; and the quick decision of that choice deprives ambition of the means of conspiring, and anarchy of the means of destroying.

The cement of time will every day consolidate, more and more, this tutelary institution. It will be not only the term of all inquietudes, and the object of all hopes, but likewise the fairest recompence that can be held out to public services and public virtues.

Justice embraces all the tribunals with one common bond. They have each their subordinate station and their censor: they are always free in the exercise of their func-

tions; always independent of power, but never independent of the laws.

The privilege of granting pardon when the interest of the republic requires it, or when circumstances prescribe indulgence, is entrusted to the hands of the first Magistrate; but it is only confided to him under the guard of justice itself; he is to exercise it only under the eyes of a Council, and after having consulted the severest oracles of the law.

If institutions may be appreciated by their effects, never was any institution more important in its result than the organic *Senatus Consultum*. From that moment the French people began to confide in their destiny; property began to resume its former value, and speculations of distant view to be multiplied;—until that moment every thing seemed to float in uncertainty. The present moment was cherished; the next was a subject of alarm, and the enemies of the country continue to cherish hopes. Since that moment they are reduced to impotence and to detestation.

The Island of Elba has been ceded to France; that acquisition gives her a mild and industrious people; two fine ports, a productive and precious mine: but being separated from France, it could not be intimately united with any of her departments, or subjected to the regulations of a common administration. Principles have been made to bend to the necessity of circumstances; exceptions have been established for the Island of Elba, which its position, and the public interest prescribed.

The abdication of the sovereign, the will of the people, and the necessity

necessity of existing circumstances, had placed Piedmont under the power of France. Amidst the nations that surrounded it, with the elements that composed its population, Piedmont was unable to support either the weight of its own independence, or the expences of a Monarchy. United to France, it will reap the benefits of its security, and its greatness; its laborious and enlightened citizens will exert their industry and their talents in the bosom of the arts, and under the shade of peace.

Security and tranquillity prevail in the interior of France. The vigilance of the magistracy, the severity of justice, and a Gendarmerie vigorously appointed, and directed by a commander, grown grey in the career of honour, has every where impressed terror on the minds and the attempts of the brigands.

Private interest has raised itself to a sentiment of public interest. Citizens have not shrunk from attacking those whom they formerly dreaded, even when they were chained down at the foot of the tribunals of Justice. Whole communes have taken up arms and destroyed the brigands. Foreigners envy the security of our public roads, and that public force, which, though often invisible, is always present, attend on their footsteps, and watch for their protection, without any necessity of imploring its aid.

During the course of a difficult year, amidst the exigencies of a general scarcity, the poor looked with confidence to the care of Government. They supported with courage the privations which necessity imposed; and they received with gratitude the succours

which they were taught to expect.

The crime of forgery is no longer encouraged by the hope of impunity. The zeal of the tribunals appointed to prosecute and punish it, and the just severity of the laws, have at length checked the progress of an evil which threatened both the public treasure, and the fortunes of individuals.

Our cultivation daily improves, and defies the most boasted agricultural systems of Europe. In every department are to be found enlightened farmers, who afford both instruction and example.

Premiums have been held out for improving the breed of horses; and similar encouragements are proposed for the improvement of wool by the introduction of a foreign breed of sheep. Zealous administrators are every where occupied in tracing out and revealing the richness of our soil, and in disseminating the useful plans and the happy results which experience daily discovers.

Our manufactures multiply and receive new spirit and improvement. While they emulate each, they will soon, no doubt, become the rivals of the most renowned manufactures of foreign countries. Henceforth there will be nothing wanting to their prosperity but capitals less dearly purchased. But capitalists begin already to give up the hazardous speculations of stock-jobbing, and devote their attention to the improvement of land and the pursuit of useful enterprizes. More than twenty-thousand workmen, who were dispersed throughout Europe, have been recalled by the attention and by the favours of Government, and will soon be restored to our manufactures.

Among our manufactures there is one which is almost peculiar to France, which Colbert kindled up by his genius. It was buried under the ruins of Lyons: Government has exerted all its endeavours to extricate it. Lyons is again restored to splendour and opulence; already do its manufactures impose a tribute on the luxury of Europe. But the principle of their success is to be found in the luxury of France itself; it is in the changefulness of our taste, and the mutability of our fashions, that foreign luxury must look for its aliment, it is that gives motion and life to an immense population, who, without that encouragement, must lose itself in corruption and misery.

There will soon be at Compiègne, there will soon arise on the confines of La Vendée, a number of Prytanées, where our youth will be brought up in habits of industry, and instructed in the mechanical arts. From that source our dockyards and our manufactures will one day draw inspectors to direct their labours.

Fourteen millions arising out of the Barrier Tax, and ten millions out of the Extraordinaries, have been employed during the year 10 in improving the public roads, in keeping up the old communications. New communications have also been opened. The Simplon, Mount-Cenis, and Mount-Genèvre, will soon open a triple and easy access to Italy—a high road will lead from Genoa to Marseilles—a road is chalked out from Saint Esprit to Gap—another from Rennes to Brest, through Pontivy. At Pontivy establishments are to be raised which will have a powerful influence over the public mind of the departments

of which *ci-devant* Brittany was composed—a Canal will introduce into it new sources of commerce and prosperity.

On the banks of the Rhine from Bingen to Coblenz, a necessary road is cut through inaccessible rocks. The neighbouring communes associate their labours to the sacrifices of the public treasury, and the people of the other bank, who ridiculed the folly of the enterprise, are astonished and confounded at the rapidity of the execution.

A great number of workmen are employed on the Canal of Saint Quintin.

The Canal of Ourcq is opened, and soon will Paris people enjoy the benefit of its waters, and the salubrity and the embellishments which they promise.

The Canal intended to unite the navigation of the Seine and the Saone, of the Danube and the Rhine, is almost entirely finished as far as Dole, and the public treasury already receives in the increased price of wood, to which that Canal opens the approach, a sum equal to that which it has furnished for the continuance of the work.

The Canals of Argues, Mortes, and the Rhone, the draining of the marshes of the Lower Charante, are begun, and will open up new channels to commerce, and afford new lands for cultivation. Works are going forward for the reparation of the dykes of the Isle of Cadzand, of Ostend, of the Cotes du Nord, and the re-establishment of the navigation of our rivers. This navigation is no longer given up solely to the labours and the cares of Government. The owners of boats plying on these rivers have already

already felt that it was their patrimony, and they fix on themselves the taxes by which the works are to be kept in proper repair. On the Ocean Forts are erecting to cover the roads of the Isle of Aix, and to protect the vessels of the Republic. Every where funds are raised for the reparation and improvement of our ports. A new basin and locked sluices will terminate the harbour of Havre, and will form an excellent port for the commerce of La Manche. A company of Pilots is formed to secure the safe navigation of L'Escaut, and to free foreign Pilots from the danger to which an unknown navigation must expose them.

At Antwerp labours are begun, which will have the effect of restoring to its commerce its ancient celebrity, and the Government has in contemplation a plan for forming Canals to unite the navigation of the Escaut, the Meuse, and the Rhine, to give to our docks those materials of wood which grows in our own soil, and to our manufactures a perfection which the manufacturers of other countries dispute with us on our own territory.

The Islands of Martinique, Tobago, and St. Lucie, have been restored to us with all the elements of prosperity. Guadaloupe, re-conquered and pacified, returns to cultivation. Guiana rises from a long protracted infancy, and assumes a flourishing appearance.

St. Domingo had submitted, and the author of its troubles was in France. Every thing announced the return of prosperity, but a cruel malady delivered it up to new miseries. At length the scourge which desolated our Army has

ceased its ravages. The Forces which now are on the Island, and those which will speedily arrive from our different ports, guarantee the prospect of its speedy return to peace and to commercial pursuits.

Vessels are setting sail for the Isles of France and Re-union, and for India.

Our maritime commerce is seeking to renew its ancient connections, to form new relations; and by these efforts it gains new strength. Already happy experience and wise encouragements have reanimated a spirit for engaging in the Fishery which was long the patrimony of France. Commercial Expeditions still more important are formed or projected for the West India Colonies, the Isle of France, and the East Indies.

Marseilles resumes in the Mediterranean its antient ascendancy.

Chambers of commerce have been restored in the cities where they formerly existed. New ones have been established in those places, which, by the extent of their operations and the importance of their manufactures, have appeared to deserve them. In these associations, formed by persons whose situation entitles them to the honour of choosing the members, the spirit as well as the science of commerce will revive. There its interests will be developed, inseparable from the interests of the state. The merchant will there learn to place, in preference to riches, the consideration which honours them, and before the enjoyments of a vain luxury, that wise economy which fixes the esteem

esteem of his fellow-citizens and the confidence of strangers.

Deputies, chosen from the different chambers, will discuss, in the presence of government, the interests of commerce and manufactures, and the laws and regulations which circumstances may require.

In our forces, by sea and land, instruction and the love of discipline are sedulously inculcated. Responsibility becomes more rigid in our military corps. An economical administration has succeeded to the dilapidating system of contracts. The soldier, better fed and better clothed, understands economy, and his savings, which he throws into the common stock, attach him to his standard as well as to his family.

Every branch of our finances becomes more productive. The collection of direct contribution is less rigorous with regard to the contributors. In the year six it was reckoned that about fifty millions were in the hands of the collectors of Taxes, and payments were three or four years in arrear. At this moment the sum in the hands of the collectors is not above three millions, and the contributions are paid even before they are due.

All the rules which have been made, and all the plans of administration which have been formed, give a produce still increasing. The rules applicable to the registering of commercial transactions is productive to a degree, which attests the rapid movements of capital and the multiplicity of business which is transacted.

In the midst of so many signs of prosperity, the excess of the direct contributions is still made a ground of complaint.

The Government has learnt from every one versed in the principles of taxation, that the surcharge consisted chiefly in the inequality of the mode in which the taxes were imposed. Measures have been taken, and are carrying into effect, to ascertain the real inequalities which exist in the different departments. In the course of the year 12, regular and simultaneous operations will have ascertained what is the relation which ought to exist betwixt the contributions of the different departments, and what in each department is the just rate of the land tax. The moment that a certain result has been fixed, the Government will give orders for those alterations which justice requires. But in the course of this year, and without waiting for those results, it will propose an important diminution in the Land Tax.

Innovations are still proposed in our financial system; but every change is an evil, if it cannot be satisfactorily demonstrated that certain advantage would result from it. The Government will seek from time and from discussions, weighed with all possible care, the maturity of these projects which inexperience often hazards; which they support by those past examples, the memory of which has been almost effaced from the public mind, and on the financial doctrines of a nation which, by unnatural and exaggerated efforts, has broke through every measure of public contribution and expenditure.

With an increase of revenue which no one ventured to calculate, extraordinary circumstances have led to wants which it was impossible to foresee.

It was necessary to reconquer

two of our colonies, and to re-establish in all the power and the Government of the mother country.

It was necessary, by means sudden and too extended to admit of rigid economy, to procure subsistence for the capital and several of the departments. At least, however the success of the government has been equal to its efforts, and after these vast exertions, resources remain henceforth to guarantee the capital against the return of want, and to disconcert the projects of monopoly.

In the methodized statement of the minister of finance, will be found a general view of the annual contributions and the different branches of the public revenue, what was their amount during the last year, what prospect of amelioration existed; whether from the mode of administration or the progress of public prosperity, what have been in the different departments of the ministry, the elements of expenditure during the year ten; what are the sums still remaining to be paid for that and former years; what resources exist to cover them, whether arising from outstanding arrears of taxes, or from the extraordinary funds appropriated to pay off the debts contracted in these years, and which have not yet been exhausted; what is the actual amount of the public debt; what has been its increase, how it has been diminished by natural causes, and how its extinction has been affected by the sinking fund.

In the account of the minister of the public treasury will be seen a statement of the receipts, the payments of the year ten; what belongs to the different branches of

the revenue; what is chargeable in each year and on each part of the administration.

The united account of the two ministers will form a complete table of our financial situation. The Government hold up with equal satisfaction the picture which it presents to its friends and its detractors, to citizens and to foreigners.

After authorizing the foreseen expence of the year 12, and appropriating the necessary revenue, objects of the greatest interest will occupy the attention of the legislative body. It is necessary to introduce a change into our system of coinage. The custom-house duties must be re-organized, so as more effectually to check the progress of contraband trade. It is at length essential to give to France that civil code so long promised and so long expected.

Above all, projects of laws have been formed under the observation of government, and matured in conferences where commissions from the council of state and the tribunate were animated only by the love of truth and regard for the public interest. The same sentiments, the same principles will guide the deliberation of the legislators, and secure to the republic the wisdom, and the impartiality of the laws which are adopted.

On the continent, every thing offers us pledges of repose and tranquillity.

The Italian Republic, since the proceedings at Lyons, has been daily strengthening itself by the more intimate union of the people of whom it is composed. The happy harmony among the authorities by which it is governed, its
internal

internal administration, its military force already give it the character and the attitude of a state long established; and if wisdom preserve them, they guarantee to it a destiny of uninterrupted prosperity.

Liguria, placed under a mixed constitution, sees at its head, and in the bosom of its authorities, all those of its citizens, the most estimable for their virtues, by their illumination and their fortune.

New shocks have convulsed the Helvetic republic. The Government owed its support to neighbours, whose repose was essential to the repose of France, and it will use every exertion to ensure the success of its mediation, and with it the happiness of a people whose habits, and whose interests, make it the necessary ally of France.

Batavia successively takes possession of the colonies which the peace restored to her.

She will ever remember that France must ever be her most useful friend or her most destructive foe.

In Germany the last stipulations of the treaty of Luneville are carrying into effect.

Prussia, Bavaria, all the secular princes who had possessions on the left bank of the Rhine, will obtain on the right bank suitable indemnities.

The House of Austria finds in the bishopricks of Salzburg, Aischtett, Trent, and Brixen, and the greatest part of Pau, more than it had lost in Tuscany. Thus, by the happy co-operation of France and Russia, all permanent interests are conciliated, and from the bosom of that tempest which seemed ready to overwhelm it the Germanic empire, that empire so necessary to the equilibrium and

the repose of Europe, rises more powerful, composed of elements more homogeneous, better combined and more adapted to the circumstances, and opinions of the present age.

A French ambassador is at Constantinople, charged with renewing and fortifying the ties which attach us to a power which seems to be threatened with destruction, but which it is our interest to sustain and to support the foundations by which it is upheld.

The British Forces are still in Alexandria and Malta. The Government had a fair right of complaint, but it has received intelligence that the vessels which are to convey them to Europe are already in the Mediterranean.

The Government guarantees to the nation the peace of the continent, and it is permitted to entertain a hope of the continuance of maritime peace. This peace is the want, as well as the desire of all nations. For its preservation, the Government will do every thing compatible with national honour, essentially connected with the strict execution of the treaties.

But in England, two parties maintain a contest for power. One of those parties has concluded peace, and appears desirous of maintaining it. The other has taken an oath of eternal hatred to France. Hence that fluctuation of opinion and of counsels which prevail.—Hence that attitude, at the same time pacific and menacing.

While this contest of parties continues, measures of precaution are what the Government is called upon to adopt: Five hundred thousand men ought to be, and shall be ready to undertake its defence, and avenge

its injuries. Strange necessity which miserable passions impose on two nations, whom interest and inclination mutually prompt to the cultivation of peace.

Whatever success intrigues may experience in London, no other people will be involved in new combinations—the Government says, with conscious pride, that England alone cannot maintain a struggle against France.

But we have better hopes, and we believe that in the British cabinet, nothing will be listened to but the counsels of wisdom and the voice of humanity.

Yes, doubtless, the peace will daily be more consolidated. The relations of the two Governments will assume that character of goodwill which is suitable to their mutual interests. A happy repose will bury the recollection of the long calamities of a disastrous war, and France and England, rendering their happiness reciprocal, will deserve the gratitude of the whole world.

The First Consul,

(Signed) BONAPARTE.

By Order of the First Consul,

The Secretary of State,

H. B. MARET.

No. III.

Paris, 26, Brumaire, 10th year (17th November, 1802.

I FORWARD to you, Citizen, a series of questions, concerning which I am desirous of having your answers. You will have the goodness to place them opposite the questions on the same sheet of paper,

doubled in two, similar to the one which I have the honour to send to you. I shall be obliged to you to send me this paper as soon as possible, without, however, suffering your too great haste to be prejudicial to your accuracy. If you are doubtful upon any point, you will have the goodness to mention it. You will probably find no difficulty in consulting with some well-informed merchants or clerks in the Custom-House, who you think may have it in their power to give you some positive information, and you will declare the sources from whence you have drawn that information. You will not consider this business as forming a part of your official correspondence. You must not number it, but you must content yourself with putting at the Top of it, as in the projet which I enclose to you *Private Correspondence*.

To Citizen Fauvelet, at Dublin.

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

No. IV.

PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE.

Questions.

1. WHAT number of vessels have entered and cleared out of the ports within your district within each year from 1792 to 1801 inclusive?

2. What is their tonnage or their admeasurement in sea tons of 2000 4 P?

3. Under what flag do they navigate?

4. From whence they come?

5. Whither bound?

6. With.

6. With what merchandize freighted?

7. What was the price of freight to the principal ports of Europe, each sea ton of 2000 4 P.S.?

8. What French productions are most in request in the market of the town where you reside, as well as of the other considerable towns in your district?

9. What is the merchandize which can be exported to France with greater advantage from the said markets than from any other?

10. What are the course of exchange, and the current prices of merchandize from three months to three months from the year 1792 to 1801?

11. *You are required to furnish a plan of the ports of your district, with a specification of the soundings for mooring vessels.*

12. *If no plan of the ports can be procured, you are to point out with what wind vessels can come in and go out, and what is the greatest draught of water with which vessels can enter therein deeply laden?*

13. What are the principal commercial houses?

If the heads of these houses are foreigners, you are to point out of what country they are; and in all cases you are to state with what countries they are principally connected, and what is their chief line of commerce.

14. What is the usual course of exchange?

15. Whether there is a public bank, and what is its organization?

16. Whether there are any Insurance Companies, public or private, and what are their customs and rules, and the prices of insurance, for European and long voyages?

17. In case there exists any other public establishment which relates to commerce, you are to give every possible detail concerning it, especially in whatever regards manufactures and fisheries.

18. You are to point out the relative conformity of weights and measures with those of France, ancient and modern, as soon as you shall have obtained practical and exact information on those points.

19. You are to add to all this the most extensive information, as well general as particular, which you may be able to obtain from authority, especially with regard to commerce, and particularly respecting false accounts of purchases and sales of different merchandizes, in order to ascertain the expences, rights, and local customs, in cases of purchases and sales.

20. Whether there are any fairs in your district; what species of traffic is carried on there, and to what amount.

No. V.

From the Hamburgh Correspondenten of March 30, 1803.

The following article is inserted by Desire.

Paris, March 15.

FOR some months a war of newspapers and of the press has been kept up between France and England. This seemed merely the dying embers of an extinguished conflagration; the last consolation of a desperate party; the food of some low passions and a few hungry scribblers. The French Government was far from attaching importance to such matters. Notwithstanding some difficulties in the complete

complete execution of the Treaty of Amiens, they still believed they might rely on the good faith of the British Government, and directed their attention solely to the re-establishment of the colonies. Relying upon the sacredness of treaties, they securely dispersed the remains of the French naval force, which had been given a prey to the English Fleet. In this situation, suddenly appeared a solemn message from the cabinet of St. James's, and informed all Europe that France was making considerable preparations in the ports of Holland and France; an address was voted by Parliament, promising to the King of England such extraordinary means of defence as the security of the British Empire and the honour of the three crowns might require.

From the sudden appearance of this message, people doubted whether it was the effect of treachery, of lunacy, or of weakness. Let any one cast his eye over the ports of France and Holland, where he will find only detached naval preparations destined for the colonies, and consisting only of one or two line of battle ships and a few frigates. On the other hand, let him look at the ports of England, filled with a formidable naval force; on such a review one could be tempted to believe that the message of the King of England was mere irony, if such a farce were not unworthy the majesty of a government. If one considers the influence of factions in so free a country, one might suppose that the King of England had only had the weakness to yield, if weakness were compatible with the first quality of a king. In short, no national motives remain to which it can be

ascribed, except bad faith—except a sworn enmity to the French nation—except perfidy, and the desire of openly breaking a solemn treaty, for the sake of advantages which will be maintained, and the sacrifice of which the honour of France and the faith of treaties forbid.

When a man reads this message he thinks himself transported to the times of those treaties which the Vandals made with the degenerate Romans, when force usurped the place of right, and when, with a hasty appeal to arms, they insulted the antagonist they meant to attack. In the present state of civilization there is a respect which a great monarch, which a polished people owe to themselves, were that respect no more than to seek a plausible pretext for an unjust war. But in this instance every thing is precipitate, and repugnant to decency and to justice. An eternal war would succeed a dreadful contest; and the more unjust the attack, the more irreconcilable would be its animosity.

Such a novelty will doubtless excite the disapprobation of Europe. While even the English, whose national pride had not entirely blinded them, sighed at this prospect, did the *TIMES* call the peace of Amiens an Armistice, and in doing so, passed the severest satire on the government it defended; and the rapid fall of the national funds is the first prelude to the misfortunes which may follow as the revenge due for the wound given to all social rights.

The French are less intimidated than irritated by the threats of England. They have neither been dispirited by their reverses, nor elated by their victories; in a war

to which there appeared no termination, they saw all Europe confederated against them. Their constancy, their courage, and the prompt activity of their Government, brought it to a conclusion. *This* war would have a different object. France would contend for the liberty of the states of Europe, and the sacredness of their treaties; and if the English Government be determined to make it a national war, perhaps her boasted formidable naval strength would not be sufficient to decide the result, and to secure the victory.

The French, strong in the justice of their cause, and in the confidence they repose in their Government, do not dread the new expences and new sacrifices which such a war might render necessary. Their system of finance is more simple and less artificial than that of London, and so much the more solid. It all lies in their soil and in their courage.

On the first news of the English message, all eyes were turned to the cabinet of the Thuilleries. As most trifling motions received a character of importance, its most unpremeditated words were eagerly caught up. Every one impatiently expected the assembly for the presentation of foreigners, which Madame Bonaparte holds once a month. Every one was prepared to draw some inferences from it. It was as splendid as usual. The first Consul made his appearance, and said, on his entrance, to the English ambassador, who was standing beside M. Markoff, "We have been at war for twelve years. The king of England says, that France is making immense naval prepara-

tions. He has been led into an error. In the French ports there are no preparations of any magnitude. The whole fleet is gone to St. Domingo and the Colonies. With regard to the ports of Holland, to which the message likewise alludes, there are only the preparations for the expedition under General Victor, and all Europe knows its destination is for Louisiana. The king says farther, that between the cabinets of Paris and London differences continue. I know of none. It is true that England ought to have evacuated Malta, and Malta is not evacuated; and as his Britannic Majesty has bound himself by the most solemn treaty ever entered into, it is impossible to doubt of the speedy evacuation of that island; and," added the first Consul, "those who would attempt to frighten the French people should know, that it is possible, to kill but not to intimidate them."

During the course of the evening, when the first Consul happened to be near M. Markoff, he said aloud, "that the British ministry wished to keep Malta for five years more. Such a proposal was insulting, and no treaties should be entered into which it was not resolved to observe." At the conclusion of the assembly, when the English ambassador was about to retire, the first Consul said to him, "Madame the Duchess of Dorset has spent the unpleasant part of the year at Paris. It is my sincere wish that she may also spend the agreeable season. But if it should happen that we really must go to war, the responsibility is exclusively with those who deny the validity

validity of their own contracts, since they refuse to observe treaties which they had concluded."

These words of the first Consul require no comment. They explain completely his present opinions, his past conduct, and his resolution for the future. It is sufficient to compare them with the tergiversations, the duplicity, the evasions, and the message, of the English Government, in order to be enabled to decide on the justice of the dispute.

No. VI.

Corfu, Dec. 10, 1802.

My Lord,

THE last letters from my agent at Zante furnish me with the information, that the Cornelia French Frigate, having on board Horatio Sebastiani, Chief of Brigade, and charged with a public mission on the part of the first Consul of the French Republic, came to anchor there on the 3d Instant. The Envoy finding that a vessel coming from Alexandria was subject to a long quarantine, and could not be permitted to communicate freely with the shore, applied to the Delegate of that Island for permission to land, which being granted him, he was conducted to the Delegate's apartments. He then requested that a meeting of the three orders might be called, which was also complied with, and twelve persons, four of each order, met in the Delegate's house. The Envoy Sebastiani then harangued them nearly in the terms of the address, which I have herewith the honour of inclosing to your lord-

ship. His Speech, however, contained some additional observations, importing, that *Bonaparte had been the first to break the chains of the Islanders*. When he had done speaking a tumultuous cry was uttered, of *Viva la Liberta! Viva l'Uguaglianza!*

Before his departure, however, he caused to be forwarded to the Delegate of Cephalonia, and to the Senate of Corfu, copies of the inclosed address, expressing a wish that it might be generally circulated among the people of each island.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) SPIRIDION FORESTI.

Right Honorable Lord Hawkesbury
&c. &c. &c.

No. VII.

Corfu, January 2, 1803.

My Lord,

IN my letter of the 10th ultimo, your lordship will perceive that I inserted the arrival of the Cornelia French frigate at Zante, and that Horatio Sebastiani harangued the people of that island. At that time I was not in possession of his exact oration, but since then the Delegate of Zante transmitted his Speech to the Senate of Corfu; a copy of which I beg leave to submit to your lordship's attention.

Monsieur Romieu, the French minister here, communicated to the prince of the Senate, that the first Consul of the French republic had taken under his protection the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman churches of this republic; and on the 19th December wrote to the

vicar general of Corfu to inform him of the same; a copy of which permit me to inclose for your perusal.

From the proceedings of the French Commissary here, and those of the other islands, together with the disposition of the natives, I am afraid that this republic will be a constant theatre of French intrigue. The aforesaid Commissaries occasion Count Mocenigo and this government an infinite deal of trouble.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) SPIRIDION FORESTI.

Right Honorable Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

(First Inclosure referred to in No. 7.)

(Translation.)

Horace Sebastiani, Chief of Brigade of a Regiment of Dragoons, and Envoy of the First Consul in the Levant.

To His Excellency the Delegate of Zante.

Sir,

THE first Consul Bonaparte has charged me to visit these islands which compose your Republic, and to assure the inhabitants that he takes a lively interest in their prosperity.

I know that the difference of political opinions divides this rising Republic into various parties, and that without the wise measures taken by your Government, its tranquillity will be destroyed. I could wish you to make known to your administrators and fellow-citizens how much the first Consul wishes to see a stop put to those intestine divisions which afflict these islands.

Your political independency has been guaranteed by France, Russia, and the Sublime Porte. These powerful nations, united together by the bonds of the truest friendship, are occupied, in concert with your most enlightened and most virtuous fellow-citizens, to give you a form of government suitable to your situation and the genius of your inhabitants. Wait with confidence and moderation the result of these important operations, and be assured that you will see the end of your ills, and the beginning of your prosperity. All exaggerations of political opinions are inimical to the general prosperity: absolute democracy, always tempestuous, sacrifices to vain chimeras the security, the property, civil liberty, and, in short, all that constitutes the happiness of a state: Aristocracy which is not moderated is always tyrannical, and the elevation of a small number of families, is preferred to talents and to virtue. In order that a Government may be prosperous, it is necessary that it should have in its formation a happy combination of the advantages of different forms of Government; the power and promptitude of monarchy, the vigilance and intelligence of aristocracy, and the vigour and elevation of democracy; that the citizens may find the security enjoyed under the first, the tranquillity of the second, and the equality of rights fixed by the laws which are found in the third.

Recollect that the man who forms a part of society only preserves the liberty of doing that which is not prejudicial to the rights of others; and that equality only consists in the exact execution of the laws, and

in

in the protection which they afford to every member of the political body. As the quarantine prevents communication, I beg you will communicate this my letter to all the authorities, and also to the principal inhabitants.

I avail myself of this opportunity to assure you of the sentiments of esteem and consideration which I entertain for your person.

(Second Inclosure referred to in No. 7.)

(Translation.)

Liberty. Equality.

Corfu, 29th Frimaire, 11th year of the French Republic.

The Adjutant Commandant Romieux, Commissary General of Commercial Relations, and Chargé d'Affaires to the Republic of the Seven Islands, to the Vicar General of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Churches at Corfu.

Mr. Vicar General,

I HASTEN to inform you, with the greatest joy, that I have just received the express orders of my Government to place the church of the Roman religion in the Republic of the Seven Islands, under its special protection. I make this communication to the Prince of the senate. This proof of the good will of the French towards this church, will be a powerful motive, Mr. Vicar General, for addressing, through the faithful in your communion, the most ardent vows to Heaven for the prosperity of the French Republic, and the preservation of the lives of its Consuls, in the same way as the Roman

churches practise in the French Republic.

With the most distinguished consideration, Mr. Vicar General, I have the honour to salute you.

(Signed.) A. ROMIEUX.

A true copy, Spiridon Foresti.

Declaration of His Majesty.

HIS Majesty's earnest endeavours for the preservation of peace having failed of success, he entertains the fullest confidence that he shall receive the same support from his parliament, and that the same zeal and spirit will be manifested by his people, which he has experienced on every occasion when the honour of his crown has been attacked, or the essential interests of his dominions have been endangered.

During the whole course of the negotiations which led to the preliminary and definitive treaties of peace between his Majesty and the French Republic, it was his Majesty's sincere desire, not only to put an end to the hostilities which subsisted between the two countries, but to adopt such measures, and to concur in such propositions, as might most effectually contribute to consolidate the general tranquillity of Europe. The same motives by which his Majesty was actuated during the negotiations for peace, have since invariably governed his conduct. As soon as the treaty of Amiens was concluded, his Majesty's courts were open to the people of France for every purpose of legal redress; all

sequestrations were taken off their property ; all prohibitions on their trade which had been imposed during the war were removed, and they were placed, in every respect, on the same footing with regard to commerce and intercourse, as the inhabitants of any other state in amity with his Majesty, with which there existed no treaty of commerce.

To a system of conduct thus open, liberal, and friendly, the proceedings of the French government afford the most striking contrast. The prohibitions which had been placed on the commerce of his Majesty's subjects during the war have been enforced with increased strictness and severity ; violence has been offered in several instances to their vessels and their property ; and, in no case, has justice been afforded to those who may have been aggrieved in consequence of such acts, nor has any satisfactory answer been given to the repeated representations made by his Majesty's ministers or ambassador at Paris. Under such circumstances, when his Majesty's subjects were not suffered to enjoy the common advantages of peace within the territories of the French republick, and the countries dependent upon it, the French government had recourse to the extraordinary measure of sending over to this country a number of persons for the professed purpose of residing in the most considerable towns of Great Britain and Ireland, in the character of commercial agents or consuls. These persons could have no pretensions to be acknowledged in that character, as the right of being so acknowledged, as well as all the privileges attached to such a situa-

tion, could only be derived from a commercial treaty ; and as no treaty of that description was in existence between his Majesty and the French Republick.

There was consequently too much reason to suppose, that the real object of their mission was by no means of a commercial nature, and this suspicion was confirmed, not only by the circumstance that some of them were military men, but by the actual discovery that several of them were furnished with instructions to obtain the soundings of the harbours, and to procure military surveys of the places where it was intended they should reside. His majesty felt it to be his duty to prevent their departure to their respective places of destination, and represented to the French government the necessity of withdrawing them ; and it cannot be denied that the circumstances under which they were sent, and the instructions which were given to them, ought to be considered as decisive indications of the dispositions and intentions of the government by whom they were employed.

The conduct of the French government, with respect to the commercial intercourse between the two countries, must therefore be considered as ill suited to a state of peace, and their proceedings in their more general political relations, as well as in those which immediately concern his Majesty's dominions, appear to have been altogether inconsistent with every principle of good faith, moderation, and justice. His Majesty had entertained hopes, in consequence of the repeated assurances and professions of the French government, that they might have been induced to
adopt

adopt a system of policy which, if it had not inspired other powers with confidence, might at least have allayed their jealousies. If the French government had really appeared to be actuated by a due attention to such a system; if their dispositions had proved to be essentially pacific, allowances would have been made for the situation in which a new government must be placed after so dreadful and extensive a convulsion as that which has been produced by the French revolution. But his Majesty has unfortunately had too much reason to observe and to lament that the system of violence, aggression, and aggrandizement, which characterized the proceedings of the different governments of France during the war, has been continued with as little disguise since its termination. They have continued to keep a French army in Holland against the will, and in defiance of the remonstrances of the Batavian government, and in repugnance to the letter of three solemn treaties. They have, in a period of peace, invaded the territory, and violated the independence of the Swiss nation, in defiance of the treaty of Luneville, which had stipulated the independence of their territory, and the right of the inhabitants to chuse their own form of government. They have annexed to the dominions of France, Piedmont, Parma, and Placentia, and the island of Elba, without allotting any provision to the King of Sardinia, whom they have despoiled of the most valuable part of his territory, though they were bound, by a solemn engagement to the Emperor of Russia, to attend to his interests and to provide for his

establishment. It may, indeed, with truth be asserted, that the period which has elapsed since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, has been marked with one continued series of aggression, violence, and insult, on the part of the French government.

In the month of October last, his Majesty was induced, in consequence of the earnest solicitation of the Swiss nation, to make an effort, by a representation to the French government, to avert the evils which were then impending over that country. This representation was couched in the most temperate terms; and measures were taken by his Majesty for ascertaining, under the circumstances which then existed, the real situation and wishes of the Swiss cantons, as well as the sentiments of the other cabinets of Europe. His Majesty learned, however, with the utmost regret, that no disposition to counteract these repeated infractions of treaties and acts of violence, was manifested by any of the powers most immediately interested in preventing them; and his Majesty therefore felt that, with respect to these objects, his single efforts could not be expected to produce any considerable advantage to those in whose favour they might be exerted.

It was about this time that the French government first distinctly advanced the principle, that his Majesty had no right to complain of the conduct, or to interfere with the proceedings of France, on any point which did not form a part of the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens. That treaty was unquestionably founded upon the same principle as every other an-

tedent treaty or convention, on the assumption of the state of possession and of engagements subsisting at the time of its conclusion; and if that state of possession and of engagements is materially affected by the voluntary act of any of the parties, so as to prejudice the condition on which the other party has entered into the contract, the change, so made, may be considered as operating virtually as a breach of the treaty itself, and as giving the party aggrieved a right to demand satisfaction or compensation for any substantial difference which such acts may have effected in their relative situations; but whatever may be the principle on which the treaty is to be considered as founded, there is indisputably a *general law of nations*, which, though liable to be limited, explained, or restrained by *conventional law*, is antecedent to it, and is that law or rule of conduct to which all sovereigns and states have been accustomed to appeal, where conventional law is admitted to have been silent. The treaty of Amiens, and every other treaty, in providing for the objects to which it is particularly directed, does not therefore assume or imply an indifference to all other objects which are not specified in its stipulations, much less does it adjudge them to be of a nature to be left to the will and caprice of the violent and the powerful. The justice of the cause is alone a sufficient ground to warrant the interposition of any of the powers of Europe in the differences which may arise between other states, and the application and extent of that just interposition is to be determined solely by considerations of prudence. These principles can

admit of no dispute; but if the new and extraordinary pretension advanced by the French government, to exclude his Majesty from any right to interfere with respect to the concerns of other powers, unless they made a specific part of the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens, was that which it was possible to maintain, those powers would have a right, at least, to claim the benefit of this principle, in every case of difference between the two countries. The indignation of all Europe, must surely then be excited by the declarations of the French government, that, in the event of hostilities, these very powers who were no parties to the treaty of Amiens, and who were not allowed to derive any advantage from the remonstrances of his Majesty in their behalf, are nevertheless to be made the victims of a war which is alledged to arise out of the same treaty, and are to be sacrificed in a contest which they not only have not occasioned, but which they have had no means whatever of preventing.

His Majesty judged it most expedient, under the circumstances which then affected Europe, to abstain from a recurrence to hostilities on account of the views of ambition and acts of aggression manifested by France on the continent; yet an experience of the character and dispositions of the French government could not fail to impress his Majesty with a sense of the necessity of increased vigilance in guarding the rights and dignity of his crown, and in protecting the interests of his people.

Whilst his Majesty was actuated by these sentiments, he was called upon

upon by the French government to evacuate the island of Malta. His Majesty had manifested, from the moment of the signature of the definitive treaty, an anxious disposition to carry into full effect the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens relative to that island. As soon as he was informed that an election of a Grand Master had taken place, under the auspices of the Emperor of Russia, and that it had been agreed by the different priorities assembled at St. Petersburg, to acknowledge the person whom the court of Rome should select out of those who had been named by them to be Grand Master of the order of St. John, his Majesty proposed to the French Government, for the purpose of avoiding any difficulties which might arise in the execution of the arrangement, to acknowledge that election to be valid: And when in the month of August, the French government applied to his Majesty to permit the Neapolitan troops to be sent to the island of Malta, as a preliminary measure for preventing any unnecessary delay, his Majesty consented without hesitation to this proposal, and gave directions for the admission of the Neapolitan troops into the island. His Majesty had thus shewn his disposition not only to throw no obstacle in the way of the execution of the treaty, but on the contrary, to facilitate the execution of it by every means in his power. His Majesty cannot, however, admit that at any period since the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens the French government have had a right to call upon him, in conformity to the stipulations of that treaty, to withdraw his forces

from the island of Malta. At the time when this demand was made by the French government, several of the most important stipulations of the arrangement respecting Malta remained unexecuted: The election of a Grand Master had not been carried into effect. The tenth article had stipulated that the independence of the island should be placed under the guarantee and protection of Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia. The Emperor of Germany had acceded to the guarantee, but only on condition of a like accession on the part of the other powers specified in the article. The Emperor of Russia had refused his accession, except on the condition that the Maltese Language should be abrogated; and the King of Prussia had given no answer whatever to the application which had been made to him to accede to the arrangement. But the fundamental principle, upon the existence of which depended the execution of the other parts of the article, had been defeated by the changes which had taken place in the constitution of the order since the conclusion of the treaty of peace. It was to the order of St. John of Jerusalem that his Majesty was, by the first stipulation of the tenth article, bound to restore the island of Malta. The order is defined to consist of those languages which were in existence at the time of the conclusion of the treaty: The three French languages having been abolished, and a Maltese language added to the institution. The order consisted, therefore, at that time, of the following languages, viz. the languages of Arragon, Castile, Germany, Bavaria, and Russia.

Since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, the langues of Arragon and Castile have been separated from the order by Spain, a part of the Italian langue has been abolished by the annexation of Piedmont and Parma to France. There is strong reason to believe that it has been in contemplation to sequester the property of the Bavarian langue, and the intention has been avowed of keeping the Russian langues within the dominions of the Emperor.

Under these circumstances the order of St. John cannot now be considered as that body to which, according to the stipulations of the treaty, the island was to be restored; and the funds indispensably necessary for its support, and for the maintenance of the independence of the island, have been nearly, if not wholly, sequestered. Even if this had arisen from circumstances which it was not in the power of any of the contracting parties to the treaty to controul, his Majesty would nevertheless have had a right to defer the evacuation of the island by his forces, until such time as an equivalent arrangement had been concluded for the preservation of the independence of the order and of the island. But if these changes have taken place in consequence of any acts of the other parties to the treaty; if the French government shall appear to have proceeded upon a system of rendering the order whose independence they had stipulated, incapable of maintaining that independence, his Majesty's right to continue in the occupation of the island under such circumstances, will hardly be contested. It is indisputable that the revenues of the two Spanish

langues have been withdrawn from the order by his Catholic Majesty; a part of the Italian langue has in fact been abolished by France, through the unjust annexation of Piedmont, and Parma, and Placentia, to the French territory. The elector of Bavaria has been instigated by the French government to sequester the property of the order within his territories; and it is certain that they have not only sanctioned but encouraged the idea of the propriety of separating the Russian langues from the remainder of the order.

As the conduct of the governments of France and Spain have, therefore, in some instances directly, and in others indirectly, contributed to the changes which have taken place in the order, and thus destroyed its means of supporting its independence, it is to those governments, and not to his Majesty, that the non-execution of the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens must be ascribed.

Such would be the just conclusion if the tenth article of that treaty were considered as an arrangement by itself. It must be observed, however, that this article forms a part only of a treaty of peace, the whole of which is connected together, and the stipulations of which must, upon a principle common to all treaties, be construed as having a reference to each other.

His Majesty was induced by the treaty of peace to consent to abandon, and to restore to the order of St. John, the island of Malta, on condition of its independence and neutrality. But a further condition which must necessarily be supposed to have had considerable influence

fluence with his Majesty in inducing him to make so important a concession was the acquiescence of the French government in an arrangement for the security of the Levant, by the eighth and ninth articles in the treaty, stipulating the integrity of the Turkish empire, and the independance of the Ionian islands. His Majesty has, however, since learnt, that the French government have entertained views hostile to both these objects; and that they have even suggested the idea of a partition of the Turkish empire. These views must now be manifest to all the world, from the official publication of the report of Colonel Sebastiani; from the conduct of that officer, and of the other French agents in Egypt, Syria, and the Ionian islands, and from *the distinct admission of the First Consul himself, in his communication with Lord Whitworth.* His Majesty was, therefore, warranted in considering it to be the determination of the French government, to violate those articles of the treaty of peace, which stipulated for the integrity and independence of the Turkish empire, and of the Ionian islands, and consequently he would not have been justified in evacuating the Island of Malta, without receiving some other security, which might equally provide for these important objects. His Majesty accordingly feels that he has an incontestible claim, in consequence of the conduct of France since the treaty of peace, and with reference to the objects which made part of the stipulations of that treaty, to refuse, under the present circumstances, to relinquish the possession of the island of Malta.

Yet notwithstanding this right

so clear and so unquestionable, the alternative presented by the French government to his Majesty, in language the most peremptory and menacing, was the *Evacuation of Malta, or the Renewal of War.*

If the views of ambition and aggrandizement, which have thus been manifested by the French Government since the conclusion of the treaty of peace, have in so very particular a manner attracted the attention of his Majesty, it has been equally impossible for him not to feel, and not to notice, the repeated indignities which have been offered by that government to his crown, and to his people.

The report of Colonel Sebastiani contains the most unwarrantable insinuations and charges against his Majesty's Government, against the officer who commanded his forces in Egypt, and against the British army in that quarter. This paper cannot be considered as the publication of a private individual; it has been avowed, and indeed bears evidence upon the face of it, that it is the official report of an accredited agent, published by the authority of the government to which it was addressed, who thereby have given it their express sanction.

This report had been published but a very short time, when another indignity was offered to this country in the communication of the First Consul of France to the Legislative body. In this communication he presumes to affirm, in the character of Chief Magistrate of that country, "*That Great Britain cannot singly contend against the Power of France;*" an assertion as unfounded as it is indecent, disproved by the events of many wars, and
by

by none more than by those of the war which has been recently concluded. Such an assertion, advanced in the most solemn official act of a government, and thereby meant to be avowed to all the powers of Europe, can be considered in no other light than as a defiance publicly offered to his Majesty, and to a brave and powerful people, who are both willing and able to defend his just rights, and those of their country, against every insult and aggression.

The conduct of the First Consul to his Majesty's Ambassador at his audience, in presence of the ministers of most of the Sovereigns and States of Europe, furnishes another instance of provocation on the part of the French Government which it would be improper not to notice on the present occasion, and the subsequent explanation of this transaction may be considered as having the effect of aggravating instead of palliating the affront.

At the very time when his Majesty was demanding satisfaction and explanation on some of the points above mentioned, the French minister at Hamburgh endeavoured to obtain the insertion in a Hamburgh paper of a most gross and opprobrious libel against his Majesty, and when difficulties were made respecting the insertion of it, he availed himself of his *official character of minister of the French Republic* to require the publication of it by order of his Government in the Gazette of the senate of that town. With this requisition so made, the senate of Hamburgh were induced to comply; and thus has the independence of that town been violated, and a free state made

the instrument, by the menace of the French Government, of propagating throughout Europe, upon their authority, the most offensive and unfounded calumnies against his Majesty and his Government. His Majesty might add to this list of indignities, the requisition which the French Government have repeatedly urged, that the laws and constitution of his country should be changed relative to the liberty of the press. His Majesty might likewise add the calls which the French Government have on several occasions made upon him to violate the laws of hospitality with respect to persons who had found an asylum within his dominions, and against whose conduct no charge whatever has at any time been substantiated. It is impossible to reflect on these different proceedings, and the course which the French Government have thought proper to adopt respecting them, without the thorough conviction that they are not the effect of accident; but that they form a part of a system which has been adopted for the purpose of degrading, vilifying, and insulting his Majesty and his Government.

Under all these insults and provocations, his Majesty, not without a due sense of his dignity, has proceeded with every degree of temper and moderation to obtain satisfaction and redress, while he has neglected no means consistent with his honour and the safety of his dominions to induce the Government of France to concede to him, what is, in his judgment, absolutely necessary for the future tranquillity of Europe. His efforts in this respect have proved
 abor.

abortive, and he has therefore judged it necessary to order his Ambassador to leave Paris. In having recourse to this proceeding, it has been his Majesty's object to put an end to the fruitless discussions which have too long subsisted between the two Governments, and to close a period of suspense peculiarly injurious to the subjects of his Majesty.

But though the provocations which his Majesty has received might entitle him to larger claims than those which he has advanced, yet anxious to prevent calamities which might thus be extended to every part of Europe, he is still willing, as far as is consistent with his own honour, and the interests of his people, to afford every facility to any just and honourable arrangement, by which such evils may be averted. He has, therefore, no difficulty in declaring to all Europe, that notwithstanding all the changes which have taken place since the treaty of Peace, notwithstanding the extension of the power of France, in repugnance to that treaty, and to the spirit of peace itself, his Majesty will not avail himself of these circumstances, to demand in compensation all that he is entitled to require, but will be ready to concur, even now, in an arrangement by which satisfaction shall be given to him, for the indignities which have been offered to his crown and to his people, and substantial security afforded against *further* encroachments on the part of France.

His Majesty has thus distinctly and unreservedly stated the reasons of those proceedings to which he has found himself compelled to resort. He is actuated by no disposition to interfere in the inter-

nal concerns of any other state; by no projects of conquest and aggrandizement; but solely by a sense of what is due to the honour of his crown, and the interests of his people, and by an anxious desire to obstruct the further progress of a system which, if not resisted, may prove fatal to every part of the civilized world.

No. I.

Papers presented, by his Majesty's Command to both Houses of Parliament, 24th of May, 1803.

London, May 20, 1803.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship an official note, which I received from Monsieur de Talleyrand on the day of my departure from Paris, and my answer.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

The Right Honorable Lord
Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

No. II.

Translation of a Note from M. Talleyrand to Lord Whitworth, dated Paris, May 12th, 1803 (22 Floreal, An. 11.)

THE undersigned is charged to signify to his Excellency Lord Whitworth, his Britannic Majesty's ambassador, that the First Consul having, in the note of the 14th of this month, made a proposal, that the island of Malta should be put into the possession of either of the three guaranteeing powers, namely Russia, Austria, or Prussia, it would be insufficient to evade this proposition, by pleading the refusal of his Majesty the Emperor of

of Russia to accept the trust, since the intentions of their Majesties the Emperor of Germany and King of Prussia in that respect remain to be ascertained.

That, moreover, the assertion contained in his Excellency's note of the 20th of this month, as expressed in the following terms, "*by the refusal of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia to listen to it,*" is directly contrary to the guarantee which his Imperial Majesty has formerly offered, on condition of making some trifling alterations that the First Consul has no difficulty to adopt, but which he knows that the English ministry have refused, with the view, without doubt, at the time, of the strange pretension of keeping Malta.

That, moreover, this assertion is in absolute contradiction to the assurances which the First Consul has received from Petersburg since his Britannic Majesty's message has been known there, and which have lately been renewed to him by an authentic communication which Count Markoff made yesterday of the intentions of his court.

From whence it results, that it is impossible to reconcile the last communication made by his Excellency Lord Whitworth with the fresh confirmation which has just been acquired of the dispositions of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia; and that one cannot help believing that his Britannic Majesty, when better informed, will himself hasten to give to his Excellency instructions differing from those which he has received and communicated in the name of his government.

The undersigned seizes this opportunity to renew to his Excellency

Lord Whitworth the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed)

CH. HAU. TALLEYRAND.

Paris, 22d Floreal, year 11.

(12th May 1803.)

No. III.

Translation of a Note from Lord Whitworth to M. Talleyrand, dated Paris May 1803.

THE undersigned has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which the Minister for Foreign Affairs sent to him this day, and he will not fail to transmit it to his court.

In the mean while, he requests the Minister for Foreign Affairs to send him the passports which he required of him.

He seizes this opportunity to renew to his Excellency the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed)

WHITWORTH.

Paris, 12th May 1803.

Papers presented to the House of Commons by Lord Hawkesbury, respecting Commercial Commissioners from France. Ordered to be printed 1st June 1803.

No. I.

Translation of a Letter from M. Otto to Lord Hawkesbury, dated May 23, 1802.

Portman Square, May 23, 1802.

My Lord,

HIS Britannic Majesty's government having often manifested to me a desire to concert some particular arrangements for the establishment

blissment or the maintenance of several relations of commerce between the two nations; I have the satisfaction to inform your Excellency, that the First Consul, penetrated with the same sentiments, and having a particular desire to consolidate the relations of friendship so happily re-established between the two nations, has determined to send without delay to London, Citizen Coquebert Montbret, who has lately resided at Amsterdam with the character of commissary-general of commerce. He has received orders to repair to London as soon as possible, to co-operate with me on every thing relative to this important negotiation; and I am particularly directed to assure the British government, that the First Consul desires to conduct it promptly to a termination mutually advantageous.

I have the honour to be, &c.

OTTO.

Right Honorable Lord

Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

No. II.

Copy of a Letter from Lord Hawkesbury to M. Otto, dated 24th May 1802.

Downing Street, 24th May 1802.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday, and to inform you, that his Majesty's government have learnt with peculiar satisfaction, the disposition of the First Consul to conclude some arrangement with respect to the commercial intercourse between this country and France. Whenever Mr. Coquebert Montbret shall arrive, I shall

be happy to enter into an immediate negotiation on this important object, in concert with you and that gentleman; and I trust, that by our conjoint exertions, we shall be enabled to bring it speedily to a conclusion reciprocally beneficial to both countries.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HAWKESBURY.

M. OTTO, &c. &c. &c.

No. III.

Translation of a Letter from M. Otto to Lord Hawkesbury, dated 24th June 1802.

London, 24th June 1802.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour herewith to transmit to you the original commission appointing Citizen Coquebert Montbret commissary-general of the commercial relations of the French republic at London. I request you to give to this act the accustomed formalities, in order to enable Citizen Coquebert freely to fulfil his duties, on the condition of perfect reciprocity towards the person whom his Majesty may think fit to send to France with the same character.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

OTTO.

His Excellency Lord Hawkesbury,
Minister and Secretary of State
for the Foreign Department,
&c. &c. &c.

(Translation.)

M. Coquebert Montbret's Commission, as Commissary-general for commercial relations at London.

(In-

(Inclosure referred to in No. 3.)

In the name of the French People.

THE First Consul of the French republic having appointed Citizen Charles Stephen Coquebert Montbret to the post of commissary-general of the commercial relations of the French republic at London, orders him to repair, without delay, to his destination, there to exercise, conformably to the laws, the function with which he is entrusted;—enjoins all French merchants, captains, masters, owners, and seamen, as well as all other Frenchmen residing within the said district, to acknowledge Citizen Coquebert Montbret in the post conferred upon him in the name of the French people, and to give him an account of the navigation and destination of their vessels, and of every thing which may relate to the service in which he is employed. For which purpose they are to exhibit their license clearances, passports, and are punctually to conform themselves to all the regulations he may require. The First Consul moreover enjoins the Minister Plenipotentiary of the French republic at London to apprise the Government of Great Britain of the appointment of Citizen Coquebert Montbret, and to require their approbation thereof, as commissary-general aforesaid, in order that he may freely exercise his functions, without any let or hindrance whatever; offering perfect reciprocity towards all those who shall be in like manner recommended to him.

Given at Paris, at the National Palace of the Consuls, under the seal of the French republic, the 30th Floréal, Year 10.

The First Consul of the Republic.
(Signed) BONAPARTE.
By order of the First Consul, the
Secretary of State.

(Signed)
HUGUES B. MARET.
The Minister for Foreign Affairs,
(Signed)
C. M. TALLEYRAND. (L. S.)

No. IV.

*Translation of a Letter from M.
Otto to Lord Hawkesbury, dated
15th September 1802.*

Portman Square, Sept. 15th, 1802.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour of transmitting to your Excellency the original commission appointing Citizen Chépy vice-commissary of commercial relations in the islands Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney. I beg you will have the goodness to annex the exequatur in the usual form to it, and to return it to me.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) OTTO.

His Excellency Lord Hawkesbury, Minister and principal Secretary of State for the Department of Foreign Affairs.

(Translation.)

*Commission of Citizen Peter Chépy,
as Vice-commissary of commercial
Relations at Jersey, &c.*

(Inclosure referred to in No. 4.)

In the Name of the French Republic.
Bonaparte, First Consul of the Republic.

In

In the name of the French People.

The First Consul of the republic having appointed Citizen Peter Chépy to the post of vice-commissary of commercial relations of the French republic, in the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney, orders him to repair without delay to his destination, there to exercise, in conformity to the laws, the functions with which he is intrusted;—enjoins all merchants, captains, masters, owners, and seamen, as well as every other Frenchman residing within the said district, to acknowledge Citizen Chépy in the post conferred upon him, in the name of the French people, and to give him an account of the navigation and destination of their vessels, and of every thing which may relate to the service in which he is employed. For which purpose, they are to exhibit to him their license, clearances, passports, and are punctually to conform themselves to all the regulations he may require. The First Consul moreover enjoins the Minister Plenipotentiary of the French republic at London to apprize the British government of Citizen Chépy's appointment, and to require their approbation thereof as vice-commissary aforesaid, in order that he may freely exercise his functions, without any let or hindrance whatever; offering perfect reciprocity towards all those who shall in like manner be recommended to him.

Given at Paris, in the National Palace of the Consuls, under the seal of the French republic, the Thermidor, 10th year.
The First Consul of the French Republic.

(Signed) BONAPARTE.
By order of the First Consul,
(Signed) HUGUES B. MARET,
(L. S.) Secretary of State.

(Signed)
CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.
Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Citizen Peter Chépy, Commission
as Vice commissary for the commercial Relations of the French Republic.

No. V.

*Copy of a Note from Lord Hawkesbury
to M. Otto.*

Downing Street, Sep. 18th, 1802.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th instant, inclosing the commission of Mr. Chépy as vice-commissary of commercial relations, on the part of the French republic, for the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, and Alderney.

I desire you to be assured, that his Majesty's government have uniformly been, and continue to be, solicitous to see the commerce between this country and France renewed upon a just and equitable footing: it has therefore afforded them sincere concern to learn, that their disposition in this respect as not as yet been met by a correspondent disposition on the part of the French government; but that the commerce of his Majesty's subjects, in the ports of France, is in a very uncertain and precarious state, and is exposed to numerous vexations and difficulties. Under these circumstances his Majesty is under the necessity of postponing the recognition of any commercial agent of the

the French republic within his dominions, until some commercial arrangement, either definitive or provisional, can be agreed upon by the two governments.

The expectation of receiving more satisfactory information upon this important subject, has hitherto induced me to defer returning an answer respecting the commission of M. Coquebert Montbret, as commissary-general of commercial relations on the part of the French republic. But having been disappointed in that expectation, I request you, Sir, to consider the determination of his Majesty, as stated in this letter, to be equally applicable to M. Coquebert's nomination.

I desire you to accept the assurances of the high consideration with which I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

No. VI.

Translation of a Letter from M. Talleyrand to General Andreossi; dated Paris, the 9th Nivose, An 11 (Dec. 30th, 1802); communicated by the latter to Lord Hawkesbury, in Answer to a verbal Representation, which had been made by him to the French Ambassador.

Paris, the 9th Nivose, Year 11.

I received with your letter of the 2d of this month, Citizen Ambassador, a copy of a circular letter, and of a series of questions that I had directed to several commissaries of French commercial relations, residing in foreign parts; and this letter is merely in reply to that part of yours which relates to this

circumstance. You inform me, that the passages underlined are those which appear to have excited the mistrust of the English government, by whom my packet was opened. You will readily have observed, that the part of my letter which was the most strikingly underlined, was the close of it, wherein I recommended the commissaries not to consider the task I required of them as forming a part of your official correspondence, but to write at the top of their answers, Private Correspondence.

To enable you to judge of my motives, and to give every satisfaction to Lord Hawkesbury, if you think it of sufficient importance, it will be sufficient to tell you, that the informations I am desirous of collecting, are intended for the completion of a work in the nature of that intitled the "Balance of Commerce."

This object forms no part of the labours of any of the branches of the department for foreign affairs; it is entirely the business of men of letters.

The questions which I have put, are with a view to verify the information already obtained by other information; and the commissaries of commercial relations are better qualified to furnish me with it than any one. This trifling matter forms no part of their ordinary employment; and for that reason is not classed with their communications, which ought always to be made in the regular form. My design rather is to enforce the execution of it, than to allow a departure from it. This is an invariable principle with me. But the mere reading of my letter, and of the questions annexed thereto, sufficiently

ficiently prove how fastidious it would be to attach to them any greater importance than what is due to a work strictly literary; and I was so little desirous of avoiding their publicity, that I at first entertained the idea of having them printed.

I have the honour to salute you.

(Signed)

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

No. VII.

Minute of a Verbal Communication from Lord Hawkesbury to General Andreossy; dated January 11, 1803.

LORD Hawkesbury informed the French Ambassador, that, in consequence of the representations which had been made on the subject of the French commissaries of commercial relations, by his Majesty's government, it was their determination, not to allow those persons to execute any of the functions assigned to them by their respective commissions, nor to proceed to the nominal places of their destination; and in the event of their attempting to proceed thither, to direct them to quit the King's dominions. In order, however, to obviate the necessity of having recourse to these measures, his Majesty's government trusted that the French government would, of their own accord, direct these persons to return to France.

No. VIII.

Memorandum. June 1st, 1803.

NO order to quit his Majesty's dominions was sent to any of the

persons styling themselves "commissaries of commercial relations," except to M. Chépy, at Guernsey. June 1st, 1803.

Paper presented, by his Majesty's Command, to both Houses of Parliament, 20th May 1803.

Instructions to Lord Whitworth.

Downing Street, Nov. 14, 1802.

My Lord,

I TAKE the first opportunity of communicating to your Excellency, for the regulation of your conduct, the instructions which his Majesty is pleased to give you on such points as may become subjects of discussion between his Majesty and the French government; and to desire that you will endeavour to conform yourself to them in all your conversations with the French ministers.

You will lose no proper opportunity of expressing his Majesty's earnest solicitude for the preservation of the peace which subsists between the two countries; his disposition to do every thing in his power for that purpose which is consistent with the honour of his crown and the interests of his dominions; and his regret at any circumstances which may have arisen to interrupt that harmony and good understanding which are so important to the welfare and happiness of both countries. You will, however, state most distinctly his Majesty's determination never to forego his right of interfering in the affairs of the Continent, on every occasion in which the interests of his own dominions, or those of Europe in general, may appear

to him to require it. This right, his Majesty possesses in common with every other independent power; it rests upon general principles, and does not require the confirmation of any particular treaty. It is nevertheless important that you should observe, that the circumstances which led to the conclusion of the last peace, and the principles upon which the negotiation was conducted, would give his Majesty a special right to interpose in any case which might lead to the extension of the power or influence of France. In the communications which took place between the two governments previous to the signature of the preliminary articles, his Majesty proposed, as the basis of negotiation, that if the French government would not relinquish the continental acquisitions which they had obtained from other powers in the course of the war, his Majesty would claim the right of keeping a part of his conquests, as a compensation for the important acquisitions of territory made by France upon the Continent. This principle was formally recognized by the French government in an official note, in the following words:—"Cependant on reconnoit que les grands événemens survenus en Europe, et les changemens arrivés dans les limites des grands états du Continent, peuvent autoriser une partie des demandes du gouvernement Britannique." The terms of the treaty of peace were negotiated in conformity to this basis; and it appears, therefore, clear, that the then existing state of possession and of engagements, as respect the Continent, were the foundation of the peace itself, and that his Majesty

has, therefore, an undoubted right to interpose, in consequence of the treaty, in every case in which the state of possession may appear to him to have undergone any material alteration, or in which the engagements which were then subsisting had been violated, to the prejudice of his Majesty, or of the other powers of Europe. You will proceed to observe, that the annexation of Piedmont to France, since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, makes a most material difference in the state of the fixed and permanent possessions of France:—That the renunciation of the duchy of Parma in favour of France (a circumstance which was concealed at the time of negotiating the peace, and which is become of the greatest importance, from its furnishing an additional instance of that system of *secret cession* which is totally inconsistent with any system of security for Europe), makes a most essential difference likewise in the relative circumstances of the two countries:—That, at the time of concluding the peace, the French government were bound by the most sacred engagements to respect the independence of the Helvetic and Batavian republics, and to allow the people of those countries to choose whatever form of government they might think proper:—That the violation of this right in the Swiss people, and the invasion of their territory, notwithstanding the representation which was made in their favour by his Majesty, makes a most material alteration in the state of engagements contracted since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, and adds most considerably to the influence and power

power of France, to the prejudice of a state which was then acknowledged as independent:—That the conduct of the French government to the Batavian republic was not less objectionable:—That the independence of this republic was acknowledged both by the treaty of Luneville, and by the treaty of the Hague of the year 1795:—That, by the treaty of the Hague, the French government were permitted to keep a garrison in that country *only* till the time of general peace:—That by a convention signed in August 1801, the French troops were to remain there till the conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and France:—That the French troops have not, to this period, evacuated the country; and that the First Consul is represented lately to have declared, that in the event of any differences amongst the people of that country on the subject of their internal government, he would march with his whole army to suppress them:—That this is an obvious violation of the independence of the Batavian republic; and that his Majesty would have a peculiar right to interpose on the present occasion, as he consented to make numerous and most important restitutions to the Batavian government, in the treaty of peace, on the consideration of that government being independent, and not being subject to any foreign control.

It is unnecessary for me to commend to your Excellency to make these representations with moderation and temper. You will attend very particularly to any explanations which may be given to you respecting them; and you will

engage to report such explanations to his Majesty's government.

I have the honour to be, &c

HAWKESBURY.

Paper presented, by his Majesty's Command, to both Houses of Parliament, 20th May 1803.

(Referred to in Mr. Foresti's Letter to Lord Hawkesbury, of Jan. 2, 1803.)

A FRENCH frigate, commanded by an officer of that nation, whose name is not known, arrived this day in our roads. On board this vessel was embarked Citizen Horace Sebastiani, calling himself envoy from the First Consul to these parts. On the same afternoon he attempted to land, with the officers; but, as they had arrived from Egypt, four guards of health were placed over them. He demanded a conference with the government, assuring our delegate regent, that he was commissioned, by the First Consul Bonaparte, to communicate to all orders of persons in the Seven Islands, the attachment and respect of the First Consul, his desire of seeing all the people happy and contented, whom he would endeavour to inspire with veneration for the laws, respect for the existing government, and obedience to its commands. In this designing manner he extorted a consent from the delegate, that a few merchants and noblemen should be invited to the palace; which being done, it appearing that Mr. Antonio Martinengo was absent, he was sent for by Vice-commissary Renaud, from

the house of his friend Strapodi, and, immediately on his arrival at the palace, was presented to the French envoy Sebastiani, and recommended as opulent, possessing influence, a good man, and the friend of the people. Sebastiani made him a short compliment, and then began his discourse by saying, "*That the First Consul had begun to give a political existence to these islands; that the vicissitudes of war, and the distance of reinforcements, were preparing for them another destiny; that he feels the warmest interest for their inhabitants, who would be rendered happy, if they would adopt such a system as would be most analogous to that of France; that internal dissensions and false principles had for a moment taken from them the liberty of giving their own opinion about their constitution; but that, by a different conduct, they might in future possess that liberty; that the nobility might aspire to the offices of government, on the ground of property, since it procured them a superior education, but that they ought not to pretend to establish, on a plea of birth, those privileges which would result from education, virtue, and property; that the people ought not to exclude the nobility merely because they were born in that sphere; that a spirit of general concord ought to recall the tranquillity among the three classes, of the nobles, the plebeians, and the mercantile class, which is the best; that they ought to avail themselves of the favourable situation of the country, which gives the means of procuring, by commerce, wealth and future opulence; that so seductive an object exposed to the view of continental Greece, might rouse*

up that ancient ardour and national enthusiasm for liberty by which the republic of the Seven Islands will become a power superior even to its own expectations; that states have the same stages as the life of man, and therefore that it is not wonderful, if, during their infancy, the errors of childhood should prevail in them; that if they are averse to the care of the French nation, to maintain the happiness of those islands, even by her own forces (not subject to the outrages of fortune), the First Consul, in concert with the Emperor of Russia, will know how to establish by force an appropriate constitution for the Seven Islands; that, lastly, he recommends to them to make known to the people these friendly sentiments of Bonaparte, directly communicated to them by him his immediate organ." He said something respecting the Emperor of Russia, but very coolly, and added also, "That until the change of the present government, it will be necessary to obey the laws, however defective they may be, to respect its ministers, and obey their orders." When this speech was ended, Peta, the ex-superintendent of the Cernides, called out, "Long live the first Consul Bonaparte!" The Russian commandant, who was present, remained silent at these proceedings; and, feeling himself thus betrayed, he testified his disapprobation by his silence. The French envoy, as he left the palace, in crossing the square, was huzza'd and applauded by the most ill-disposed of the people, led away by the bad example of all the former and present officers of the republic. He went into Mr. Renaud's house, and then returned

turned on board his own ship. He inquired for an express for Cephalonia, where he wished to send advices of his intended destination. The delegate could not deny him permission to land, because he would have assumed the right of doing so of his own authority; and he thought, if in this case he had had recourse to the Russian force, he might have disturbed the peace which exists between the Emperor of Russia and the French government. He wished to have opposed such a studied harangue, but, had he done so, the French envoy would have thought himself authorized to have gone out and have made it in the middle of the public square, and on a holiday, when the people were intoxicated with wine, and the remains of a spirit of democracy now reviving, by which a disastrous scene might have followed. These are the reasons which induced the delegate to choose the lesser evil; more particularly so, because he had not any instructions for his guidance in such unexpected occurrences. The Russian commandant regards this affair as an outrage against his sovereign, and he would have been sorry to have witnessed such a scene, had he not been obliged to do so.

IN your Lordship's dispatch, No. 3, of this year, to Mr. Jackson, you gave instructions to that minister to endeavour to procure the release of the British sloop *Fame*, which had been seized by the revenue officers at Cherbourg, in consequence of her having entered that port by stress of weather. The master of that vessel, and a person deputed by the proprietors at Jersey, arrived lately at Paris, for the purpose of defending the suit, which has been carrying on to procure her liberation.

I had, in consequence of their application to me, reminded the French minister verbally of this business on two or three occasions; but those remonstrances having produced no effect, and sentence being about to be pronounced on the last appeal in the cause, I sent him a representation in writing, of which your Lordship will find a copy inclosed; and in which I considered, that it might be serviceable to insert some observations upon the law of the French republic, which gave occasion to the seizure, upon the manner of its execution, and upon the propriety of its being repealed and modified now that the two countries were happily at peace.

No. II.

Papers presented to the House of Commons by Lord Hawkesbury, respecting the Discussions with France. Ordered to be printed 20th May 1803.

No. I.

Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Merry to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, June 17, 1802.

Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Merry to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, June 23, 1802.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship inclosed, copy of an answer, which I received two days since from the French minister, to the note which I delivered to him on the 25th of May; communicating

municating to him that his Majesty had, in conformity to the 14th article of the definitive treaty of peace, taken off the sequestrations upon the property of French citizens in his dominions, and expressing that he did not doubt that the French government would be equally ready to render the same justice to such of his Majesty's subjects as have property in France.

No. III.

Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Merry to Lord Hawkebury, dated Paris, July 5, 1802.

I TRANSMIT, inclosed, copy of an answer which the French minister has given to the representation which I lately delivered to him, respecting the seizure of the British sloop Fame Packet, at Cherbourg.

No. IV.

Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Merry to Lord Hawkebury, dated Paris, August 4, 1802.

I AM sorry to have learnt by an answer, which I have received from M. Talleyrand, and of which I transmit a copy inclosed, that the representation which I made to that minister (inclosed in my number 31) on the subject of the seizure at Cherbourg of the British sloop Fame Packet has failed in its effect, either of procuring the release of that vessel, or of drawing forth some favourable explanation in regard to the law which gave occasion to her detention.

No. V.

Copy of a Dispatch from Mr. Merry to Lord Hawkebury, dated Paris, Sept. 20, 1802.

Paris, Sept. 20, 1802.

My Lord,

I RECEIVED, the evening before last, by the ordinary post, the honour of your Lordship's separate letter of the 13th of this month, transmitting to me copy of one from Messrs. Houtham and Moir, on the subject of the seizure, in a French port, of the British brig Jennies; Wm. Muckle, master; and directing me to take the necessary steps for obtaining redress for the owners of the vessel and cargo.

I have lost no time in representing this case to the French government, as your Lordship will see by the copy which I have the honour to transmit, inclosed, of a letter which I have addressed on the subject to Mr. Talleyrand; but I am sorry to observe, that there can be little hopes of any redress being obtained in this instance, since none has been produced by the repeated remonstrances which were made in the still stronger case of the vessel (the Fame Packet) belonging to Jersey, which was only forced into a French port by stress of weather; whereas the ship now in question, came designedly to the port of Charente, with prohibited goods aboard, contrary to the law of the Republic (which unfortunately still continues in force) confiscating every vessel and cargo, where British manufactures shall be found.

Your

Your Lordship will perceive, that I have availed myself of this opportunity to recall to the French minister the observations which I made to him, on a former occasion, upon the effects, so prejudicial to the British trade, and to a friendly intercourse between the two countries, which must necessarily arise from the rigorous execution of the law in question.

I have the honor to be, &c.

ANT. MERRY.

Right Honorable Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

No. VI.

Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Merry to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, October 18, 1802.

I INCLOSE copy of an answer, which I have received from the French minister, to the representation which I made to him on the 27th of last month, on the subject of the capture of the British ship Porcher, by the French privateer the Bellona: in which he states, that the necessary orders will be given for justice to be done to the proprietors of that ship.

I, at the same time, forward herewith a list of passports, which I have granted to persons going to his Majesty's dominions, between the 2d and 15th of October.

No. VII.

Copy of a Dispatch from Lord Hawkesbury to Mr. Merry, May 20th, 1802.

Downing Street, May 20, 1802.

Sir,

VARIOUS reports having been received in this country, of strict

prohibitions being enforced with respect to the admission of British commodities and manufactures into France, and of very rigorous restrictions being imposed on British vessels entering the ports of that country; I have to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure, that you transmit to me, without delay, the most detailed and accurate statement, which you can procure on those points; and that you take an early opportunity to impress upon the French ministers, the necessity of some understanding being established between his Majesty's government, and that of France, on the subject of the commercial intercourse between the two countries.

As it is probable, that you may be uncertain as to the course that you should pursue in supporting claims, which subjects of his Majesty may bring forward for the restitution of property which they possessed in France previously to the war; I have to signify to you the King's pleasure, that you acquaint the French ministers, that his Majesty has, in conformity to the 14th article of the definitive treaty of peace, taken off the sequestrations upon the property of French citizens in his dominions; and that therefore his Majesty's government doubt not that the French government will be equally ready to render the same justice to such of his Majesty's subjects as have property in France.

I am, &c.

HAWKESBURY.

Anthony Merry, Esq.

&c. &c. &c.

No. VIII.

Translation of a Note from Mr. Merry to M. Talleyrand, Paris, May 24th, 1802.—In Mr. Merry's No. 18.

NOTE.

THE undersigned minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty has received the King's orders to communicate to Citizen Talleyrand, Minister for the Foreign Affairs of the French republic, that conformably to the 14th article of the definitive treaty of peace, his Majesty has caused the sequestrations of every kind to be taken off which had been laid, during the war, on the property belonging to French citizens within his dominions.

His Majesty therefore has no doubt that the government of the French republic will be equally ready to render the same justice to his Majesty's subjects who have property in France.

It is necessary that the undersigned should have the honour to observe on this occasion to the citizen minister that many of the King's subjects have been placed on the list of French emigrants. If this circumstance can be an obstacle to those individuals being immediately restored to their properties, the undersigned dares flatter himself that the French government, actuated by those principles of justice which govern them, will judge it proper to adopt a general measure for the immediate removal of that difficulty.

The undersigned has the honour,
&c.

ANTHONY MERRY.

Paris, May 24th, 1802.

To Citizen Talleyrand.

No. IX.

Translation of a Note from Mr. Merry to M. Talleyrand, Paris, June 15th, 1802.

Paris, June 15th, 1802.

Citizen Minister,

MY predecessor, Mr. Jackson, has had the honour to address to you a representation, in the month of January last, by order of the British government, on the subject of the detention in the port of Cherbourg, of the English ship named Fame Packet, Captain de Gruchy; and I, Citizen Minister, have likewise had the honour to remind you verbally of that object, informing you, at the same time, that the tribunal of appeal was about to pass judgment thereon, since the French government not having interposed its authority to release the ship, the captain has been under the necessity to provide for his defence in the ordinary course of justice.

The summary, Citizen Minister, which I have the honour to transmit to you annexed, and which has been delivered to me by Captain de Gruchy himself, who has been some days in Paris, sets forth the principal circumstances of this affair, as they now stand. The result is, that the ship in question, forced, by stress of weather, to seek shelter in the roads of Cherbourg, has been detained there, and afterwards confiscated by a first sentence, by the effect of a law passed in time of war, and in a moment of its greatest rigour, which declares confiscable, every vessel, above a hundred tons, which should

approach the coasts of France, within the distance of four leagues, with prohibited merchandise on board: a prohibition in which were, and still are, comprehended all English commodities.

May I be permitted to observe in this place, that, considering the proximity of the coasts of England to that of France, and the necessity in which the English ships must continually find themselves to approach the latter, the above-mentioned law, if it must exist and be put in execution, will inevitably have the effect of producing daily disputes between the two governments?

As to the case now in question, I have learnt, Citizen Minister, by the proceedings which have taken place, that it belongs to the Custom-house to decide, whether a ship anchoring upon the coasts of France has been by necessity or not; and that it has, for its own profit, half the seizures which might be made: whence it results, that the Custom-house in such cases is at the same time judge and party.

Every thing seems to prove, that the putting in of the Fame Packet to the road of Cherbourg has been forced: but from the circumstances of the law, and from the manner of its execution, which I have had the honour of stating to you, the proprietors of the ship and cargo can have no hope of saving them in the last effort which they have just made before the tribunal of appeal, which is about to pass immediate sentence, unless the French government think proper to interpose their authority, and to take upon itself the cognizance of this affair.

The sentiments of justice, which guide the first Consul, as well as the ministers of the French republic, must inspire me with a full confidence of obtaining on their part the attention which I dare demand on this occasion. Their wisdom and good disposition will suggest to them how far it may be advisable to revoke or modify, in time of peace, a law emanating from a state of war, and which must necessarily produce the greatest inconvenience to the English commerce.

I have the honour, &c.
(Signed) A. MERRY.

To Citizen Talleyrand, Minister for the Foreign Affairs of the French Republic.

No. X.

Translation of a Note from M. Talleyrand to Mr. Merry dated June 18th, 1802.—In Mr. Merry's No. 34.

Paris, 29 Prairial, Year 10.

Sir,

I HAVE received the note which you have done me the honour of addressing to me on the 5th Prairial, year 10 (25th of May 1802), concerning the removal of the sequestrations placed on the property of the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and the application which has been made to several among them of the law on emigration.

I have hastened to make a communication of it to the minister of Finance, by inviting him to call the attention of government to the object of your demand. I shall have

have the honour to inform you of the decision on this subject, as soon as it shall be known to me.

Receive, Sir, the assurance of my perfect consideration.

(Signed)

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

To Mr. Merry, Minister Plenipotentiary from his Britannic Majesty.

No. XI.

M. Talleyrand to Mr. Merry, Paris, July 1, 1802.

(Translation.)

Paris, the 12 Messidor, Year 10.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that I have just again repeated to the Minister of Finance, the invitation which I had already made him in Pluviose last, from the recommendation of Mr. Jackson, to give an account of the confiscation of the English ship Fame Packet, in the road of Cherbourg, and to take the first Consul's orders relative to the existing application of the law of the 4th Germinal, year 2.

I have begged him to make known to me the decision, which, as soon as it shall have been sent, I will hasten to communicate to you.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed)

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

To Mr. Merry, Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, &c. &c. &c.

No. XII.

Translation of a Note from M. Talleyrand to Mr. Merry, Paris, 12 Thermidor, An. 10 (July 31, 1802).—In Mr. Merry's No. 49.

Paris, this 12 Thermidor, 10.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, that the Minister of Finance, in answer to the letter, by which I communicated to him your last note concerning the affair of the Fame Packet, Captain Gruchy, has just informed me that he has made his report to the First Consul, on the seizure of this ship, of which it appears to be acknowledged that the cargo was composed of prohibited merchandise, and that, from what has appeared, the first Consul has decided, that justice must take its course.

Receive, Sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed)

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

To Mr. Merry, &c. &c. &c.

No. XIII.

Statement of the Case of the Fame Packet.

July 31, 1802.

A faithful Statement of the Affair of Captain de Gruchy, of Jersey, against the Administration of the Customs of Cherbourg.

THE 19th of December last, Captain de Gruchy, commanding the ship Fame Packet, set sail from the

the port of Southampton, in England, to go to Jersey with a cargo consisting of flour, dried barley for the troops of the garrison, and divers other merchandise for the inhabitants of the island. He had taken on board twenty-five passengers, consisting of women, children, merchants, and officers going to join their regiments, amongst others, a lieutenant of the royal navy. On leaving the port of Southampton, he was obliged to enter into a bond, purporting that his cargo must be landed in an English port. In the first instance, his navigation was prosperous; but, on the 20th December, the wind all at once shifted to S.S.W. blowing with dreadful fury, and during that evening a most violent tempest came on. Fearful, then, of passing another night on the sea, he resolved to put into the nearest port. As he found himself in a situation to gain the port of Cherbourg, he made way for that place, thinking that the preliminaries between England and France would permit him to enter there in perfect security; more particularly as several of his passengers were very ill, and he could give them no relief. He arrived in Cherbourg roads the evening of the 20th of December. Having anchored, the captain went ashore, to make his report at the custom-house, where he was not admitted, under the pretext that he had no broker; he found one, and repaired again to the custom-house; his declaration was refused, because, as he was told, the law of the 4th Germinal, year 2, forbids all ships of above 100 tons to approach within four leagues of the coasts of France, with English merchandise.

The captain was then cited by

the administration of Cherbourg before the tribunal of Valogne, and the judges pronounced a verdict against him according to all the rigour of a law passed in times of war and calamity. The captain appealed from this decision to the tribunal of Coutances, which again condemned him, but revokes the disposition of the former tribunal, which had condemned him to six months imprisonment. The affair is actually before the tribunal of appeal, and is about to be decided without delay.

The law quoted entails the most dreadful consequences on the ships which carry on trade from England to the island of Jersey, since all those vessels are under 100 tons, and it is impossible for them not to pass within the range of four leagues (the Race of Alderney being within this circumference), which exposes to great inconvenience the garrison and inhabitants of the islands, which are supplied by those vessels.

The custom-house of Cherbourg is itself so convinced that the ship was bound to Jersey, that it has just sent to our governor, General Gordon, a parcel addressed to him which was in the ship.

July 31, 1802.

No. XIV.

Translation of a Letter from Mr. Merry to M. Talleyrand; Paris, 20th September 1802.—In Mr. Merry's separate of 20th September, 1802.

Paris, 20th September 1802.

Citizen Minister.

IT is with pain that I find myself again under the necessity of

of having to protest against the effects of the law of the French republic, which declares confiscable every ship entering into a port of France with prohibited merchandise (a prohibition which still extends to all those of English manufacture), although they may be destined for another port.

The English brig named *Jennies*, Captain William Muckle, was freighted in England to carry pit-coal to the port of Charante in France, as well as a small quantity of English merchandise to the port of Cadiz in Spain, from which it was to bring back a cargo of wine.

Arrived at Rochefort, the captain made his declaration to the custom-house of every thing he had on board, as well for the port of Charente as for that of Cadiz; and he has offered to deposit in the custom-house, until his departure, the merchandise which was destined for Spain, in case this precaution were judged necessary.

But, notwithstanding this frank and candid procedure on his part, which evidently proves that he had no design to carry on a contraband trade, and that the goods prohibited were really intended for a foreign country, the custom-house officers have refused to admit his declaration, and have seized the ship, by virtue of the above-mentioned law.

The owners of the vessel and the proprietors of the cargo having complained to the English government, I have, Citizen Minister, just received orders from my court, to represent this affair to you; as also to have the honour of soliciting the immediate release of the ship and cargo, with which it is hoped that the sentiments of justice and equity which actuate the French

government will decide it to comply, seeing that the innocence of the captain is proved by the circumstance of the offer which he made to deposit the prohibited merchandise in the custom-house until the moment of his departure.

As to the rest, I shall take the liberty, Citizen Minister, to remind you, on this occasion, of the observations which I have already had the honour to lay before you on another, upon the prejudicial effects which must necessarily result to the English commerce, as likewise to the amicable communication between the two countries, from the continuation, in time of peace, of a law which arose out of a state of war, and even in a moment of its greatest violence.

I have the honour, Citizen Minister, to renew to you the assurances of my high consideration.

(Signed) A. MERRY.

To Citizen Talleyrand,
&c. &c. &c.

No. XV.

Translation of a Letter from Mr. Merry to M. Talleyrand; dated 14th October 1802.—In Mr. Merry's No. 80.

Paris, 14th October 1802.

Citizen Minister,

THE English sloop named *Nancy*, Captain Allen Richardson, left the ports of England for Rotterdam and Holland, with a cargo composed of different foreign merchandise, which had been taken on enemies' ships during the war, and had been sold in England under security, which the purchasers gave, to export them.

This

This ship being already on the coast of Holland, there met with foul weather, by which it sustained damages; amongst others, that of the loss of her bowsprit, which obliged her to take shelter in the port of Flushing. She arrived there towards the middle of the month of July of this year, when a detachment of French troops, commanded by officers, went on board and took possession of the vessel and cargo, without the captain being able to learn the cause of this seizure. The vessel is still detained there.

The circumstances of this event, should they be in point of fact such as the captain and owners have represented them to the British government, seem to give it a hostile quality on the part of the French officers, who appear to have intended to make a capture of the ship, instead of granting it that asylum, hospitality, and succour, which it might have expected in the port of a power now at peace with England.

In the present case there is no question of English merchandises (if the captain had attempted to introduce them by contraband, of which he has not even been accused), since all those which are on board the *Nancy* are from other countries, which could not have been imported into England but as prizes from an enemy: and although they should have been of the growth or manufacture of England; the forced arrival of the ship should seem to exempt them from the application of that law of the French republic, which still condemns every production of the soil or industry of Great Britain.

It is in consequence of orders of my court, Citizen Minister, that

I have the honour of representing to you this affair, and of claiming from you, not only the speedy release of the above-mentioned ship with its cargo, but that justice should be done to the owners for the losses which they have experienced by the detention of their effects. The English government by no means doubts, that the sentiments of equity which guide that of the republic will dispose it to receive favourably these demands, provided there should be no crime proved against the captain.

I eagerly seize, Citizen Minister, this opportunity to have the honour of renewing to you the assurances of my high consideration.

(Signed) A. MERRY.

To Citizen Talleyrand,
&c. &c. &c.

No. XVI.

Translation of a Note from Mr. Merry to M. Talleyrand, dated Paris, 22nd October 1802.—In Mr. Merry's second Dispatch, October 25th 1802.

Paris, 22d October 1802.

Citizen Minister,

A NEW case has just occurred, wherein an English ship has felt, in a very striking manner, the effects of the law of the French republic, which confiscates every ship on board which should be found the smallest article of English manufacture.

The brig *George*, commanded by Mr. John Newham, entered the port of Charente at the beginning of August of this year, to take in a cargo

a cargo of brandy, destined for London, having on board nothing but her ballast and the necessary provisions for the voyage. The custom-house officers could not, therefore, find any thing to seize upon but the utensils of the captain's cabin (which he did not think that he was under a necessity to declare), such as, some earthenware plates, glasses, and steel knives and forks, the quantity of each kind of which, not to enter into the detail of it, may be very easily estimated by the price of 4l. sterling, or ninety-six French livres, which the whole together had cost the captain, including therein two lamps which lighted his cabin.

This, Citizen minister, is what has sufficed for this subject of the King to have undergone all the rigours of the law of the 10th Brumaire, year 5 of the republic. which enacts confiscation of the ship, as well as other pains. And this is a case wherein England would have taken an entire cargo of the productions of France; while the latter power does not permit an English captain who comes to fetch those products, to make use, on board his own ship, of the utensils of his own country. Was it then necessary, in order to come into a port of France, first to procure from this country plates, glasses, knives and forks? Or, should that be impossible, should he be obliged to eat off the boards of his ship, and with his fingers? This appears incredible; it is, nevertheless, proved by the fact.

Since, Citizen Minister, the representations which I have already had the honour of addressing to you, on cases nearly similar, have produced no effect, I cannot expect

better success in a demand which I might make in the present case. But you will perceive, Citizen Minister, how much it is my duty to make you acquainted with it.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed)

A. MERRY.

Citizen Talleyrand,
Minister for Foreign Affairs.

No. XVII.

*Copy of a Dispatch from Mr. Merry
to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris,
October 25th, 1802.*

(Separate.)

Paris, October 25, 1802.

My Lord,

JOHN Newham, the master of the British brig George, delivered to me a report, last week, of that vessel, which had been freighted to come to Charente in ballast, to convey from thence a cargo of brandy for England, having been seized at that port by the French custom-house officers, because the different articles which they found in the master's cabin, for the use of his table, such as plates, knives, forks, and glasses (the cost of which, when new, he declared to have been all together 4l.), were of British manufacture, and because he had not made a declaration of them at the custom-house. He acquainted me, moreover, that his vessel had been condemned, in consequence of that seizure, by two sentences of the French tribunals in the department where Charente is situated.

I thought it my duty, my Lord, to lose no time in stating so violent
a pro-

a proceeding to the French minister; and I delivered to him accordingly, the day before yesterday, the representation, of which the inclosed is a copy, taking that opportunity to remind M. Talleyrand of the former remonstrances which I had delivered to him on subjects of a similar nature, and renewing verbally, on this occasion, the observations which I then had the honour of expressing to him in writing, upon the continued rigorous execution, in time of peace, of the French law which had taken place at a moment of the greatest heat of the late war. The minister confined his answer to me, to an assurance, that he would cause an inquiry to be made immediately into the case which I had now laid before him.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) A. MERRY.

Right honorable Lord Hawkesbury,
&c. &c. &c.

No. XVIII.

Copy of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, 10th May 1803.

(Separate.)

Paris, May 10, 1803.

My Lord,

WITH regard to the numerous memorials and representations which I have had to make to this government in behalf of those of his Majesty's subjects who have suffered by the detention and confiscation of their vessels and property in the ports of France, I have only to observe, that they have, with the exception of one or two instan-

ces, remained unanswered: I trust, therefore, no blame can attach to me, if my endeavours to carry into effect your Lordship's instructions on this head have not been more effectual.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WHITWORTH

Right Honourable Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

No. XIX.

Copy of an Instruction from Lord Hobart to Lieutenant General F. Dundas, Lieutenant Governor and Commander of his Majesty's Troops at the Cape of Good Hope, dated 17th October 1802.

Downing-Street, 17 October, 1802.

Sir,

CIRCUMSTANCES having recently occurred which render it adviseable to delay the restitution of the Cape of Good Hope to the Batavian Government, I am to signify to you his Majesty's commands, that you should retain possession thereof until further orders. It is, however, extremely desirable, that, in the execution of this instruction, every circumstance should be avoided which may be calculated to excite jealousy in the Batavian government, or to create an apprehension of its arising from an hostile motive.

N. B. The above instruction received at the Cape on the 31st December 1801; and acknowledged in General Dundas's dispatch of the 3d of January, received in Downing Street on the 18th of March.

No.

No. XX.

(Secret.)

Copy of Instructions from the Right Honourable Lord Hobart, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, &c. &c. &c. to Lieutenant General Francis Dundas, Lieutenant Governor and Commander of his Majesty's Forces at the Cape of Good Hope, dated the 16th November 1802.

Downing Street, 16th November, 1802.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, that, notwithstanding the instructions which, by the King's commands, I communicated to you on the 17th ultimo, it is his Majesty's pleasure, in the event of the East-India ships originally destined for the conveyance of the troops being at the Cape when you receive this dispatch, that you do give directions for their immediate embarkation, with orders for their departure for India without delay.

Under an impression, however, of the probability of those ships having failed without the troops, I am to acquaint you, that other ships have been substituted for that service; but that I am apprehensive it will be at least one month before they can leave this country.

I am also to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure, that you do proceed forthwith to the execution of your former instructions for the complete evacuation of the Cape.

The utmost cordiality subsisting between his Majesty's government and that of the Batavian republic, you will observe the most conciliatory conduct in all your proceed-

ings with the officers belonging to that republic.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed)

HOBART.

To Lieutenant General Dundas,
&c. &c. &c.

No. XXI.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. R. King to Lord Hawkesbury, dated London, May 15th, 1803.

London, May 15th, 1803.

My Lord,

IN the present critical posture of affairs, I lose no time in communicating to your Lordship, for his Majesty's information, that a treaty was signed at Paris on the 30th day of April past, by the plenipotentiaries of America and France; by which the complete sovereignty of the town and territory of New Orleans, as well as all Louisiana, as the same was heretofore possessed by Spain, has been acquired by the United States of America. In drawing up this treaty, care has been taken so to frame the same, as not to infringe any right of Great Britain in the navigation of the river Mississippi.

I flatter myself that this communication will be received with satisfaction, and regarded as a new proof of the disposition of the United States to observe towards his Majesty a spirit of amity and confidence, important at all times, and more especially so in present circumstances, to the harmony and mutual prosperity of the two countries.

I avail myself of this occasion,

to renew to your Lordship the assurance of distinguished consideration, with which

I have the honour to be, &c.

RUFUS KING.

The Right Honourable Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

No. XXII.

Copy of a Letter from Lord Hawkesbury to Mr. King, dated May 19th 1803.

Downing Street, May 19, 1803.

Sir,

HAVING laid before the King your letter of the 15th of this month, in which you inform me, that a treaty was signed at Paris on the 30th of last month, by the plenipotentiaries of America and France, by which the complete sovereignty of the town and territory of New Orleans, as well as of all Louisiana, has been acquired by the United States; I have received his Majesty's commands, to express to you the pleasure with which his Majesty has received this intelligence; and to add, that his Majesty regards the care which has been taken so to frame this treaty as not to infringe any right of Great Britain in the navigation of the Mississippi, as the most satisfactory evidence of a disposition on the part of the government of the United States, correspondent to that which his Majesty entertains, to promote and improve that harmony and good understanding which so happily subsist between the two countries, and which are so conducive to their mutual benefit. I have it also in command to assure you, sir, that the senti-

ments which you have expressed, in making this communication, are considered by his Majesty's government as an additional proof of that cordiality and confidence which you have uniformly manifested in the whole course of your public mission, and which have so justly entitled you to the esteem and regard of his Majesty's government.

I desire you to accept the assurances of the distinguished consideration with which I have the honour to be, &c.

HAWKESBURY.

Rufus King, Esq.

&c. &c. &c.

Papers Presented to the House of Commons by Lord Hawkesbury, respecting the Restitution of certain Conquered Places.

Ordered to be printed 23d of May 1803.

Copy of his Majesty's Order for the Restitution, to the French and Batavian Republics, of the following Islands or Settlements:

Cape of Good Hope, Martinique, Tobago, St. Lucie, Desadea and the Saints, Pierre and Miquelon, Curaçao, Surinam, Demerara, Berbice and Essequibo, St. Eustatius, St. Martin's, Goree.—
Conquests in East Indies.

(L. S.) GEORGE R.

TRUSTY and well-beloved, We greet you well: Whereas a definitive treaty of peace has been signed at Amiens on the 27th day of March last, by our minister ple-

nipotentary, and those of the French republic, his Catholic Majesty, and the Batavian republic: and whereas it is stipulated by the third article of the said treaty, that we shall restore to the French republic and her allies, namely, his Catholic Majesty and the Batavian republic, all the possessions and colonies which belonged to them respectively, and which had been occupied or conquered by our forces in the course of the war, with the exception of the island of Trinidad and the Dutch possessions in the island of Ceylon: and it being further stipulated, in the twelfth article of the said definitive treaty, that the evacuations, cessions, and restitutions stipulated for by the present treaty, except where otherwise expressly provided for, shall take place in the continent and seas of Africa, within three months after the ratification of the present definitive treaty, which ratifications were exchanged on the 23d day of April last: and it being stipulated by the 13th article of the said definitive treaty, that in all the cases of restitution agreed upon by the present treaty, the fortifications shall be delivered up in the state in which they may have been at the time of the signature of the preliminary treaty, and that all the works, which shall have been constructed since the occupation, shall remain untouched; our will and pleasure is, that you do, pursuant to the stipulations above recited, deliver, or cause to be delivered, to such commissary or commissaries as shall be named and authorized on the part of the republic to receive the same, the
of with the
fortifications thereof, in the state

in which they may have been at the time of the signature of the preliminary treaty, leaving untouched the works which shall have been constructed since the occupation: and for so doing, this shall be your warrant. Given at our court at St. James's, the day of May 1802, in the forty-second year of our reign.

To our trusty and well-beloved
Governor of the or
 or to the Officer commanding our Troops in the said Settlement, and to all others whom it may concern.

By his Majesty's command,
(Countersigned) HOBART.

Order for the Restitution of
the of

Copy of an Instruction from the Right Honourable Lord Hobart, to the Governors of, or Officers commanding at

Surinam, Demerara, Berbice and Essequibo, Martinique, St. Lucie, Tobago, Curaçao,

17th of October. 1802.

(Circular.)

Downing Street, 17th October 1802.

Sir,

CIRCUMSTANCES having occurred, which render it advisable to delay the restitution of the
of to the republic, I am to signify to you his Majesty's commands, that you should retain possession thereof until further orders.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) HOBART.
To

To
the Governor of

Copy of an Instruction from the
Right honourable Lord Hobart
to the Governors of, or Officers
commanding at

Surinam, Demerara, Berbice and
Essequibo, Martinique, St. Lucie,
Tobago, Curaçao.

15th of November 1802

(Circular.)

Downing Street, 15th of November
1802.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint
you, that, notwithstanding the or-
ders, which, by the King's com-
mands, I communicated to you on
the 17th ultimo, it is his Majesty's
pleasure, that you do immediately
proceed to the restitution of the
settlement of to the
government; in con-
formity to the directions you have
already received for that pur-
pose.

I have the honor to be, &c.

HOBART.

To
the Governor of
&c. &c. &c.

*Papers presented to the House of Com-
mons by Lord Hawkesbury, re-
specting the continuance of the
French troops in Holland. Or-
dered to be printed 25th May
1803.*

No. I.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Lis-
ton to Lord Hawkesbury, dated
The Hague, November 5th, 1802.*

THE anxious apprehensions un-
der which the Dutch government
have for some time laboured, have
been in some measure calmed by
the accounts received to-day from
different quarters.

Their ambassador at Paris has
transmitted a copy of a nervous and
well-written memorial, presented
by him to the Minister of Foreign
affairs (in consequence of the in-
structions lately sent from hence);
and he informs the secretary of
state, that he received the most
positive assurances from M. de Tal-
leyrand, that it was by no means
the intention of the first Consul to
increase the number of French
troops in the Batavian republic, or
to march back those now upon the
frontiers into the interior parts of
this country: that, on the con-
trary, it was his fixed determination
to withdraw the whole as soon as
the proper arrangements could be
made for that purpose.

No. II.

*Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Lis-
ton to Lord Hawkesbury, dated The
Hague, November 12th, 1802.*

WHATEVER may be the re-
solution of the First Consul respect-
ing the final evacuation of the Ba-
tavian republic by the troops of
France (a subject on which this
government remains in a state of
doubt and uncertainty), there seems
reason to suppose that a certain por-
tion of them—the 17th and 74th
demi-brigades of infantry, amount-
ing to about four thousand men,—
are to be embarked at Helvoet-
fluis, and transported to Louisiana,
under the direction of General
the

Victor, who has been appointed to the chief command in that new colony.

able to the general instructions which I received on my departure from London.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WHITWORTH.

No. III.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkebury, Paris, December 13th, 1802.

THE Batavian ambassador Vos van Steinvick has been instructed to make a representation, couched in the strongest terms, against the conduct of this government, with regard to the French troops which continue to be quartered in Holland.—Your Lordship well knows how long and how anxiously the Batavian government has been expecting to be delivered from this burden.

No. IV.

Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkebury, dated Paris, December 13th, 1802.

My Lord,

YOUR Lordship will learn, by my former dispatch of this date, the step which is to be taken by the Dutch ambassador, for procuring the evacuation of the Batavian territory by the French troops.

I cannot flatter myself that any direct interference of my part would, under the present circumstances, assist in promoting this important object—and I know that the Dutch ambassador entirely coincides with me in this opinion. I have, however, invariably held a language on this subject, conform-

The Right Hon. Lord Hawkebury, &c. &c. &c.

No. 5.

Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Lifton to Lord Hawkebury, dated The Hague, 11th January 1803.

THE negotiations between the secretary of state and M. de Semonville, respecting the continuance of French troops in the southern garrisons of this republic, have been carried on with uncommon activity for the last few days; and this morning M. de Sparre, son-in-law to Madame de Semonville, set out for Paris, carrying with him the ambassador's report of the result of their conferences.

The Dutch government, though they appear to be devoted to the idea of the independence of their native country, have adopted the opinion, that it is, upon the whole, wiser to yield to the wish of Bonaparte, to continue for a limited time small garrisons in some of the frontier towns, than by an obstinate resistance to draw on this republic the fate of Switzerland.

Papers presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, respecting the Guarantee of the Court of Russia. Ordered to be printed 26th May 1803.

No.

No. I.

Copy of a Letter from Lord Hawkesbury to Sir John Warren, January 29th, 1803.

Downing Street, Jan. 29th. 1803.

Sir,

YOUR Excellency's dispatches, to No. 21, inclusive, have been received, and laid before the King.

I send you now inclosed the official answer to the note of the Chancellor Count Woronzow, relative to the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens: it has been delivered to Count Simon Woronzow, the Russian ambassador at this court.

In communicating this note, you will express, in suitable terms, how sensibly his Majesty feels the friendship which the Emperor of Russia has manifested to him on this occasion, in his disposition to concur in the arrangements relative to the island of Malta; and how sincerely his Majesty regrets, that it is not in his power to acquiesce, without condition or explanation, in every thing that his Imperial Majesty has proposed on this subject. His Majesty, however, trusts, that, when all the circumstances are taken into consideration, which bear upon this important subject, the Emperor of Russia will be satisfied, that the line of conduct which has been adopted by his Majesty, is such as a regard to good faith and to the interests of his dominions has rendered necessary. The only material difference between the ar-

rangement proposed by the Emperor of Russia for the island of Malta, and that in which his Majesty is willing to concur, relates to the stipulations in favour of the Maltese inhabitants. It is important that your Excellency should impress the Russian government with the conviction of the services rendered by the inhabitants of Malta to his Majesty, and to the common cause, at the time when the French were in possession of the island; that, for nearly two years, they maintained a state of constant and active hostility against the French: that several thousands of them perished in this state of hostility; and that these efforts were made at a time when they could receive assistance from no other foreign power: that the attachment evinced by the Maltese to his Majesty, during the blockade, and their loyalty to him since he has obtained possession of the island, give them a peculiar claim to his protection, and a right to expect, that, in the future arrangements for the island, some advantages should be stipulated in their favour: that, independent of every consideration of good faith, your Excellency well knows that the Maltese inhabitants, if attached to their government, are equal to the defence of the island; and that every motive of policy, therefore, as well as of justice, renders it expedient to endeavour to conciliate their affections. These circumstances being premised, you will state, that the objection, which it is conceived has had most weight with his Imperial Majesty, is that stipulation in the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens, which at the time that it establishes a Maltese langue,

requires no proof of nobility for admission into that langue: that such a stipulation is considered as leading to the establishment of a plebeian langue, totally inconsistent with the spirit of the institution of the order. His Majesty is extremely desirous of devising means by which this objection shall be obviated, and the interests of the Maltese adequately consulted. The proofs of nobility, which have been required for other priories, have been various; and the power of the Pope to grant dispensations has been admitted to exist: if, therefore, *actual nobility* was made the indispensable condition of admission into the Maltese langue or priory, the objection, which is at present made to this part of the arrangement, would, in a great degree, if not wholly, be removed. As, however, the number of persons who would be capable of admission into the order, in consequence of such a regulation, would be very limited, it appears reasonable, that some further stipulations should be made in favour of the inhabitants of Malta; and it may be proposed to revive, under such regulations and modifications as may be judged expedient, the national council which formerly existed in that island, which should form no part of the order, but which should have a share in the government of the island, and a deliberative voice in all its internal concerns. A body of this description could not be considered as in any respect derogatory to the ancient institution of the order, and would be conformable to what existed within the island till within a very few years. It is for the purpose of obtaining

information on these points, that instructions will be sent to Sir Alexander Ball; it being impossible, after all that has passed, to bring the negotiation to an issue, without some communication with the principal inhabitants of Malta. His Majesty relies on your zeal in giving effect to these instructions, and on your endeavours to reconcile the Russian government to the objects of them.

The events which have happened since the conclusion of the definitive treaty; the unbounded ambition which has been, and still is, manifested by the French government; might have justified his Majesty in bringing forward new demands, and in even claiming the appropriation of Malta, as some counterpoise to the acquisitions made by France since the treaty of peace; but the moderation with which his Majesty has been actuated in all his concerns with foreign powers, and his anxious desire that the peace of Europe may, if possible, be effectually consolidated, have induced him to forego those claims which the increased and increasing power of France might have justified him in advancing; and as every stipulation in the treaty of Amiens has been in a course of execution on his part, with the exception of the 10th article, he is desirous of shewing his disposition to concur in an arrangement which may be conformable to the spirit of the article; if such an arrangement can be rendered consistent with the honour of his crown; and if it effectually provides for the object of the 10th article—the independence of the island of Malta.

I am

I am, with great truth and respect, Sir, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

HAWKESBURY.

His Excellency Sir John Warren,
&c. &c. &c.

No. II.

Copy of a Note from Lord Hawkesbury to the Vice-chancellor Count A. Worozoff, Jan, 29th, 1803.

NOTE.

The undersigned, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has laid before the King, the note of the Chancellor of his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, together with the projet of the articles inclosed in it, which was delivered to his Excellency Sir John Borlase Warren, in consequence of the invitation made by his Excellency and the French minister, in the name of his Majesty and the First Consul of the French republic, to his Imperial Majesty to accede as a guaranteeing power to the 10th article of the definitive treaty of peace, signed at Amiens on the 27th day of March last.

It has been his Majesty's sincere and constant desire, that the stipulation of this article, as well as every other part of the definitive treaty of peace, should be carried into complete effect; and as circumstances have arisen, since the conclusion of the treaty, which render it impracticable to execute the 10th article according to the terms of it, and which have made fresh stipulations necessary, that means should be found by amicable negotiation of accomplishing an arrangement, which may be deemed conformable

to the spirit of the treaty, and to the intentions of the contracting parties at the time of concluding it.

His Majesty attaches the greatest importance to the accession of the Emperor of Russia to the 10th article of the definitive treaty; not only on account of the security which the guarantee of his Imperial Majesty would give to the independence of the island of Malta, but likewise from a desire to obtain his Imperial Majesty's sanction and concurrence, with respect to the arrangements stipulated in that article. His Majesty has invariably manifested the same disposition. As soon as he had learnt the proceeding which had been adopted at St. Petersburg, in consequence of the proclamation of the Emperor of Russia for the election of a Grand Master, he proposed to the French government to join with him in declaring, that, as contracting parties to the treaty of Amiens, they were ready to acknowledge that election to be valid, and to recognise the person who might be named by the Pope, out of those who were chosen by the priories in Russia, and whose names appeared in the list that was then published, to be grand Master of the order of St. John. In conformity to the principles which governed his Majesty's conduct on that occasion, he is perfectly ready to adopt the suggestion of his Imperial Majesty, for the conclusion of a supplementary convention to the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens; and he has no difficulty in declaring his entire acquiescence in the 2d, 3d, 5th, and 6th articles, contained in the projet delivered to Sir John Warren; his

Majesty entirely concurs likewise in that part of the 1st article, which relates to the the acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the order of St. John of Jerusalem over the island of Malta and its dependencies. With respect to the other part of the article, which refers to the advantages stipulated in favour of the Maltese, his Majesty is extremely anxious that means may be devised of reconciling the views of the Emperor of Russia, relative to the order of St. John, with the attention, which a regard for the honour of his crown renders due to the interests and wishes of the Maltese inhabitants, and with the indispensable object of the 10th article of the treaty of peace, that of providing effectually for the independence of the island; and he trusts, that such an arrangement may be found not inconsistent with the spirit of the original institution of the order. His Majesty will lose no time in giving instructions to Sir Alexander Ball, to take measures for obtaining the information which may be necessary for enabling his Majesty to form his determination on this subject.

His Majesty trusts that that part of the fourth article, which relates to the number of Neapolitan troops, will be judged unnecessary, when it is understood, that, with a view to the execution of the provisions of the treaty of Amiens, measures have already been taken for raising a Maltese force of 2000 men, which, together with the 2000 at present in the island, will form an adequate garrison for its defence. His Majesty, however, entirely agrees with the Emperor of Russia, in the necessity of providing adequate funds for the support of this garri-

son; and, as the property of the Spanish priories has been sequestered since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, to which treaty his Catholic Majesty was a party, he thinks it indispensable, that the property of those priories should be restored to them; especially as the Portuguese government have lately declared their intention of sequestrating the property of the Portuguese priory, as forming a part of the Spanish language, unless the priories of Spain are reinstated in their former possessions. As those sequestrations have been carried into effect since the conclusion of the treaty of peace, and as it is highly important to secure, under any circumstances which may happen, a revenue adequate to the maintenance of the civil and military government, and of the independence of the island, his Majesty adopts, from a conviction of its necessity, the suggestion of the Emperor of Russia, that whatever sum may be requisite for that purpose beyond the ordinary revenue, shall be provided by an equal contribution on the part of his Majesty and of the French government; and in default of payment by either of the parties, it shall be at the option of the other party to contribute the whole.

His Majesty has thus stated, without reserve, to his Imperial Majesty, his sentiments on every part of this important subject, and his readiness to agree in such modifications of the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens, as may be found not inconsistent with the spirit of it; as may be compatible with the interests of all the parties concerned; and which, his Majesty trusts, will therefore prove satis-

satisfactory to the Emperor of Russia.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.
Downing Street. Jan. 29th, 1803.

*Convention between his Britannic Majesty and the King of Sweden.
Concluded at London on the 25th of July, 1803.*

HIS Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of Sweden, being equally desirous of promoting the good understanding which happily subsists between them, and of preventing the recurrence of those differences which have heretofore arisen respecting the eleventh article of the treaty of alliance concluded and signed at Whitehall, on the 21st day of October, 1661, have named and authorized for that purpose, viz. his Britannic Majesty, the Right Hon. Robert Banks Jenkinson, Lord Hawkesbury, one of his said Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and his principal Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, and his Swedish Majesty, George Uldric Baron de Silverhjelm, his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Britannic Majesty, and Knight of the order of the Polar Star, who after having duly communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. 1. In the event of one of the contracting parties being neutral during a war in which the other contracting party may be belligerent, the vessels of the neutral party shall not carry to the enemy or enemies of the belligerent

party, money, arms, or bombs; with their fuses and other appurtenances, fire balls, gun-powder, matches, cannon balls, spears, lances, pikes, halberds, guns, mortars, petards, grenades, musket-rests, bandaliers, salt-petre, muskets, musket-bullets, helmets, head-pieces, breast plates, coats of mail, commonly called cuirasses, and the like kind of arms or troops, horses or any thing necessary for the equipment of cavalry, or pistols, belts or any other instruments of war, or ships of war, and guard ships, nor any manufactured articles immediately serving for the equipment of the same, under the penalty, that if either of the contracting parties shall seize the same, these articles shall be liable to confiscation.

Art. 2. The cruizers of the belligerent power shall exercise the right of bringing in the ships of the neutral going to the ports of an enemy, laden with cargoes of pitch, tar, hemp, and generally all unmanufactured articles whatever, serving for the equipment of ships of all descriptions, and likewise all manufactured articles serving for the equipment of merchant vessels, (herrings, iron in bars, steel, rose copper, brass and brass wire, deal, planks not being oak, and spars, however excepted) and if the cargoes so exported in the bottoms of the neutral power, are the produce of the territories of the said neutral power, and going on account of the subjects thereof, the belligerent power shall, in that case, exercise the right of purchasing them, upon condition of paying a profit of ten per centum upon a fair invoice price, or the fair market price in England or in Sweden respectively
at

at the option of the owner, with an indemnification for detention and necessary expences.

Art. 3. If the cargoes specified in the preceding article (not being enemy's property) are proceeding with a professed destination to the ports of a neutral country, and are brought in under suspicion that their true destination is to the ports of the enemy, and it shall turn out upon due inquiry they were really bound to neutral ports, they shall be at liberty to pursue their voyages, after being indemnified for their detention and necessary expences; unless the government of the belligerent country, from a reasonable apprehension of their falling into the hands of the enemy, should desire to purchase them, in which case the full price shall be paid, which they would have obtained in the ports of the neutral country to which they were going, with an indemnification for detention and necessary expences.

Art. 4. Herrings, iron in bars, steel, rose copper, brass and brass wire, deal, planks not being of oak, and spars shall not be liable to confiscation or pre-emption on the part of the belligerent power, but shall be permitted to pass free in the ships of the neutral country, provided they are not an enemy's property.

Art. 5. The present convention shall be ratified by his Britannic Majesty, and by his Swedish Majesty, and the ratifications exchanged at London in the space of two months, or sooner if it can be done.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majesty, and of his Swedish Majesty, have signed the pre-

sent convention, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at London, the 25th day of July 1803.

(L. S.) HAWKESBURY.
(L. S.)

JORDEN ULDRIC SILVERHJELM.

Official Declaration of Neutrality of the Court of Portugal, made by the Court of Lisbon, on the 14th of June, 1803, signed by the Prince Regent.

It having been the constant object of my paternal wishes and royal dispositions to invariably maintain the pacific relation, subsisting between me and those powers to which I am allied and in amity; and resolving in the present circumstances of Europe to establish those principles which ought to regulate the inviolable system of neutrality which I propose to observe, in case (which God avert) a war should be commenced between powers who are my friends and allies, and having in view how much it is for the benefit of humanity and tranquillity of my dominions and subjects, to remove all and every dispute which might result from a want of knowledge of the regulations tending to obtain the ends which I propose. I am pleased to declare that the cruizers of the Belligerent powers shall not be admitted into ports of my estates and dominions, nor the prizes made by them or by men of war, frigates, or any other ships of war, whatsoever, without any other exception but that by which the laws of nations rendered hospitality indispensable: with this condition, notwithstanding

standing, that in the same ports the sale or unloading of the said prizes will not be permitted should they be brought in under the above-mentioned clause, nor shall they be permitted to delay longer than is necessary to avoid the danger or to receive those innocent helps which may be necessary—thus re-establishing and putting in full force the observance of the decree of the 30th of August of 1780, by which this subject was determined. Let the Council of War thus understand and have it executed, expediting immediately the necessary orders to the governors and commanders of provinces, fortifications, and maritime parts, in conformity to this decree.

Convention signed between Messrs. the Civil and Military Deputies of the Regency of Hanover and Lieutenant General Mortier, Commander in Chief of the French Army.

Art. 1. Hanover shall be occupied by the French army, as well as the forts dependent on it.

2. The Hanoverian troops shall retire behind the Elbe; they shall engage on their parole of honour not to commit any hostilities, or to bear arms against the French army or its allies, so long as the war shall continue between France and England. They shall not be released from this oath until after they have been exchanged against an equal number of French generals, officers, subalterns, soldiers, or sailors, who may happen to be at the disposal of England.

3. No individual of the Hanoverian troops shall quit the place assigned him, without information

being given to the general commander in chief.

4. The Hanoverian army shall retire with the honours of war; the regiments shall take with them their field pieces.

5. The artillery, powder, arms, and ammunition of every description, shall be placed at the disposal of the French army.

6. All the effects whatsoever belonging to the King of England shall be placed at the disposal of the French army.

7. All public monies shall be sequestrated, but that of the university shall be appropriated to its original object.

8. Every English soldier, or agent whatsoever, in the pay of England, shall be arrested by order of the general commander in chief, and sent into France.

9. The general commander in chief reserves to himself the power of making in the government, and authorities constituted by the Elector, such changes as he shall think proper.

10. All the French cavalry shall be remounted at the expence of Hanover; the electorate shall also provide for the pay, clothing, and food of the French army.

11. The worship of the different religions shall be maintained on the present footing.

12. All persons, and all the property and families of Hanoverian officers, shall be under the safeguard of French honour.

13. All the revenues of the country, as well as the electoral domains, and the public contributions, shall be at the disposal of the French government. The engagements already made shall be respected.

14. The

14. The present government of the electorate shall abstain from exercising any species of authority throughout the country occupied by the French troops.

15. The general commander in chief shall levy on the electorate of Hanover such contribution as he shall think necessary for the wants of the army.

16. Every article on which doubts shall arise, shall be interpreted favourably to the inhabitants of the electorate.

17. The preceding articles shall not prejudice the stipulations which may be agreed upon in favour of the electorate, between the First Consul and any Mediating Power.

Done at the Head Quarters at Suhlingen, the 3d of June, 1803.
(Saving the approbation of the First Consul)

ED. MORTIER, Lieutenant-General Commander in Chief.

F. DE BREMER, Judge of the Electoral Court of Justice and Provincial Counsellor.

G. DE BOCH, Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the Regiment of Electoral Body-Guards.

Arrete of the First Consul, prohibiting the Importation of British Merchandize. Dated Paris, June 20, 1803.

Art. 1. Dating from the publication of the present decree, there shall not be received in the ports of the Republic any colonial produce coming from the English colonies, nor any merchandize coming directly or indirectly from

England. In consequence, all colonial produce or merchandize coming from the English manufactories or English colonies shall be confiscated.

2. Neutral ships destined for the ports of the Republic, shall be furnished with a certificate of delivery from the Commissary or Agent of Commercial Relations of the Republic at the port of embarkation, which certificate shall mention the name of the ship and the captain, the nature of the cargo, the number of the crew, and the destination of the vessel; in that declaration the Commissary shall certify that he has seen the loading compleated under his inspection, and that the merchandize is not English manufacture, and does not come from England, nor from her colonies. A duplicate of that declaration shall be sent to the Minister of the interior by the Commissary of the Republic, on the day of the sailing of the vessel.

3. The captain, who, through forgetfulness of the form or through change of destination, shall not be furnished with a similar declaration, shall not be admitted into the ports of the Republic, but upon condition of loading in return French manufactures equal in value to the amount of his cargo. The Director of the Customs shall send to the Prefect of the Department the statement of his cargo, and that of the merchandize taken in return. Upon that statement, the Prefect shall deliver a permit of departure from the port.

4. The Minister of the Interior, of Foreign Affairs, and of Finance, are charged with the execution of the present decree.

BONAPARTE.



CHARACTERS.

*Memoirs of Richard Earl Howe.
Extracted from his Life by
George Mason.*

THE Honourable Richard Howe second son of Emanuel Scrope Viscount Howe of the kingdom of Ireland, was born in the Parish of St. George Hanover Square, March 8th 1725-6. O. S. by the change of style, March 19th 1726. He was sent to education first to Westminster school, when his father went to Barbadoes as governor of that Island—having been appointed to his government in May 1732. From this school Richard was removed to that of Eton, not later than 1735, when the viscountess (his mother) returned a dowager to England. In his fourteenth year he left Eton also, to enter into the naval service.

Mr. Richard Howe was initiated into his professional line by sailing for the South Seas, in the *Severn* of 50 guns, commanded by the Hon. Captain Edward Legge. This ship (one of Commodore Anson's squadron) was driven by distress into Rio Janeiro, and thence navigated back to Europe.

Mr. Howe served next aboard the *Burford* (Captain Lushington)

in a squadron under the command of Commodore Sir Francis Knowles; who was detached from Sir Chaloner Ogle's fleet in February 1743, to make an attack on the town of La Guitta upon the coast of Curacoa. The attack was made; the *Burford* suffered considerably; and the Captain was killed in the action. This attempt having failed, a court martial was held, relative to the conduct of the *Burford*. Young Howe was particularly called upon for his evidence. He gave it in a clear and collected manner, till he came to relate the death of his captain; he could then proceed no further, but burst into tears, and retired.

Mr. Howe was soon afterwards appointed acting lieutenant by Commodore Knowles, and in a short time came to England with his ship. His commission not being confirmed by the admiralty, he returned to his patron in the *West Indies*, where he was made Lieutenant of a sloop of war.

An English merchant-man had been captured at the Dutch settlement of Eustatia by a French privateer, under the guns and protection of the governor. Lieutenant Howe, at his own earnest request, was sent with

with orders to claim her for the owners. This demand not being complied with, he desired leave to go with the boats, and attempt cutting her out of the harbour. The Captain represented the danger of so adventurous a step; and added, that he had not sufficient interest to support him in England, on a representation of the breach of neutrality. The lieutenant then requested, he would for a short time quit the ship, and leave the command with him. This being done, the lieutenant went with the boats, cut out the vessel, and restored it to the proprietors.

In the autumn of 1745 Lieutenant Howe, having served previously with Admiral Vernon in the Downs, was raised to the rank of Commander in the Baltimore sloop of war, which joined the rest of the Squadron on the coast of Scotland under Admiral Smith. During this cruise, the Baltimore and another armed vessel, fell in with two French frigates of 30 guns each, full of troops and ammunition. Captain Howe immediately ran the Baltimore between them, and almost on board one of the ships. A desperate action commenced; in which Captain Howe was severely wounded in the head by a musket ball, and carried off the deck, to all appearance dead. But by medical assistance he soon discovered signs of life, and after the dressing of his wound flew again to his post. The action continued, till the French ships sheered off, leaving the Baltimore in too shattered a condition to pursue them. For his behaviour in this action, properly represented by the worthy Admiral Smith, our young hero was advanced to

the rank of post Captain, and on April 10th, 1746, appointed to the Triton frigate. With the Triton he was ordered to Lisbon, there found the Rippon of 60 guns, commanded by Captain Holbourne, with whom he changed ships, and visited the coast of Guinea. He afterwards went to Admiral Knowles at Jamaica, was appointed his first Captain on board the Cornwall of 80 guns, in which ship he returned to England at the peace in 1748.

In march 1751 he was appointed to command his Majesty's ships on the coast of Guinea in La Gloire of 44 guns. He had already gained such a commendable reputation among the seamen in general, that his ship was immediately manned with volunteers. On his arrival at Cape Coast, the Governor and Council represented to him the series of ill treatment, they had received from the Dutch Governor-general at Elmina castle; who had interrupted their inland trade, imprisoned their free negroes, and had brought the credit of the African company to be held in contempt by the natives. Fired with indignation at these recitals, the commander of the squadron immediately prepared his own ship and the Swan sloop for action, and proceeded to Elmina, anchoring as near the Dutch castle as the depth of water would permit. He then sent captain Digges on shore with a letter to the governor-general, demanding justice for the English merchants without delay, and an immediate release for all the free negroes. To the first demand the Dutchman sent an evasive answer, to the last an absolute refusal. Upon this a blockade for a day

day or two brought the Governor-general to reason. All the free negroes being first sent off as a peace-offering, the other demands were promised to be complied with, and the business soon adjusted, and ratified.

La Gloire went the usual tour down the coast; thence proceeded to Barbadoes; the chief merchants of which place displayed their feelings at seeing a son of their old governor; the ship was quite crowded with refreshments from the shore. La Gloire proceeded next to Jamaica, thence according to the usual course, with the merchants' remittances to England.

At the close of this same year (1751) Captain Howe was appointed to the Mary Yatch. This was not the kind of command that accorded with his active spirit: he was glad to quit it in June 1752, on being commissioned to the Dolphin frigate. The Dolphin was one of the squadron, that sailed to the Mediterranean under Commodore Edgecumbe; who, during his station there, dispatched Captain Howe to the coast of Barbary on a very critical service. The inhabitants of Sallee were fitting out a cruiser of about 20 guns, avowedly to plunder vessels of all the christian nations, and particularly of the English. On arriving in their road, the captain sent a letter on shore to the Bashaw and Alcaide; acquainting them with the nature of the service to which he was appointed, and requesting an explanation of their intentions. The Moors invited the Captain on shore, to treat with them. He was strongly advised not to put himself in the power of such a faithless people; but, considering it as

a duty belonging to his employment, he went on shore the next morning, accompanied by two or three friends only; leaving his ship to the care of the lieutenant, with orders how to proceed in case of any accident. On his approach near the beach, he perceived a concourse of people ready to receive him, and, upon landing, was immediately conducted to the Bashaw and Alcaide; who had prepared a repast for his entertainment (a sheep roasted whole, &c.) and behaved with the greatest civility, and even politeness. They then proceeded to the business of the intended cruiser; and by their discourse appeared not quite free from hostile designs. When they were reminded of subsisting treaties, they replied, that the Emperor of Morocco's engagements were not binding to them. They however, after much argument, consented to abandon their intentions of cruising against the English, if the Captain would supply them with a few materials for their ship. This he judiciously contrived to evade, by observing, that the stores on board the Dolphin were the property of the king his master, and not *his* to give away, but if the Bashaw and Alcaide would honour him with a visit, they should be welcome to any thing on board that was at his own disposal. This invitation was accepted, and they went on board next day with near 200 of their followers; so that it was thought necessary to arm a number of seamen, as centinels in the gangways, and other parts of the ship. The principal Moors were at first a little alarmed, and indeed affronted at this circumstance; but on the Captain's informing them,

that it was only a proper compliment to the dignity of his guests, they were perfectly satisfied, and cheerfully partook of the repast, not objecting to rum punch, under the title of sherbet. They accepted of a pair of handsome pistols, and some other things; and by a promise to return with a more considerable present for the Emperor (which he afterwards faithfully performed) the captain put them off with the gift of a hand pump. On the Dolphin's departure, they sent a letter to the commodore, thanking him for appointing such an officer to negotiate with them, and desiring that the same person might return with the promised presents for the Emperor.

In 1754 Captain Howe came back to England; and in March 1755 obtained the command of the *Dunkirk*, carrying 60 guns. In this ship he sailed with Admiral Holbourne's squadron to reinforce Admiral Boscawen off Newfoundland. Here, while the British flag lay off Cape Race, there appeared (June 8th, 1755) the French ship *Alcide* of 64 guns, and the *Lys* mounting only 22, having eight companies of land forces on board. An action speedily commenced. In about half an hour the *Alcide* struck to the *Dunkirk*, her inferior, in rate, guns and men.

In 1756 (probably late in Autumn) the honourable Captain Richard Howe in the *Dunkirk*, with a twenty gun ship, and two sloops of war, was sent to destroy the fortifications, which the French had erected on the island of Chaucey near St. Maloes. The fortifications were demolished, and Captain Howe returned to England,

In the beginning of the year 1757 Captain Howe cruized in the Channel, and on the Irish coast; in which cruize he took one privateer of 36 guns, another of 18, and a third of 16. During such his employment at sea, he was elected representative in parliament for the borough of Dartmouth about the middle of May, in the room of Mr. Walter Cary deceased, and continued to represent it for nearly 25 years, till he was advanced to a British peerage.

On his return from cruizing, about the middle of summer 1757, he was appointed to the command of the *Magnanime* of 74 guns, and sent out with Sir Edward Hawke. The *Magnanime* was one of the ships detached by Sir Edward under Sir Francis Knowles, and ordered by Sir Francis to attack the only fort on the island of Aix. This exploit Captain Howe accomplished by getting within 40 yards of the fort before he fired: he then opened so furious and well directed a fire, that the enemy were soon driven from their guns, and surrendered.

February 16th, 1758, he married Mary, one of the two daughters and co-heiresses to Chiverton Hartop, Esq. of Welby in the county of Leicester; by her he had three daughters, Sophia Charlotte, born February 19th, 1762. Mary Juliana, April 17th, 1765, and Louisa Catherine, December 9th, 1767.

Being thoroughly sensible of the skill and activity of Captain Howe, Mr. Secretary Pitt contrived to have an interview with him, for the purpose of discoursing about other attacks on the French coast. At the close of the conversation, Capt. Howe expressed his desire to be one of the officers employed on

on such service. The Minister replied, "he could not interfere in recommending captains to the commander in chief." Thus the matter seemingly ended: but Mr. Pitt had in reality determined, that the supreme naval command should be entrusted to Captain Howe himself.

In consequence of this determination, at the beginning of June 1758, Commodore Howe set sail in the *Essex* with his squadron of ships of war, and above one hundred transports, having on board some thousand land forces and a large train of artillery through the race of Alderney, being the first Englishman, who was bold enough to sail with a fleet of ships through this dangerous pass. The commodore proceeded to the bay of Concarneau. Here the Duke of Marlborough landed with the troops, and having destroyed near St. Maloes an hundred sail of shipping, and many magazines, re-embarked on June 11th. The commodore after having made various movements with his fleet to the terror of the French coast, on July 1st, returned to St. Helen's.

A second expedition in the same year (1758) being concerted under the same naval commander; Prince Edward (afterwards Duke of York) went on board the *Essex* on July 24th. August 1st, Commodore Howe, with the troops under Lieutenant-General Bligh, sailed from St. Helen's. On 6th he came to anchor in Cherbourg road. The town of Cherbourg was taken, the bastion totally destroyed, together with all the forts in the neighbourhood. This service performed, the fleet anchored August 19th under the Highland of Portland.

On August 31st, the Commodore

sailed again towards St. Maloes, still attended by Prince Edward. He came to anchor September 3d, in the bay of St. Lunaire, and landed the troops without opposition. The Commodore found it advisable to move thence into the bay of St. Cas. On the retreat of the British forces from St. Cas, September 7th, the commodore ordered his barge to be rowed through the thickest of the enemy's fire; thus animating the sailors, who had shewn some backwardness at the tremendous aspect of the peril, to be firm in their duty. As many of the flying soldiers, as his own boat could possibly contain, were repeatedly taken in; and, the rest of the boats following so noble an example, above 700 of the army were saved, who would otherwise have perished.

In a few days after those gallant exertions of humanity, which he had shewn in the bay of St. Cas, on September 7th, Richard Viscount Howe of the kingdom of Ireland, came home with his fleet. He had succeeded to this title by the death of his elder brother George Augustus, killed July 5th, at the siege of Ticonderoga.

In November 1759, the *Magnanime*, commanded by Lord Howe, made one of Sir Edward Hawke's fleet at his memorable victory over Marquis de Conflans. The *Magnanime* attacked the *Formidable* of 84 guns, which was thereby completely disabled, and afterwards taken. But the *Magnanime*, having lost her fore-yard, was driven through the enemy's fleet to leeward, where Lord Howe bore down and attacked the *Hero* so furiously, that he soon compelled her to strike. For his behaviour in this action, when Lord Howe was presented at court

court by Sir Edward Hawke, he was honoured with the particular thanks of George II, *for so many repetitions of signal service to his country*. Nor did his royal master compliment him by words alone, but appointed him to a lucrative post (colonel of the Chatham marines,) created on purpose, March-22d, 1760.

On September 4th of the same year (1760) Lord Howe in the *Magnanime*, with also the *Bedford* and *Prince Frederick*, was dispatched by Sir Edward Hawke to dispossess the French of the island of *Durmet*. In the successful execution of these orders, the king's ships had not a single man killed or wounded.

Towards the end of 1761 he was appointed commander in chief of the ships in the road of *Basque*: but while he was busied there in making regulations for the conduct of his squadron, he was summoned away, to act as captain to rear admiral his royal highness the Duke of York, on board the *Princess Amelia* of 80 guns at *Spithead*; in which situation he continued during the remainder of the war; the Duke of York being always second in command to a senior admiral.

Peace being now made, and Lord Howe's personal assistance to his country no longer requisite on the seas, he was appointed, April 18th, 1763, a Commissioner of the Admiralty. This place he continued in upwards of two years, and was much consulted by his first Lord, the Earl of *Egmont*: he exchanged his post however July 30th, 1765, for that of Treasurer of the Navy. At the beginning of 1770, on the Duke of *Grafton's* retiring from the treasury, he

thought himself bound in honour to resign his own navy-treasurership, together with his appointment of Colonel of the *Chatham Marines*. Sir Edward Hawke, however, got him promoted to be rear admiral of the *Blue*, and he was soon afterward appointed commander in chief in the *Mediterranean*, on the probability of a rupture with *Spain*.

March 31st, 1775, Lord Howe was made rear admiral of the *White*, and February 5th, 1776, vice admiral of the *Blue*. This latter promotion was preparatory to his taking command of our fleet in *America*. By a commission (dated May 6th) he was empowered to treat with the Americans. His brother Sir William Howe, then commander in chief of the British Land forces in that part of the world, was the other commissioner. Lord Howe sailed for *America* in the *Eagle* of 64 guns, and arrived off *Halifax*, July 1st. He instantly proceeded to *New York* where he joined Lord *Shuldham's* fleet on the 14th.

On January 29th, 1778, Lord Howe was made Vice Admiral of the *White*, and March 19th of that year obtained the same rank in the *Red*.

Nothing effectual having been done toward reducing or pacifying the Americans, a new Commission was issued, dated April 19th, 1778, consisting of five persons, to facilitate a treaty with the revolted Americans; and in which the earl of *Carlisle's* name was put before those of the two former commissioners. This arrangement Lord Howe constantly reprobated as contrary to all established precedent. France soon afterwards joined in
the

the war, and suddenly on July 12th the French Admiral Comte d'Estaing anchored with a large force of line of battle ships in complete condition, about four miles from Sandy Hook, where Lord Howe had moored his small squadron in the best possible order for defence. The noble Admiral, by a series of masterly manœuvres, the admiration of the Navy to this present hour, not only rescued his own far inferior force from destruction, but even prevented the French from affording that assistance to their new allies, which the strength of their fleet had taught these Americans with confidence to look for. After blocking up Lord Howe for ten days at Sandy Hook, d'Estaing stood to sea. A few days posterior to this movement of the French, Lord Howe was a little reinforced, still much inferior to the enemy. August 9th, he made his appearance off Rhode Island; the day following d'Estaing put to sea, and bore down on the British fleet. Lord Howe edged away, to draw the French off the land, and by judicious movements, saved Rhode Island; the siege of which the American general (Lincoln) raised, and loudly complained of d'Estaing's having deserted him.

On September 2d, 1778. Lord Howe resigned the command of the North American fleet; and, having declined acting under the new commission, sailed for England in the *Eagle*, arrived at St. Helen's, October 25th, and immediately struck his flag.

The space of more than three years, from the autumn of 1778, was to Lord Howe a season of recess from his professional employments. This interval he passed in

domestic society, in ease, and in affluence. About the middle of this period of retirement, Catherine Empress of Russia made him the most liberal offers of wealth and aggrandizement, if he would superintend her navy; but the offer was declined.

A new turn of ministerial arrangements in 1782, brought Lord Howe again into notice. April 8th, he was raised to the rank of Admiral of the Blue, and on the 20th of the same month created a Viscount of Great Britain, by the title of Howe of Langar in the county of Nottingham. May 9th, he sailed with twelve line of battle ships, in quest of the Dutch fleet that had put to sea from the Texel; but the Dutch admiral, hearing of this, retired into the Texel again. The British fleet cruized on the coast of Holland for about a month, and then returned to Spithead. In July he sailed from Spithead on a cruise to the westward with 22 sail of the line; August 14th he returned to Spithead without having seen the enemy. He sailed again from Spithead, September 11th, with 34 sail of the line for the relief of Gibraltar. This he effected October 11th, in spite of the combined fleet of France and Spain (46 sail of the line), and in that masterly manner which characterizes all his naval exploits. Having according to his instructions dispatched part of his fleet on another service, he returned home, and anchored at Spithead, November 15th. For his skill and courage in the foregoing transactions he received the thanks of both houses of parliament.

After an experience of naval service during 43 years, and a study

of maritime affairs in general for the whole continuance of that period, he was appointed 28th January 1783, to preside at the board of Admiralty, and immediately began those reforms, which his long service had convinced him were necessary to be made in every department of the navy, civil as well as military. However through a contention of parties he was obliged to quit his post in April following; but in little more than eight months (on December 30th,) was reinstated in it. The business of this high office he transacted with the general approbation of the kingdom for about four years. Lord Howe was promoted to be Admiral of the White, September 14th, 1787. At the same time many captains were made admirals, and an unusual number put upon the superannuated list. This last measure occasioned much ferment in the spring of 1788, and brought on some motions, hostile to the Board of Admiralty, in both houses of Parliament. One of the questions, agitated in the House of Commons upon the subject, was carried for the Admiralty by a very small majority; and July 16th, 1798, Lord Howe resigned his post.

About a month after his resignation, his Majesty advanced him to the dignity of Earl Howe; and granted him a barony (Howe of Langar) to descend to his eldest daughter, and her heirs male; in default of such heirs to his second daughter in the same way; in default there too, to his youngest as to the others. Early in the spring of 1790, from an aggression on the part of Spain in Nootka Sound, a rupture with that crown seemed imminent. On this occasion his

Majesty once more turned his eyes upon Earl Howe, as the fittest naval officer to command the fleet. After having been at the head of the Admiralty himself, he regarded it in the light of an official degradation, to act under the orders of a successor; but the king's will in the matter, being clearly notified, extinguished all scruples of his own. He accepted the appointment as a mark of royal favour, hoisted his flag on board the *Victory*, and afterwards on board the *Queen Charlotte*, when launched at Chatham, April 15th. August 10th, he sailed with his fleet; but, the demand on the court of Spain being complied with, was recalled to Spithead in September.

Upon the death of Lord Rodney in 1792, Earl Howe was appointed to succeed him, as vice admiral of England. In 1793 he was called out again to actual service, and appointed to command the Western Squadron with ample powers. He always declared himself averse to the system of blocking up ports: he said, it was frequently ruinous to the shipping, and that from the uncertainty of winds, the possibility of adhering to such a plan was by no means to be relied on. He thought it was much better to let the fleet lie ready in some sheltered situation, whence it might proceed to sea with almost any wind whatsoever: and he asserted, that the place he had described was Torbay.

Hoisting the Union flag at the main, he began his cruise off Brest, and in the Bay, July 14th, but did nothing effectual that year.

May 2d, 1794, the fleet under his command sailed from St. Helen's.
May

May 21st news was heard of the French being off Ushant. May 28th Captain Parker of the Audacious (one of Lord Howe's fleet) engaged Le Revolutionaire, and made her strike; but she was rescued by five other French ships coming up, one of which (l'Audacieux) towed her into port. May 29th a battle began; in which (had the Captain, who was afterwards by a trial found guilty of breach of orders, done his duty) Lord Howe had got the French into such a situation, that he doubted not of being able to give a good account of the whole of them. The battle of that day (being thus impeded) was, before night, totally intercepted by a fog. This fog was not dissipated till June 1st; and it is remarkable, that during its continuance, Earl Howe's youngest daughter (then Countess of Altamont) coming with the earl her husband from Lisbon to Ireland, sailed through the midst of the French fleet, happily without seeing, or being seen by any of them. During the fog, the four other French ships that had accompanied L'Audacieux from Brest had joined their fleet, though Lord Howe knew nothing of this reinforcement of the enemy, till after he had written his letter of June 2d to the Admiralty. On June 1st (the French having now 29 sail of the line to 25) the action recommenced in which six French ships were taken, a seventh sent to the bottom, and the rest put to flight; most of them in a shattered condition.

By June 13th the fleet returned to Portsmouth. The croud of spectators to see it arrive was immense; the illuminations in the capital lasted for three nights to-

gether; and general was the exultation through the kingdom. June 26th their Majesties and the princesses went to Portsmouth, and dined with Earl Howe aboard the Queen Charlotte. It was now that the king presented the earl with a sword of extraordinary value, and a golden chain, to which a medal (struck on the occasion) was to be appendant.

From September 3d, 1794, Earl Howe made short cruises for the remainder of the winter. February, 1795, he escorted the East and West India convoy, to clear the channel; and then cruized off Brest, and in the Bay. But finding his health decrease, and having been in various active employments for the course of more than 55 years, and having reached the 70th year of his age, May 22, 1795, he resigned his command in the channel.

In the beginning of 1796, by the death of Admiral Forbes, he became Admiral of the Fleet; and on March 18th was appointed to his predecessor's post of General of the Marines.

He finally resigned the command of the western squadron in April 1797.

Though Earl Howe had thus relinquished for ever all official commands, still of one command he was unable to divest himself, while living—I mean, over the tempers of the sailors. A proof of this assertion occurred very shortly. About the end of this April (1797) there broke out a tremendous mutiny on board the fleet at Spithead. Even the conciliatory and engaging deportment of Earl Spencer had failed of its wonted effect; for he was not a

seaman.

seaman. No opportunities had offered themselves in his line of life, for exercising a most benevolent disposition, congenial to his parentage, towards his peculiar people; "to go below after an action, and talk to every wounded man, sitting by the sides of their cradles, and constantly ordering his live stock and wines to be applied to their use at the discretion of the surgeon, and at all times for the sick on board." Such acts of beneficence had long endeared Lord Howe to those that had failed with him, were echoed through the British fleets, and lived fresh in the remembrance of all who knew of them. Him these bravest of men had been accustomed to look up to, as their principal friend and protector. Nor did he fail them now. He palliated their offences in his speeches to the House of Peers, where he met with the greatest deference, paid by all parties to his superior knowledge of the subject. May 9th the Bill, which complied with the wishes of the seamen, was passed. Lord Howe, in his 72d year, hardly able to set foot to the ground from the remains of a severe attack of gout, but accompanied by his regardful consort, arrived at Portsmouth on the 14th. He brought the act of Parliament, and came with plenary powers to settle the matters in dispute. To this hour the mutineers had remained inflexible; but next morning the Delegates landed, and proceeded to the governor's house at Portsmouth, and after having partaken of some refreshments, marched in procession to the Sally port, where they embarked on board the men of war's barge, accompanied with Lord

and Lady Howe, some officers, and persons of distinction, and visited the ships at St. Helen's and Spithead: [Lord Howe being obliged to be borne by men into every ship.] At seven in the evening Lord Howe landed, and the Delegates carried him on their shoulders to the governor's house. Affairs being thus adjusted to the satisfaction of the sailors, the flag of disaffection was struck, and the fleet put to sea the next day to encounter the enemy. Within six weeks after this re-instatement of due naval obedience, Earl Howe was invested with the order of the Garter.

In the beginning of the year 1798 passed an act, empowering the Bank to receive voluntary contributions for defraying the expences of the war. At this time Earl Howe's only pecuniary emolument, for all his past services, was the stipend arising from his post of General of the Marines. Being himself confined to his bed, he commissioned the countess to receive his annual salary at the Marine pay-office, with instructions to carry the whole of it (upwards of 1800l.) immediately to the Bank, as his contribution. This was executed accordingly.

In the summer of 1797, having been deprived of Dr. Warren's medical assistance by that eminent physician's decease, Lord Howe applied for advice to the present Dr. Pitcairn. Bathing in warm sea water was the doctor's prescription for the Earl's rheumatic weakness; who in compliance with this opinion went first to Bognor rocks, and afterwards to Worthing. While resident at the latter place finding his strength exceedingly restored,

restored, he used riding exercise to a much greater degree, than his age or constitution would allow. The fatigue of one of his excursions on horseback produced so much gout, that it sent him to London. There by the diligent and unwearied attention of his physician for many months, he recovered from the violent disorder: he might perhaps still have been living, but unfortunately, Dr. Pitcairn, from an internal hurt by a fall, was obliged to repair to Lisbon in the Autumn of 1798, and did not return before the Spring of 1800. Lord Howe, after his recovery from this long confinement to his bed room, was obliged to use crutches. Such a perpetual memento of his infirmity suited not his genius. In the beginning of 1799 he grew so impatient of the weakness and pains in his knees, that he could not forbear trying electricity. The experiment had given him such considerable relief, that he was able to move about upon a horse; nor did he in the least apprehend that this quick restoration of his strength would be attended with any fatal consequence; but soon afterward the gout seized upon his head; and by August the 5th he was no more. He had lived 5 months and 17 days of his 74th year, and was buried in the family vault at Langar in the county of Nottingham.

Account of the Island of Staffa.

From Stoddart's Remarks on Scenery and Manners in Scotland.

THE next morning, we made our first attempt to reach Staffa,

having first given in our names to the landlord, to be transmitted to — Mac Donald, Esq. proprietor of that island. It is not unusual for strangers to wait in vain, above a fortnight, for fair weather; and should they land at an unfavourable time, the rising tempests might detain them, on the solitary spot, without hopes of assistance. Our excursion afforded us a proof of that respectful deference, with which the people here, probably from interested motives, consult the inclinations of their wealthy visitors. In the narrow Sound of Ulva, the sea was heaved into huge, white, breaking surges, by a most violent gale, and we were driven along so rapidly, that had we struck on any of the bold pointed rocks, by which we were surrounded, we must have been instantly dashed to pieces. After a little experience of this dangerous navigation, finding that the more we advanced into the open sea, the more tremendous it appeared, I asked the only one of our boatmen, who understood English, whether we could possibly get to Staffa. He answered, “assuredly not:” and when pressed to know, why they had taken us out, on so fruitless an errand, he replied, that it was merely in compliance with our wish to set sail.

As we rowed along the southern shore of Ulva, our attention was strongly arrested by the singular rocks which form its natural rampart. They are black, rugged, and horrific; sometimes wildly irregular, broken into caverns, and chasms; sometimes piled into huge masses, like the narrow lanes of a crowded city; and sometimes moulded into long lines of embattled columns, exhibiting a gradual

dual approach to the regularity of Staffa. Landing near these tremendous cliffs, we explored their gloomy recesses; which presented scenery so magnificently savage, that we did not regret the delay, which occasioned our examination of them. The rest of the island was also interesting. The southern and western sides consist of small hills, whose summits, for the most part, form regular ranges of basaltic columns. The little vales, between these, are cultivated in scanty patches, and have scarcely any wood; but finding a sheltered spot surrounded with a few trees, near the farm of Orsnag, we took our dinner there, in the open air. Leaving our boat safe moored, on the farther side of the island, we returned across the mountain, from the top of which we were first gratified with a view of Staffa, and had a noble prospect all round. On the eastern side of the island, its proprietor, — Macdonald, Esq. of Boydsdale, has built a house, which, from the barrenness of every thing about it, has a most dreary look. The view this way, however, is very fine, comprehending the opening of Loch na Gall, with the bold shores, and lofty mountains of Mull. More to the south appear several small islands, many of them scarcely islands, rocky points: amongst them is Inch Kenneth, celebrated by a week's residence of Dr. Johnson, in the simple hut of Sir Allan Maclean. In the open sea, are scattered a vast number of islands, from Icolmkill, on the south west, to Staffa, on the west, and Coll and Tirre, on the north-west. Among the phenomena, which we observed in this prospect, none was more novel and

surprising to us, than the torrents, which we saw, at seven or eight miles distance, on the sides of the mountains in Mull, blown upward in spray, by the violence of the wind, and appearing like a thick smoke.

In the evening, we crossed the narrow ferry, to Laggan Ulva; and the next morning, recrossing it, returned to our boat. The weather was somewhat more favourable, and we being no less anxious to prosecute our voyage, again set sail. Our course was expeditious, and though the day was tolerably calm, the waves of the Atlantic ran very high, affording a grand and majestic spectacle. Ulva, which we had just quitted, is nearly three miles in length, and is divided by a very narrow sound from Gometra, another considerable island: about two miles to the west is Colonsa; and eight miles beyond this is Staffa.

The most commodious time, for visiting the island, is a little before low water; as it is impossible to land at high water, if the sea be at all rough. We reached it at this precise period, and in the lowest tide of the whole year. On our approach, it presented a mass of rock about half a mile in length, and of no very remarkable appearance, until we were near enough to discern the columns, caverns, &c. in its bare sides, and the scanty verdure sprinkled on the top. Toward the north, the rock seems more rude and unformed; but the southern extremity is enriched with all the diversities of a strange, and surprising, natural architecture. On a very calm day, with the wind to the eastward, it may be worth while to row round the island, and enter the

the caves, in a boat; but if the wind is in the least degree westerly, a boat would be dashed to pieces, in making such an experiment.

Landing, therefore, on the east, we directed our steps towards the southern side: but first climbed a small eminence, on which is built the herdsman's hut. In this solitary abode, remains the herdsman, with his wife and family, during half the year, to attend twenty small cattle, whose pasture is all that the island produces: and in this hut, uninhabited during the other half year, must the unfortunate storm-struck traveller take refuge, without hope of any provision but what he brings with him. This danger is not imaginary; for I have known persons, who have been kept so long in this terrible situation, as to be apprehensive of famine; existing all the while in a shelter, scarcely better than that of the distracted Lear.

The soil, which in all parts of the island is very thin, is worn off in several places, and shows the general tendency of the rock to assume a columnar form, disposed in different directions, perpendicular, oblique, or horizontal, as well curved, as straight. To describe all the whimsical appearances, which it assumes, is impossible: some of them seem to be Gothic arches and doors, others vaulted roofs, others colonnades, causeways, &c. The most remarkable are the caves: all of them open to the sea, which at the lowest ebb washes their base, and at high water almost fills their interior. The first is the Clamshell Cave, so called from the resemblance of its upper part to that shell, on a large scale; the top is open at the en-

trance, and, consisting of columns bent like reversed parts of an arch, has impressed the country people with the notion of that similitude, from which its name is taken.

Immediately beyond this, is a remarkable pyramidal aggregation of pillars, all of them truncated, short, and pointing in different directions to the top. This heap being divided by a narrow channel from the main island, has been called *Buachaille*, the herdsman, a name very frequently given in the Highlands to detached rocks, or mountains, standing before others, like a herdsman before his herd. This is corruptly called by many writers *Boo-sha-la*. As every strange phenomenon, in these regions, is connected traditionally with the Fions; the *Buachaille* is said to consist of 8000 distinct stones, on each of which stood one of those warriors; how they found a firm footing, or sufficient room, it is not easy to discover.

Turning toward the south-west, is a causeway of regular truncated columns, bordered by a wall of pillars, which instead of cornice, architrave, &c. have a stratum of irregular, and, as it were, half-formed basalt. The general colour of the rock is a deep, purplish black, except where it is tinged by lichens, sea weed, &c. The texture of the pillars is fine, but their surface rather rough, resembling dried mortar; and they are mostly cracked in a direction at right angles to their elevation. They are of different forms, all regular polygons, mostly pentagonal, or hexagonal, but some quadrilateral, or even trilateral. They have at times fallen down, and perhaps the whole causeway has been thus formed; but

but few of the entire columns are known to have fallen within living memory. In the fissures of the basalt are small veins of a whitish spar, but not abundant. Every step we take here excites new admiration, and a most singular sensation is produced, by the evident confusion of natural operations, and the no less evident resemblance, which they bear to those of art. It may be imagined, that the formality, which renders this scene unmanageable by the pencil, would detract much from the sublimity of the feeling produced; but it has, perhaps, a contrary effect. The greatness of the scale forcibly impresses the idea of greatness in the operating cause; and the regularity of disposition, approaching so near to human intelligence, invests that cause with a solemn, mysterious character. Much as this spot is celebrated, I have never known a person, whose expectations were not more than gratified in seeing it. This rare excellence is owing probably to its perfect novelty: we have none, or very inaccurate standards, by which to form our previous judgments, and are agreeably surprised, to find them so much surpassed by the reality.

The most striking scene of the whole island, that in which Nature seems to have striven with, and vanquished Art, in her own province, is the great cave fronting the south-west, called *Uaimh na Fionn*, the cave of Fingal. Mr. St. Fond, by arbitrarily changing the word *Fionn* into *Fóinn*, a tune, deduces its name from a musical sound, produced here, as he says, by the sea. For my part, I heard nothing more musical in the waves, which fill the bottom of this

cavern, than in those which wash any other part of the island: but the predilection of the Highlanders for their favourite chief is not ill shown, in assigning to him so magnificent a hall, which seems formed by nature for the assemblage of great and venerable characters. The entrance is an irregular arch, fifty-three feet broad, and 117 high; the interior is 250 feet in length, and appears longer from its diminishing perspective. The sides, which are straight, are divided into pillars; some of those on the east, having been broken off near the base, form a passage along that side, by which, with some difficulty, I reached the very farthest end, and seated myself in a kind of natural throne, formed in the rock. It seemed, that few persons had gone so far; as a great number of names were inscribed on a column not easy to pass, but very few beyond it. From this seat, the general effect of the cave appears truly magnificent, and well calculated to form the eye and the taste of a picturesque architect. The broken, irregular, basaltic roof, resembled the rich ornaments of some grand Gothic buildings; the truncated columns on the sides, those ranged seats, on which, it might be supposed, the Fingalian heroes,

“In close recess, and secret conclave, sat,
Frequent and full.”

Being lighted only from without, the gradual deepning of the gloom gives solemnity to the scene; and a beautiful singularity is added by the sea dashing below, and the island of Icolmkill, with its ruined cathedral appearing, exactly in front, on the horizon.

The

The knowledge of this extraordinary spot is one of the many benefits, which have been conferred on public taste and science, by the present learned President of the Royal Society. Sir Joseph Banks, who visited it, in the year 1772, drew up the first correct and interesting account of it, inserted in Mr. Pennant's Tour. Its parallel is no where to be found, unless, perhaps, in the Giant's Causeway, in Ireland; but it seems to be generally agreed by those persons, who have seen both, that Staffa is much the more magnificent.

After fatiating ourselves with admiration, we returned to the Clamshell cave, where, in a sheltered recess, we spread our tablecloth on the rock, and made a hearty dinner, on the remains of our sea-store. We looked, with an anxious wish, toward the island of Icolmkill; but it was the first of September, the afternoon was advancing, and another day of good weather might not, perhaps, occur; the season for the remainder of our tour was wearing away; and it was necessary, that we should return to the main land of Scotland, as soon as possible: we therefore resolved to abandon our proposed visit to that island; and the more readily, as its ruins are chiefly valuable for their antiquity, and possess little picturesque beauty, either in themselves, or in their surrounding scenery.

In returning merrily to Ulva, we learnt that an old Highland chieftain, Mac Quarry of Mac

Quarry*, resided on the small island of Colonsa. His fortune indeed was decayed; he had parted with Ulva, Staffa, and a very extensive property, and was reduced to this little domain; but still he retained the old Highland spirit of hospitality, and would have been hurt at our passing his shore without a visit. The welcome, which he gave us to his little hut, was of the warmest kind. Whiskey, his own recipe for long life, he recommended without limitation to his friends, and would not suffer us to depart, without going through all the ceremonies of the parting cup.

The regular price of a boat, to Staffa and back, is fifteen shillings, and two bottles of whiskey to the men; in addition to which, we paid five shillings for the ineffectual attempt of the preceding day, and gave the men two bottles more. The remainder of our charges at Laggan Ulva were in the same proportion moderate: and the accommodations, though far from desirable, were such as ought to content a traveller in so remote a part of the country. We returned to Aros, the next morning, not a little delighted with the result of an expedition, which we had scarcely expected to conclude so soon, and so satisfactorily.

Manners of the Western Islanders.

(From the same.)

THE observation of rustic life and manners, in the western isles,

* This is the mode of designating the head of a clan, anciently thus, Mac Quarry of that ilk, or de eodem. It is deemed the most honourable of all designations, and, like all other Highland titles, is used simply, in speaking to a person: thus you say Mac Quarry, or Ulva, not Mr. Mac Quarry.

may serve to correct the extremes of error which often meet in men's judgments, on such subjects. On the one hand, contemplating at a distance the wants, under which the inhabitants labour, and comparing their situation with the wealth and splendour of a luxurious capital, we are apt to rank them as barbarians, and to lament the supposed misery of their lot. On the other hand, hearing of their simple manners, and unvitiated habits, and considering them as guarded in their "fortunate islands," and severed by the "diffociable ocean," from the contagion of polished vices; we may, perhaps, think, that they alone have fallen upon

———"those happier days,
That poets celebrate; those golden times,
And those Arcadian scenes that Maro
sings,
And Sidney, warbler of poetic prose."

But the fact is, that these opposite notions are equally erroneous. Man soon accommodates himself to his situation; and the habits and feelings of the rich, and the poor, of the dweller in the town, and in the country, will form but a very inaccurate standard for each other. Some common principles there are, indeed, in human nature, by which both sides of the question may be tried; it requires strong sensibility and accurate discrimination, to apply this test; but when applied, is at once delightful and convincing. Such is the impression produced by Burn's interesting poem, the "Twa Dogs." In the choice of principles, the most systematic writers are, perhaps, the most apt to err; and the safest mode of proceeding is to consider a few simple facts, in their relation

to similar facts, drawn from other times and places.

The inhabitants of the isles differ but little from the Highlanders on the main land. They have the same origin, the same language, the same customs, and prejudices, and nearly the same employments. The circumstances in which they differ are mostly in favour of the Highlands. In both districts, personal appearance forms a very marked distinction between the different ranks of society. The higher classes may boast many striking examples of beauty; but the lower are, in general, the very reverse. The women are almost universally short, and thick shaped: their long black hair hanging over the face, their heads generally uncovered, and their features consequently drawn into an habitual frown, give them altogether a terrific appearance. The men are sometimes tall and stout, but more commonly short, and ill made. Probably this is to be attributed not merely to their food, and labour; but to the change of manners in modern times. Amid the tumult of a wild and martial age, the mind finds motives to that animation, which beams forth in the countenance, and even serves to

———"mould the form
By silent sympathy."

The more tranquil occupations of these districts in the present day, afford few mental stimulants: and the physical circumstances of food and lodging, though improved, are not so superior, as to balance this defect. An Arcadian community, which has little connexion with the rest of the world, may be supposed

to be more pure and happy, in proportion to its seclusion; but countries which are attached, as these ever must be, to places of opulence and luxury, will be improved by an intimacy of union. I have before observed, that the Highlands suffer much by a want of agriculture and manufactures: this applies much more forcibly to the islands. The rich proprietors of the former often visit, sometimes wholly dwell upon their estates, entering into the real feelings, and promoting the true interests of their tenantry: the situation of the latter precludes them, in a great measure, from these advantages.

That indolence which has been remarked as a general concomitant of the Highland character, is probably a remnant of the old military life, which afforded long intervals of ease. That it does not proceed from a dulness of feeling is evident, from the impassioned strain of the ancient poetry, and music, still preserved. The Islanders, as they are inferior to their neighbours in every branch of modern improvement, so they excel them in these relics of former excellence. The poems of Ossian, of Ullin, and of Ryno, are here more faithfully retained; and the wild warbling of the native Gaelic airs is a more general soother of care, or incitement to labour. It is not long since the harp fell into disuse among them. The following account of a traveller in the seventeenth century proves its prevalence, as well as that of the poetical talents, which they still possess, but in an inferior degree. "They delight much," says my author*, "in musick, but chiefly in harpes and

clairshoes of their owne fashion. The strings of the clairschoes are made of brasse wyre, and the strings of the harpes of sinews: which strings they strike, eyther with their nayles growing long, or with an instrument appoynted for that use. They take great pleasure to deck their harpes and clairschoes with silver and precious stones: and poore ones, that cannot attaine heereunto, decke them with christall. They sing verses prettily compounded, contayning (for the most part) prayses of valiant men. There is not almost any other argument, whereof their rimes intreat."

It must be acknowledged, that in the neatness of their houses, and in the cleanliness of their persons, they are considerably less careful, than their southern neighbours, and even than the peasantry of other mountainous northern countries, such as Swisserland, or Norway; but this may also be traced to the habits of a rude military life; and it is gradually yielding to modern improvements. Since the use of linen has succeeded to that of flannel, the disorder which was once said to be common among them, has almost wholly disappeared, nor did I see any one instance of it in the Highlands. Still there is doubtless too much attachment to the awkward and uncleanly habits of a more barbarous age. I was assured by a nobleman, that though he had built a great number of neat cottages for his tenants, and used every inducement to make them inhabit them, they frequently preferred living in their old, dirty, and smoky huts. Changes in manners must be brought

* See a Brief Description, &c. A. D. 1633.

about gradually, by the mild influence of a benevolent patron, not by harsh laws, or acts of tyranny : and it is even better to retain the affections of an unpolished people, than to alienate their minds, in a vain attempt to improve their appearance.

We found to our cost, on quitting Aross, that the Islanders have as little dexterity at sea, as on shore. To this, the variety of occupations, practised by the same individual, very much conduces. On examination, soon after we set sail, we found, that out of our crew of four persons, two were weavers, and one a shoemaker. In addition to these professions, they were all farmers, cattle-dealers, fishers, and occasionally boatmen. When a company, such as ours, comes in their way (which is but seldom), they find it most advantageous to act in the latter capacity ; but it is not to be supposed, that they can act as well as if they were professionally sailors. Their boats too are ill equipped, and their management of them clumsy. When we had occasion to take to the oars, we found them too large to be serviceable : there were no blocks to the rigging, and in hoisting or lowering a sail, they lost much time by neglecting to disentangle the ropes, a circumstance of great danger in these narrow seas, on account of the sudden shifting, and eddying of the winds. The want of adroitness, joined with the confident rashness of these half sailors, occasions innumerable accidents in their voyages. We ourselves, not being much accustomed to the sea, were considerably alarmed, on the approach of evening, when, after lying by for

some time, we were obliged to make a tack, with the wind much against us. The surges were high, and the unskilfulness of our steersman such, that we shipped a great quantity of water, before we could make the point of Kerrera. It was not till past ten o'clock at night, that we were with difficulty put ashore, near Dunolich Castle, from whence we were obliged to walk, in a hard shower of rain to Oban.

Account of the Abbé Sicard, and the Institution in behalf of the Deaf and Dumb.

(From Lemaître's rough Sketch of Modern Paris).

I HAD this morning so high a mental a treat, that I cannot help communicating to you the particulars without delay, in the hope of being able, while my mind is strongly impressed with the subject, to convey to you some faint idea of the pleasure which I received.

I shall not now speak to you of splendid buildings, of glorious monuments of human ingenuity, of renowned heroes, or of brilliant festivals. What I saw to day interested me, and I am sure would have interested you, much more than all such objects united ; I mean, the *institution des sourd-muets* (that humane establishment for the instruction of the deaf and dumb), first founded under the care of the abbé l'Epée, and now conducted by his worthy successor, the abbé Sicard.

Having tickets offered me for an extraordinary meeting, which took place this morning, I willingly availed myself of this opportunity, and at ten o'clock repaired to

la rue St. Jacques, where, in a former convent, this beneficent establishment is carried on. Here I found a large assemblage of respectable persons, who all listened, with pleasure and attention, to the simple, plain, and unaffected manner, in which the abbé Sicard explained his method of giving to the deaf and dumb the means of expressing their thoughts. "As foreigners" said he, "unacquainted with the language of the country which they visit, are supposed stupid and ignorant by the uninformed, so the deaf and dumb are often considered as idiots, because they are deprived of one sense. No," continued he, "they are not idiots; they have ideas as well as you, and only want an organ to express them." He then went on to state, that in most educations children are taught first to speak, and then, *sometimes*, to think, whereas, in his plan, he began first by teaching his pupils to think, and then proceeded to instruct them how to express what they had so thought *.

To exemplify both his plan and his success, he examined Massieu, his favourite and ablest pupil, a young man, about twenty or twenty five years old. As soon as the abbé expressed by his gestures, any particular passion, Massieu instantly wrote the word appropriate to the peculiar feeling, and then explained the meaning of the word he had written, with a vivacity of action, and a variety of countenance,

which I never before witnessed in any human being. He next wrote on the wall, with great rapidity, the chain of ideas, by which the abbé Sicard regularly advances his scholars from the expression of a simple thought, to one of greater import. Thus, beginning with the word "*voir*," to see, he ended, going on with regular steps, with the word "*examiner*," to examine; beginning with "*idéer*," (a word created by Massieu, but answering to "*avoir idée*," or to have an idea), he ended with "*approfondir*," to search into; and beginning with "*vouloir*," to will, he ended with "*bruler*," to burn with passion. Massieu expressed, with wonderful fire, the meaning of each progressive passion, in the changes of his countenance, which, when animated, is uncommonly fine.

In the course of this meeting, the abbé Sicard likewise examined, for the first time, a young woman, now eighteen, who at six years old, had become entirely deaf, and who could now only speak such words as she had learnt at that tender age, many of which she still pronounced imperfectly, and as children are apt to do. He began with showing us a memorandum, or washing bill, in which this girl had drawn her gowns, petticoats, &c. according to the different forms of these articles. Massieu then, by direction of the abbé, drew on the wall different things of common use; to some

* The abbé Sicard, in the course of this lecture, took occasion to remark, that of all languages, the English was the most simple, the most reasonable, and the most natural, in its construction. As a proof of the truth of his assertion, he informed us, that his pupils, as they began to learn the means of conveying their thoughts by writing, were constantly guilty of *anglicisms*. He added, that it was difficult to make them lay aside idioms purely English, and still more so, to teach them those which are peculiar to the French language.

of these she applied their proper names, some she did not know, and others she mispronounced. The latter defect M. Sicard immediately removed, by pronouncing the word himself, teaching her by signs to move her lips, as he did, by blowing on the hand, and by touching some particular fibres of the arm. I cannot satisfactorily explain this operation; but it will, perhaps, be sufficient to observe, that the *abbé*, more than once, said, “by such and such motions, I will produce such and such sounds;” and that, as soon as the girl had imitated the motions he made, she articulated the words, as he had previously promised.

The more I saw of this institution, the more was I delighted. There were forty or fifty children present, who, born deaf and dumb, were, by the wonderful skill and and unceasing care of the respectable *abbé*, restored to society, to happiness, and themselves. They were seated in different parts of the room, and conversed with each other, though at the greatest distance, by the means of their fingers, which were in constant motion. They had every appearance of enjoying good health, spirits, and vivacity.

There are all kinds of workshops, manufactures, and schools, in the house of the *sourd-muets*, and the establishment is entirely maintained at the expence of the government. Massieu, I hear, has displayed strong symptoms of genius, and has even written some very beautiful verses.

How admirable is this institution! How honourable to the ingenuity and the heart of man! to restore to all the enjoyments of life, and to the dignity of rational

beings, hapless creatures, doomed by the caprice of Nature to inexpressible feeling and irremediable ignorance, is perhaps the highest and proudest effort of human contrivance.

Of all which I have yet beheld at Paris, this is to me the most interesting sight. Other objects strike the imagination, but this moves the heart. Farewell, my dear sir, the night is far advanced; but I could not place my head on the pillow, till I had attempted to communicate to you, how much I had been pleased with this admirable and philanthropic institution.

Account of the Establishment for the support and Employment of the Blind.

(From the same).

I WENT to day to see the establishment formed for the protection and instruction of the blind. It is called “*l’institution des travaux des aveugles*,” and is situated in the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, not far from the *ci-devant Bastille*. It is here, where persons afflicted with that greatest of all human calamities, the loss of sight, are taught the means of gaining a comfortable existence, of occupying hours which would otherwise be painfully tiresome, and of rendering themselves useful to the community.

At the “*séance*,” or public meeting which I attended this morning, I saw several persons, men, women, and children, either born blind, or rendered so by illness, now able to read, to read, to write, to count, to print, and to perform on different pieces of instrumental music. The mode by which they

read

read is by feeling the letters, which are purposely raised on card; and they did so with such rapidity, that it was difficult in hearing them to discover their misfortune. What particularly struck me, was the ingenuity of a blind woman, who had taught her child to read, an infant about five years old, not afflicted with this calamity.

There is a manufactory of steel carried on in the building, in which the blind turn the wheel; and they also make whips, writing cases, purses and paper toys of all sorts, which are sold for their private emolument. There is likewise a press, or printing machine, in which the whole process is performed by the blind; and I am told, books published by them are more than commonly correct. The women knit, sew, and perform other kinds of needlework; and all of them either sing, or perform on some instrument. They gave us a kind of concert, which, if not very good, proved at least that they understood the principles of music. I am almost ashamed to mention, that my pleasure in witnessing this truly philanthropic establishment, was not a little diminished by the dreadful countenances of the blind, as the eyes of many, not being closed, exhibited a very disgusting appearance. I knew, indeed, that they were not sensible of this defect, and that I ought to be satisfied with an institution, which, in rendering them both happy and useful, had fully discharged its object. To the truth of this reflection my reason fully assented; yet, *malgré moi*, my senses revolted at the sight of human beings, left so imperfect by the hand of Nature, or so deformed by *illness*.

Account of the young Savage of Aveyron.

(From the same).

THE child, so well known in Europe by the name of "le jeune sauvage d'Aveyron," or "the young savage of Aveyron," was found in the wood of that name, at the age of eleven or twelve years, by three huntsmen, who some time before had seen the same boy at a distance. He was looking for acorns and roots, which constituted his principal food, when they perceived him; and, at the moment of being seized, he attempted to get away, by climbing up an adjoining tree. He was taken into a cottage; but, at the end of a week, he made his escape from the woman, to whose care he was intrusted, and fled to the mountains. Here he wandered about exposed to the severest cold of winter, with no covering but a ragged shirt, hiding himself at night in the most solitary places, and in the day approaching the neighbouring villages. After leading, for some time, this vagabond life, he came of his own accord, into an inhabited house, situate in the *canton* of *St. Sernain*. Here he was seized, watched and taken care of for three days, and was then removed to the hospital of *St. Afrique*, and afterwards to that of *Rhodes*, where he was kept for several months. At each of these places, where, of course, he was the subject of much interesting observation, he was found wild and impatient of control. He was in constant motion, and at every instant seemed to seek an opportunity of escaping. By order of the minister of the interi-

our, he was brought to Paris, at the end of the 8th year of the republic (about two years ago), under the care of a poor, but respectable, old man, who became so attached to him on the journey, that he shed tears at parting with him, and in going away declared, that if he ever should be deserted, he would adopt him as his child.

The physician Pinel, to whose inspection the boy was first submitted, reported, that the organs of sense in this unfortunate child were reduced, from the want of use, to such a state of debility, that, in this respect, he was inferior to several domestic animals. His eyes, without fixing themselves, and without expression, wandered wildly from one object to another, incapable of distinguishing the nearest from the most distant objects. His organ of hearing was alike insensible of the loudest noise, or the softest harmony. The power of the voice was lowered to such a degree, that he could not make an uniform and guttural sound. The sense of smelling was so little exercised, that he received, with the same indifference, the odour of the choicest perfumes, or the nauseous stench of the filthy couch on which he lay. To conclude, the sense of touching was confined to the mere mechanical functions of taking hold of bodies.

In respect to his intellectual powers, the same physician stated him to be incapable of attention (excepting as to the objects of his immediate wants), and consequently incapable also of all those operations which are created by attention. Destitute of memory, of judgment, and of the power of

imagination, and so limited, even in the ideas relative to his wants, that he had not yet learnt to open a door, or to get upon a chair, in order to reach those objects of food which were held above his grasp. In fact, destitute of every means of communication, having neither expression nor intention in the motions of his body, passing suddenly, and without any presumable cause, from the gloom of apathy, to the most immoderate fits of laughter. Insensible of every kind of moral affection, his discernment was but a calculation of gluttony; his pleasure an agreeable sensation of the organs of taste; his sense, an aptitude to produce some incoherent ideas relative to his wants—in one word all his existence seemed purely animal.

M. Pinel afterwards compared “le sauvage d’Aveyron” with children born, or become, irrevocably idiots; and he was inclined to conclude, that this unhappy child, doomed to an incurable evil, was not susceptible either of sociality or instruction; but he expressed this opinion with considerable doubt.

Dr. Itard, physician to the institution *des sourd muets*, from whose interesting little pamphlet I have taken this account, though struck with the fidelity of the picture drawn by Dr. Pinel, and the justice of his remarks, was unwilling to accede to the unfavourable conclusion with which he had closed his report. Founding his hopes first on the doubtful cause of his supposed idiotism, and next on the possibility of the cure, he humanely determined to make the education of this deserted child his particular study.

study. This education, or moral treatment, he began, on the general principles laid down by doctors Willis and Crichton, and by professor Pinel himself, though he could not appeal to any particular precepts, as no such case had been foreseen in their works. He conceived that he had five principal objects to effect.

1st. To attach him to social life, in rendering that life more agreeable than the one which he now led, and particularly by making it more analogous to the life which he had lately quitted.

2dly. To revive the sensibility of his nerves by the most poignant stimulants, and sometimes by exciting the liveliest affections of the mind.

3dly. To extend the sphere of his ideas, by giving him new wants, and by increasing his connection with surrounding objects.

4thly. To lead him to the use of speech, by dragging into use the power of imitation by the imperious law of necessity.

5thly. To exercise, during some time, on the objects of his physical wants, the most simple operations of his mind, and thence to lead it to objects of instruction.

Dr. Itard then fully explains the methods which he took towards these important objects, in which, by incessant care, humane treatment, and the assistance of madame Guerin (the female to whose protection, as a nurse, the child was intrusted), he has so far succeeded, that he no longer entertains any doubt of his ultimate success. It is impossible for me, within the compass of a letter, to enter into the details given on this subject. I shall therefore content myself with

translating the observations, with which Dr. Itard concludes the account.

“It may be safely concluded,” says he, “from my observations, that the child, known by the name of the savage of Aveyron, is gifted with the free exercise of all his senses; that he gives continual proofs of attention, recollection, and memory; that he can compare, discern, and judge—in one word, that he can apply all the faculties of his understanding to objects relative to his instruction. It is necessary to remark, as an essential point, that these happy changes have taken place in the short space of nine months, and that too in a subject, who was thought incapable of attention. Hence we may fairly conclude, that his education is possible, if it be not already certain, from the success already obtained, independently of that which may naturally be expected from the assistance of time, which, in its constant unvarying course, seems to give to infancy all that strength and power of unfolding itself, which it takes from man in the decline of life.”

I ought, perhaps, to mention, that this unfortunate child, to whom the name of “Victor” has been given, because he listened easily to the sounds which formed that name, has already pronounced the word “lait,” *milk*; that he has learnt to put the letters together which compose that word; and that he regularly does so, when he wishes to drink, taking also in his hand a little cup to receive his favourite beverage. Dr. Itard assured me that he entertained no doubt of his ultimately speaking.

He is warm, passionate, grateful,
C 2 and

and he has already given strong proofs of his attachment to his nurse, madame Guerin. His person is not very remarkable, but his countenance is mild. His face has been cut in several places. He cannot yet use any two senses at the same time; and, to enable him to hear, it is necessary to bind his eyes. When he is angry, he makes a noise like the growling of a dog. He is now dressed like another boy; but I am told, it was long before they could persuade him to bear the restraint of clothing. I remarked, that while we were in the room, he kept his eye constantly on the door, and that the desire of escaping has not yet abandoned him.

To conclude, it seems that he has a mark in his neck, which proves, almost to a certainty, that his life was attempted in his infancy. The hapless offspring of illicit love, he was probably first wounded by the trembling hand of an unnatural mother; and then, under the supposition of being dead, thrown into the wood, where he so long wandered, and was at last discovered.

Account of the People called Kookies.

(From Vol. 7. of Asiatic Researches.)

THE Kookies are a race of people that live among the mountains to the north east of the Chittagong province, at a greater distance than the Choomeas from the inhabitants of the plains, to whom therefore they are little known, and with whom they very rarely have any intercourse, except when they occasionally visit the haunts, or markets, on the borders of the

jungles in the Runganeeah and Aurungabad districts, to purchase salt, dried fish, and tobacco.

The following account of them was taken from a native of the Runganeeah district, who, when a boy, was carried away, in one of their predatory excursions, and, after a captivity of twenty years, found means to return to his family.

The Kookies, or Lunctas, (as they are also called,) are the least civilized, of any of the people we as yet know, among these mountains: like all mountaineers, they are of an active, muscular make, but not tall; they are stouter, and of a darker complexion than the Choomeas, and, like them, have the peculiar features of all the natives of the eastern parts of Asia, namely the flat nose, small eye, and broad round face.

The tradition of the Kookies respecting their origin is, that they, and the Mugs, are the offspring of the same progenitor, who had two sons, by different mothers. The Mugs, they say, are the descendants of the eldest, and the Kookies of the youngest son. The mother of the youngest having died during his infancy, he was neglected by his step-mother, who, while she clothed her own son, allowed him to go naked; and this partial distinction being still observed, as he grew up, he went by the name of Luncta, or the naked. Upon the death of their father, a quarrel arose between the brothers, which induced the Luncta to betake himself to the hills, and there pass the remainder of his days. His descendants have continued there ever since, and still go by the name of Lunctas ;

Lunctas; though, properly speaking, the term is only applicable to the male part of them, as the females wear a short apron before, made of cloth of their own manufacture, and which falls down from the loins to the middle of the thigh; and both sexes occasionally throw a loose sheet of cloth over their bodies, to defend them from the cold.

This tradition of their origin receives much support from the great familiarity of the Mug and Kookie languages, many words of which are exactly the same, and their general resemblance is such that a Mug and Kookie can make themselves understood to each other.

The Kookies are all hunters and warriors, and are divided into a number of distinct tribes, totally independent of each other, though all of them acknowledge, more or less, the authority of three different Rajahs, named Th'andon, Man-kene, and Halcha, to whom the various tribes are attached, but whose power over them is very limited, except in that tribe with which the Rajah lives, where he is absolute. The rajahships are hereditary, and the Rajahs, by way of distinction, wear a small slip of black cloth round their loins; and, as a farther mark of superior rank, they have their hair brought forward, and tied in a bunch, so as to overshadow the forehead, while the rest of the Kookies have theirs hanging loose over the shoulders. The females also of the Rajah's family wear an apron of black cloth, with a red border, which falls down to the knee,—a colour and fashion prohibited to the rest of the sex, black being the royal colour.

The Rajahs receive a tribute in

kind from the tribes, to support their dignity; and in cases of general danger, they can summon all the warriors to arms; but each tribe is under the immediate command of its own particular chief, whose word is a law in peace and war, and who has the power of life and death in his tribe. The chieftainship is not hereditary like the rajahship, but elective, though in general the nearest relation of the last chief succeeds him, if deemed by the tribe a proper person for the trust, and the Rajah cannot remove a chief once elected, should he disapprove of him.

The Kookies are armed with bows and arrows, spears, clubs, and daws, an instrument in common use among the natives of this province, as a hand hatchet, and exactly resembling the knife of the Nyars on the Malarbar Coast, which is a most destructive weapon in close combat. They use shields, made of the hide of the Gyal, (a species of cow peculiar to their hills;) and the inside of their shields they ornament with small pendulous plates of brass, which make a tingling noise, as the warriors toss about their arms, either in the fight or in the dance. They also wear round their necks large strings, of a particular kind of shell found in their hills; about their loins, and on their thighs, immediately above the knee, they tie large bunches of long goat's hair, of a red colour, and on their arms they have broad rings of ivory, in order to make them appear the more terrific to their enemies.

The Kookies choose the steepest and most inaccessible hills to build their villages upon, which, from being thus situated, are called

Parahs, or, in the Kookie language, K'hooah. Every Parah consists of a tribe, and has seldom fewer than four or five hundred inhabitants, and sometimes contains one or two thousand. Towards our frontiers, however, where there is little apprehension of danger, a tribe frequently separates into several small parties, which form so many different Parahs on the adjoining hills, as may best suit their convenience. To give further security to the Parahs, in addition to their naturally strong situation, the Kookies surround them with a thick bamboo pallisade; and the passages leading into them, of which there are commonly four or five in different quarters, they strictly guard, day and night, especially if there is any suspicion of danger; but whether there is, or is not, they are at all times extremely jealous of admitting strangers within the Parah: they build their houses as close to each other as possible, and make them spacious enough to accomodate four or five families in every house. They construct them after the manner of the Choomeeas and Mugs, that is, on platforms or stages of bamboo, raised about six feet from the ground, and enter them by ladders, or, more frequently, by a single stick, with notches cut in it, to receive the foot; underneath the stages they keep their domestic animals. All these precautions of defence strongly indicate the constant state of alarm in which they live, not only from the quarrels of the Rajahs with each other, but also from the hostile feuds of the different tribes; not excepting those who are attached to the same Rajah. Depredations on each other's property, and the not giving

up of such refugees as may fly from one Parah to another, are the most frequent causes of quarrel, when they carry on a most destructive petty warfare, in which the several tribes are more or less involved, according as the principals are more or less connected among them. On these occasions, when an enterprize is not of sufficient importance to induce the chief to head all the warriors of the Parah, he always selects a warrior of approved valour and address to lead the party to be detached.

They always endeavour to surprise their enemy, in preference to engaging him in open combat, however confident of superiority they may be. With that view, when on any hostile excursion, they never kindle a fire, but carry with them a sufficiency of ready-dressed provisions, to serve during the probable term of their absence; they march in the night, proceeding with the greatest expedition, and observing the most profound silence; when day overtakes them, they halt, and lie concealed in a kind of hammock, which they fasten among the branches of the loftiest trees, so that they cannot be perceived by any person passing underneath. From this circumstance of ambuscade the idea has originated, of their living in trees instead of houses. When they have, in this manner, approached their enemy unperceived, they generally make their attack about the dawn, and commence it with a great shout, and striking of their spears against their shields. If they are successful in their onset, they seldom spare either age or sex; at times, however, they make captives of the children, and often adopt them into their

their families, when they have none of their own; and the only slaves among them are the captives thus taken.

The heads of the slain they carry in great triumph to their Parah, where the warriors are met, on their arrival, by men, women and children, with much rejoicing; and they have the peculiar privilege of killing any animal in the place they may choose, (not excepting the chief's,) to be given as a feast in celebration of their victory: but, should the party have been unsuccessful, instead of being thus met with every demonstration of joy, and led into the Parah amidst the exultations of its friends, it enters in the greatest silence, and as privately as possible; and all the warriors composing it remain in disgrace, until such time as they retrieve their characters, either jointly or individually, by some act of valour.

The Kookies are often attacked by the Banjooges, who, though not so numerous a race of people, yet, from being all united under one Rajah, always prevail, and exact an annual tribute of salt from the two Kookie Rajahs, Th'andon and Mankene, who, from having a greater intercourse with the Choomeeas, receive a larger supply of this article from the plains below, than their more remote neighbours. Salt is in the highest estimation among them all; whenever they send any message of consequence to each other, they always put in the hand of the bearer of it a small quantity of salt, to be delivered with the message, as expressive of its importance. Next to personal valour, the accomplishment most esteemed in a

warrior, is superior address in stealing, and if a thief can convey undiscovered to his own house his neighbour's property, it cannot afterwards be claimed: nor, if detected in the act, is he otherwise punished than by exposure to the ridicule of the Parah, and being obliged to restore what he may have laid hold of.

This must tend to encourage the practice of thieving, which, no doubt, is considered in such high estimation, because the same sagacity and address, necessary to give success to the thief, qualifies the warrior, in an eminent degree, to steal unperceived upon and surprize his enemy, and thus ensures him victory. So thought the ancient warriors of Sparta, who, like the Kookies of the present day, held in estimation the man who could steal with superior expertness.

The Kookies, like all savage people, are of a most vindictive disposition; blood must always be shed for blood; if a tiger even kills any of them, near a Parah, the whole tribe is up in arms, and goes in pursuit of the animal; when, if he is killed, the family of the deceased gives a feast of his flesh, in revenge of his having killed their relation. And should the tribe fail to destroy the tiger, in this first general pursuit of him, the family of the deceased must still continue the chase; for until they have killed either this, or some other tiger, and have given a feast of his flesh, they are in disgrace in the Parah, and not associated with by the rest of the inhabitants. In like manner, if a tiger destroys one of a hunting party, or of a party of warriors on an hostile excursion, neither the one

nor the other (whatever their success may have been) can return to the Parah, without being disgraced unless they kill the tiger. A more striking instance still of this revengeful spirit of retaliation is, that if a man should happen to be killed by an accidental fall from a tree, all his relations assemble, and cut it down; and however large it may be, they reduce it to chips, which they scatter in the winds, for having, as they say, been the cause of the death of their brother. They employ much of their time in the chase, and having no prejudice of cast (or sect) to restrain them in the choice of their game, no animal comes amiss to them. An elephant is an immense prize for a whole Parah. They do not remove their Parahs so frequently as the Choomeeas do their Chooms: the Choomeeas seldom remain longer than two years on the same spot; whereas the Kookies are usually four or five; and when they migrate, they burn their Parah, lest the Gyals should return to it, as they are frequently known to do if the huts are left standing. The Kookies never go to a greater distance from their old ground than a journey of twelve hours, unless, compelled to proceed farther, from some particular cause, such as the fear of an enemy, or the want of a proper spot to fix upon.

Their great object in selecting a place to settle on, is natural strength of situation, with a sufficiency of good ground near the Parah on which to rear the different grains, roots, and vegetables they wish to cultivate. They cultivate the ground as the Choomeeas do, and in this, as in every other domestic occupation, the female sex bears the

weight of the labour, and no rank exempts them from it: the wife of the chief, and the wife of his vassal, work alike in the same field.

The Kookies have but one wife; they may however keep as many concubines as they please. Adultery may be punished with instant death by either of the injured parties, if the guilty are caught by them in the fact; it may otherwise be compromised by a fine of Gyals, as the chief may determine. The frailty of a concubine is always compromised in this way, without disgrace to the parties. Fornication is punished in no other manner, than by obliging the parties to marry, unless the man may have used violence, in which case he is punished, generally with death, either by the chief, or by the relations of the injured female. Marriage is never consummated among them before the age of puberty. When a young man has fixed his affections upon a young woman, either of his own, or of some neighbouring Parah, his father visits her father, and demands her in marriage for his son: her father, on this, inquires what are the merits of the young man to entitle him to her favour, and how many can he afford to entertain at the wedding feast: to which the father of the young man replies, that his son is a brave warrior, a good hunter, and an expert thief, for that he can produce so many heads, of the enemies he has slain, and of the game he has killed; that in his house are such and such stolen goods, and that he can feast so many (mentioning the number) at his marriage. On hearing this, the father of the girl either goes himself, or sends some confidential friend, to ascertain the facts,

facts, which, if he finds to be as stated, he consents to the marriage, and it is celebrated by a feast, given by him to the bridegroom, and all their mutual friends. At night the bride is led by her husband from her father's house to his own, where he next day entertains the company of the preceding day, which is more or less numerous, according to the connections and circumstances of the parties. When a chief marries, the whole Parah is entertained by him; and should his bride be from another Parah, as often happens, the two Parahs feast and carouse with each other alternately. At these, and all their festivals, there is much drinking, of a liquor made of the rice, called Deengkroo, of which the Kookies are very fond. There are two kinds of this liquor, the one pure and limpid; and the other of a red colour, from an infusion of the leaf of a particular tree called Bangmullah, which renders it highly intoxicating. They indulge very freely in the use of both kinds, except when they go on hostile excursions: they then rigidly abstain from them. In January and February they usually marry, because they have provisions in the greatest plenty, and it is their most idle time.

The Kookies have an idea of a future state, where they are rewarded or punished according to their merits in this world. They conceive that nothing is more pleasing to the Deity, or more certainly ensures future happiness, than destroying a number of their enemies. The Supreme Being they conceive to be Omnipotent, and the Creator of the world, and all that it contains. The term in

their language for the Supreme Being is Khogein Pootteeang. They also worship an inferior Deity, under the name of Sheem Sauk, to whom they address their prayers, as a mediator with the Supreme Being, and as more immediately interesting himself in the concerns of individuals. To the Supreme Being they offer in sacrifice a Gyal, as being their most valued animal; while to Sheem Sauk they sacrifice a goat only. In every Parah, they have a rudely formed figure of wood of the human shape, representing Sheem Sauk; it is generally placed under a tree, and to it they offer up their prayers before they set out on any excursion or enterprize, as the Deity that controuls and directs their actions and destiny. Whenever, therefore, they return successful, whether from the chase, or the attack of an enemy, they religiously place before Sheem Sauk all the heads of the slain, or of their game killed, as expressive of their devotion, and to record their exploits. Each warrior has his own particular pile of heads, and according to the number it consists of, his character as a hunter and warrior is established in the tribe. These piles are sacred; and no man dares attempt to filch away his neighbours' fame, by stealing from them to add to his own. They likewise worship the moon, as conceiving it to influence their fortunes in some degree. And in every house there is a particular post consecrated to the Deity, before which they always place a certain portion of whatever food they are about to eat. In the month of January they have a solemn sacrifice and festival in honour of the Deity, when the inhabitants of several

several neighbouring Parahs, (if on friendly terms) often unite and kill Gyals, and all kinds of animals, on which they feast, and dance and drink together for several days. They have no professed ministers of religion, but each adores the Deity in such manner as he thinks proper. They have no emblem, as of Sheem Sauk, to represent the Supreme Being.

*Description of the Island of Malta.
(From Walsh's Journal of the Campaign in Egypt.)*

THIS morning (December the 1st, 1800) after successive hopes and fears, we succeeded in entering the narrow but beautiful harbour of Malta. I trust I shall stand excused in dwelling somewhat diffusely on this little island, well known in the annals of history, yet the value of which is far from being properly appreciated in England. It's safe and commodious harbours, it's immense population; and, I may venture to say, it's impregnable fortifications, were by no means estimated, previous to the event which placed it in our hands, according to the pre-eminence they hold, if not in the world, at least in the Mediterranean.

The harbours of Malta are extremely spacious, and from their numerous coves capable of containing four or five hundred large vessels, to which they afford the most complete shelter. That of Mahon is by no means equal to them; but it's distance from Great Britain is indeed somewhat more convenient.

Marfa Muscat harbour, though very good and commodious, is made use of only for vessels per-

forming quarantine. In it is a remarkably fine lazaretto, built on a small island connected to Malta by a bridge. On this island is also fort Manuel, constructed in 1726 by a grand master of that name. It is a well built regular fortification. In the centre of the area stands a statute in bronze of the grand master Manual de Vilhêno. When the French troops evacuated la Valette and it's dependencies, they were placed here, till ships could be procured to transport them to Toulon.

The population of the island, before the overthrow of the order in 1798, was computed at one hundred thousand inhabitants; a number almost incredible for so small a surface. Of these several have fallen in the field; many have emigrated; and a considerable portion was embarked with the French army under Bonaparte, at the time of its sailing for Egypt.

It's fortifications are far too numerous to be described in a work of this nature. Suffice it to say, that the castles of St. Elmo and Ricafoli, which defend the mouth of the great harbour, the fortifications surrounding la Valette, &c., do not yield in strength or beauty to those of any fortified place in Europe.

In the middle age Malta was wrested by the French from the Saracens: it afterward became a fief of the kingdom of Sicily, and was transferred to Lewis the XIIth at the time of the conquest of Naples. The knights of St. John of Jerusalem, being driven from Rhodes in 1523, received it as a fief from the emperor Charles the Vth. They did homage for it to the king of Sicily.

La Valette, the seat of government,

ment, is a very regularly built town. It's principal streets are wide and straight, well paved, and furnished with good footpaths. The buildings are all of freestone, with which the island abounds; and the numerous superb edifices and hotels, formerly belonging to the knights of the order, give to la Valette a superiority over any town of equal size. The two palaces of the grand master, adjoining each other, are fine structures. Their interior seems to have been very magnificent; and still retains several marks of splendour, though they are much injured by dilapidation, and the greater part of the costly furniture has been taken away or destroyed. The council chamber is lined with the most beautiful gobelin tapestry, and the other apartments are adorned with paintings of the different actions and valiant exploits, which occurred during the memorable siege of the island by the Turks. Adjoining to the palace, and communicating with it is the armoury which was found in the best possible state on our taking possession of the place. It contains eighteen thousand stand of fire arms, independent of a variety of swords, spears, and other ancient weapons, all of which are very tastefully and neatly arranged.

The churches are extremely numerous, and all very fine buildings. That of St. John, the patron of the order, is however far superior to the rest. The roof is most beautifully sculptured, and adorned with some good paintings. "The grand altar" says Brydone, "is a piece of very curious and elegant marble; the pavement, in particular, is the richest in the

world. It is composed entirely of sepulchral monuments (of persons belonging to the order) of the finest marbles, porphyry, and a variety of other valuable stones, admirably joined together at an incredible expense, and representing, in a kind of Mosaic, the arms, insignia, &c. of the persons whose names they are intended to commemorate. In the magnificence of these and other monuments, the heirs of the grand masters, commanders, &c. have long vied with each other."

Water, which in a climate like this is so great a luxury, is found every where in abundance, and scarcely a street is without one fountain at least.

The works round this town, and the adjoining places, as Floriana, Cottoniera, and Vittoriosa, are perhaps the most extensive of any in the world, and, as I before observed, extremely strong. They were, however, in many parts, and especially at Floriana, in a very ruinous state; owing to the little attention paid to them by the French, and to the very remiss administration of the late grand master, Hompesch, who is excessively disliked by the Maltese, and generally accused of having occasioned the overthrow of the order. These works are also nearly deprived of their guns; upwards of one hundred of the finest, and of the heaviest calibre, having been carried by the French to Egypt. A great number, however, still remain in the arsenals, and might be mounted on the ramparts with very little difficulty.

La Valette is situate in latitude 35° 54' north. It has three gates: the Porta Reale, towards Citta Vecchia, and the interior; that

of Marfa Muscat, leading from the harbour of this name; and that called la Marina, being the entrance to the town from the eastern and principal harbour. The chief street is the Strada Reale, extending from the Porta Reale to the castle of St. Elmo. The rest intersect each other at right angles, and are generally narrow, for the purpose of keeping out the sun. They are all paved, and the town being principally built upon a hill, very low and easy steps are placed on either side of the streets, for the convenience of foot passengers.

The tops of the houses are all flat terraces, from which the rain water is conducted by pipes into a cistern below, provided for the purpose. Every family is thus furnished with abundance of good water at home, and there are besides public reservoirs and fountains, placed in different parts of the town, which are supplied by an aqueduct commencing at Dier Chandal, in the southern part of the island, and upwards of nine English miles in length. This aqueduct was erected at a very considerable expense by the grand master de Wignacourt.

The houses and edifices of every kind are built with a white stone, obtained from the quarries in the island. It is of a very soft nature, which renders it easily adapted to any purpose; and to this facility we are to ascribe the numerous ornaments, with which all the architecture of the island abounds, as also the beautiful symmetry of the fortifications.

There is a public library, which is well provided with books, both as to choice and number. It belonged to the order, and was increas-

ed by the private libraries of the knights, which, at their deaths, augmented the general collection. The duplicate copies were sold, and the produce thence arising served to purchase such eligible books as it did not possess. The library contains likewise many objects of curiosity, as some fine statues, prints, and several valuable articles of natural history. No book is suffered to be taken out of the library, but seats and tables are provided for the use of those who frequent it. An immense and very beautiful building has lately been erected, to which the library was to have been transferred. This, however, has never been carried into execution, and the house is now converted into a vast assembly and coffee room.

La Valette possesses an opera house, small indeed, but neat, though now much out of repair. Italy and Sicily supply it with very tolerable vocal performers, and it is a very agreeable entertainment for the garrison. It was excessively crowded every night by the officers of the expedition, to whom it was a great source of amusement. The price of admission is one shilling. Prostitutes of all ages, from the lively girl of sixteen, to the crazy dame of sixty, swarm throughout the town.

Provision of every kind is here in the greatest abundance. Though we overran the island with troops, every thing was pretty reasonable and no want was perceived. Sicily furnishes a sufficiency of cattle; and Malta and Gozo produce quantities of excellent fruit and vegetables. They possess a very great luxury here, which I never knew in any island equally hot:
this

this is ice, which they import in very large quantities, and of the finest quality, from Mount *Ætna*. It is sometimes so abundant, that water is generally cooled with it. In any coffeehouse you can call for an ice cream, with as much certainty as in a confectioner's shop in Bond street.

The trade carried on at this time was extremely brisk. The English factories from Naples, Leghorn, and Palermo, had taken refuge in this town, which was the emporium of the British trade in the Mediterranean, and whence English goods were smuggled into Italy, and thus found their way over the Continent.

Convents and religious houses are no where more numerous than in Malta. Priests and friars are met at every step, and still retain over the minds of a superstitious people an unbounded and despotic sway.

Although *la Valette* is built with great care and regularity, yet it is sufficiently obvious, that the chief attention has been directed to the construction of the fortifications. This in part accounts for their being perhaps the finest and best finished of any in Europe. Besides, the successors of *la Valette*, desirous of emulating his example, have constantly added to them; and in fact rendered the works so considerable and extensive, that several of them have become nearly useless, and would require, in case of a siege, much too great a number of troops to defend them.

The modes of conveyance used here are carriages without springs, made to contain two or four persons, and drawn by a single mule, driven by a man on foot, whose

station is close to the vehicle, and who, sometimes at a trot, but most generally at a gallop, keeps pace with the animal. They are very clumsy awkward carriages, and, as they pass over the rough pavement, shake the unfortunate passenger almost to pieces. A long string of these vehicles, numbered, always stands in the *Strada Reale* for hire. Drays also, drawn by one mule, are found in every part of the town, and are very useful. The mules in this island are very tall and strong; it is surprising how they go up and down the steep slippery streets, some of which are literally flights of steps, without ever stumbling.

Civita, or *Citta Vecchia*, the residence of the bishop, is about six miles distant from *la Valette*. It stands upon an eminence, and is surrounded with fortifications.

It is impossible sufficiently to admire the cathedral of St. Paul, the tutelar saint of this island, on which he was wrecked. It's wonderful symmetry, it's dome, and the fresh and highly coloured paintings, with which it is adorned; must strike the most incurious beholder. In this church is the greatest variety of marble I ever beheld: the lapis lazuli, the green and yellow antique, with several others, meet the eye in every direction. The most admirable effect is produced from the ingenious manner in which this different assortment of marbles is disposed and combined.

Without the town, in what is called the *Rabatto*, is the grotto of St. Paul. To this highly venerated spot you descend through numerous chapels, and at length come to a small space, scooped out

of

of a soft and chalky kind of white earth, in the centre of which stands a marble statue of the Saint; far inferior however to another very beautiful one of the same Saint, placed in an adjoining chapel, and executed at Rome by Melchior Caffa, a native of Malta. People never leave this grotto without filling their pockets with pieces of St. Paul's stone, to which the superstitious inhabitants ascribe all possible powers; they also affirm, that the mass never decreases, whatever quantities are taken from it.

At the extremity of the Rabatto are the Catacombs. These are excavations divided into numerous passages, most of which are stopped up, as otherwise it would be very easy to lose yourself in this subterranean labyrinth, and most probably perish there. During the frequent wars and revolutions, which this island has experienced, the Catacombs have been used as a place of safe retreat. In them are still shown the remains of a chapel, and of two mills for grinding corn; a small statue, said to be St. Peter; and a recess near the entrance, where a sentinel was placed on the look out, to give alarm on the approach of an enemy.

Midway between la Valette and Citta Vecchia is San Antonio, formerly a country seat and pleasure garden of the grand masters. This is a real prodigy in a country, where the highest cultivation produces so very little to please the sight. Every thing grows there in the greatest luxuriance; the grounds are abundantly watered, and are covered with citrons, and those delicious oranges so highly

and justly esteemed. In any country this would pass for a very neat and beautiful garden.

Beside San Antonio, the grand masters had another delightful country residence, named the Boschetto, at the distance of a mile and half on the other side of Citta Vecchia. The grounds about it are more extensive: and the house much larger and finer than San Antonio; but it is shockingly out of repair, and now nearly deserted. It is really melancholy to behold the ruined and desolated appearance of a spot so rare and so desirable in an island like this. From the top of the house you command a view of all Malta, with the sea every where around it. But this view, especially when compared with the gardens immediately under you, is far from pleasant. Nothing is to be seen but dry walls, dividing the numberless possessions of a stony and parched soil, which reflects an amazing glare, and presents scarcely a solitary tree to relieve the eye.

Going from la Valette to Citta Vecchia, a very astonishing proof of what the industry and perseverance of man can effect is to be seen in the fertile and highly cultivated state of the island, which, though apparently nothing more than a bare rock, is forced, by the most assiduous labour, to become productive and favourable to vegetation. To prepare it's artificial soil, for so it may with propriety be called, the rock is broken into pieces, the larger and harder of which are used for constructing the fences round the fields. The smaller and softer are again beaten and reduced to powder, to which a very scanty portion of earth,

earth, scraped from the surface of the rock, is added. This mixture is susceptible of a surprising degree of cultivation and fertility. It produces abundance of corn and vegetables, great quantities of white and brown cotton, &c.; thus amply repaying the toil and labour of it's industrious fabricators.

If the Dutch by their industry have wrested valuable lands from the dominion of the sea, the Maltese, equally ingenious, have, by their unremitting efforts, changed a useless and barren rock into a fertile and productive island.

The language of the middling classes at Malta is the *Lingua Franca*, a mixture of the Italian and Arabic; but the common people speak the Arabic, which to this day retains among them all it's purity. The current coins are crowns, half crowns, and quarter crowns in silver; and eightpenny fourpenny, and twopenny pieces, in copper; all bearing the impression of the reigning grand master. The copper money is very remarkable; the eightpenny piece being no larger than our penny, and not thicker than an old halfpenny, the others are proportionably smaller. Dependant on Malta are the small neighbouring islands of Gozo and Cumino, the former of which is very populous and productive, and has a regular built fort upon it.

Account of the Maroons.

(From Dallas' History of the Maroons.)

IN their person and carriage the Maroons were erect and lofty, indicating a consciousness of superiority; vigour appeared upon

their muscles, and their motions displayed agility. Their eyes were quick, wild, and fiery, the white of them appearing a little reddened; owing, perhaps, to the greenness of the wood they burned in their houses, with the smoke of which it must have been affected. They possessed most, if not all, of the senses in a superior degree. They were accustomed, from habit, to discover in the woods objects, which white people, of the best sight, could not distinguish; and their hearing was so wonderfully quick, that it enabled them to elude their most active pursuers; they were seldom surprised. They communicated with one another by means of horns; and when these could scarcely be heard by other people, they distinguished the orders that the sounds conveyed. It is very remarkable, that the Maroons had a particular call upon the horn for each individual, by which he was summoned from a distance, as easily as he would have been spoken to by name, had he been near. It appears wonderful, at first, that a single horn should be able to express such a number of names; but, on reflection, it is not more wonderful than the variety of changes of which a dozen bells are susceptible, or the multiplicity of words that are formed by the combination of twenty-six letters. Allowing that the horn admits a less variation of tones than the chimes of twelve bells, it has a greater advantage in one respect for conveying particular ideas, from being capable of varying the duration of sound, which bells are not; so that, besides the numerical combination of monotonous notes, it can adopt all the modulation

lation of concatenated measure, and the poetical feet might be so associated as to transmit a great variety of ideas. But to return to the Maroons:—It has been said that their sense of smelling is *obtuse*, and their taste *depraved*. With respect to the former, I have heard, on the contrary, that their scent is extremely prompt, and that they have been known to trace parties of run-away negroes to a great distance by the smell of their fire-wood; and as to the latter, they are, like other negroes, fond of savoury dishes, jirked hog, and ring-tail pigeons, delicacies unknown to an European table, but which a Quin himself would not hesitate to name among the first dainties of the Epicurean list. I know not whence the word *jirked* is derived, but it signifies cutting or scoring internally the flesh of the wild hog, which is then smoked, and otherwise prepared in a manner that gives it a very fine flavour. The taste is a sense more peculiarly dependent upon social habits than any of the rest; we soon learn to relish the viands agreeable to those about us in the earlier part of life, and to eat and drink as our parents and friends do. The want of a refined palate would not be surprising among a set of uncivilized Africans; but it would be surprising to find them preferring wine to rum, when we recollect that they are accustomed to the latter from their infancy, and that they know nothing of the former; that fermented liquors are insipid to the palate used to distilled ones, and that one might as well expect a London drayman to prefer small beer to brown stout.

I remember once offering a white man in Jamaica his choice of wine or rum, having at the time no brandy drawn; he chose the latter, with this answer: “Oh! Sir, any thing that bites the throat.”

The Maroons, in general, speak, like most of the other negroes in the island a peculiar dialect of English, corrupted with African words; and certainly understand our language sufficiently well to have received instruction in it. I cannot be of opinion, that a sincere and fervent endeavour to introduce Christianity among them would have failed. It is true that a prejudice in favour of the magic of Obeah prevailed among them, as among other negroes; but it is no less true, that the influence of this prejudice operated differently, according to the strength of their understanding and experience. The greatest dupes to it were the most ignorant; and it was a generally received opinion, that the charm of Obeah could have no power over any negroe who had been baptized: not but that the weaker ones, whether Maroons or others, dreaded the arts of Obeah even after baptism. Minds forming this estimate of Christianity, could not but be prepared to embrace its soothing doctrines; and it must always be lamented that no attempts were ever made to introduce our religion among the black people in the colonies. I shall here only observe, that the superstition of Obeah would have vanished before the power of Christianity, and that no other power is likely to eradicate it. The Maroons continued to believe, like their forefathers,
that

that Accompong was the God of the Heavens, the Creator of all things, and a deity of infinite goodness: but they neither offered sacrifices to him, nor had they any mode of worship.

It is not to be supposed that an illiterate body of people, among whom ambition was unknown, and who spent their lives chiefly in hunting, raising provisions, and traversing the woods in pursuit of runaways, would attend to nice regulations for their internal government. There was no public revenue to manage; no army to maintain, though the whole formed a military body, under appointed officers: right and wrong were supposed to be understood, without being defined. The town consisted of a certain number of families collected together under a chief; and among them resided a superintendant, and four other white men, as appointed by the colonial legislature. Subject to the laws made for them in their relative situation, as dependent on the government of the island, they were in other respects at liberty to pursue the dictates of their own minds, and they consequently followed the customs of their fathers. All their disputes were subject to the determination of their chiefs, to whom they looked up with implicit confidence, and whom they usually obeyed without argument. The Superintendant, likewise, took an active part in adjusting their altercations, which chiefly arose from their propensity to gaming, as they would play for considerable sums of money; and from drunkenness, of which they were frequently guilty.

Agriculture among the Maroons was a very simple science. They had few wants, and the supply of those required neither great knowledge nor much labour. They placed a considerable dependence on hunting, and on their rewards for taking fugitives; but they did not therefore entirely neglect the cultivation of land, and were by no means so averse to the toil it demands, as they have been represented. Many of them were negligent of the more certain modes of labour, for they were strangers to the passions which stimulate superfluous industry; but none could be said to be indolent, for their lives were passed in unusual personal exertions, which, as I before observed, conduced to their strength and symmetry. A provident disposition, however, was spreading itself among them: they began to feel the advantages afforded by money, and large parties of them, of their own accord, frequently hired themselves to the planters and new settlers, to clear and plant large tracts of land for certain wages; and several families of them, as I have already observed, settled by sufferance on back lands which they cultivated for themselves.

Their provision-grounds consisted of a considerable tract of unequal land, from which was produced a stock not only sufficient for their own use, but so superabundant as to enable them to supply the neighbouring settlements. Plantain, Indian corn or maize, yams, cocoas, toyaus, and in short all the nutritious roots that thrive in tropic soils, were cultivated in their grounds. In their gardens grew most of the culinary vegetables,

and they were not without some fine fruits: for though to these, in general, the soil of their mountains was unfavourable, being either moist or clayey, yet they had some valuable fruit-trees, among which the Avocado, or Alligator-pear, ranked foremost. Mammées, and other wild but delicious fruits, were at their hand, and pine-apples grew in their hedges. They bred cattle and hogs, and raised a great quantity of fowls. When to this domestic provision of good and wholesome food, we add the luxuries afforded by the woods, the wild boar, ring-tail pigeons, and other wild birds, and the land-crab, which some esteem the greatest dainty in the West Indies, we may doubt whether the palate of Apicius would not have received higher gratification in Trelawney Town than at Rome.

The women chiefly were employed in the cultivation of their grounds; but this they did not account an imposition upon them by the men. We are not to imagine that what would be real cruelty in a refined state of society, is cruelty, or even hardship, in a rough and unpolished people, among whom every individual depends upon his own exertions for his support. In what country on the globe is it, that in the class of mankind doomed to labour, we shall not find tribes, the women of which participate the toils of the men? Is it France? Is it England? If the Maroon women were employed in burning trees and in tillage, the men, besides hunting and pursuing run-aways, were employed in fencing the grounds, building and repairing houses, attending to their cattle

and horses, of which they had about 200 head, and carrying on their petty commerce. They were none of them mechanics, all their knowledge of that kind was confined to the art of erecting a house, and repairing a gun.

Their traffic consisted in the disposal of the increase of their stock of all kinds, their jirked hog, and superfluous provisions, which enabled them to purchase other commodities, and to put money by. They made a considerable profit by manufacturing tobacco. They bought the leaf of the plant on the estates within the distance of twenty or thirty miles, which their women and children assisted them in carrying home, each loaded with a weight proportioned to the strength of the carrier. The purchase was put into bags, which were made by knitting the fibres of the trumpet-tree and mahoe bark, the ends of which were contracted into a bandage that went round the fore-head, and served as a stay to the load, which rested on the back. The leaves were dried and prepared for use by the men, who twisted them into a kind of rope, of about the third of an inch in diameter, which they rolled up in balls, and carried out in the same manner to the different estates for sale.

The Maroon marriages, or contracts of cohabitation, were attended with no religious or juridical ceremonies; the consent of the woman to live with the man being sufficient. That being obtained, gifts of clothes and trinkets were made to the bride; and frequently the bridegroom received presents of hogs, fowls, and other things, from the relations

of

of the woman, to whom, in case of a separation, they were to be returned. A plurality of wives was allowed. A man might have as many as he could maintain; but very few had more than two, and most of them confined themselves to one. It was very expensive to have several wives; for the husband, on making a present to one, was obliged to make an equal gift to each of the others. Each wife lived in turn with her husband two days, during which time the others cultivated their grounds, or carried their provisions to market; the property of each was distinct from that of the others, but the husband shared with all. The children of the different women were to be noticed by their father only on the days when their respective mothers sojourned with him. A breach of this decorum would have inflamed the injured mother with jealousy; a passion, however, in every respect confined to the temporary dame, for to the others all the extra-gallantry of the man was a matter of indifference. If the men sometimes behaved with brutality to their wives or children, it was generally the effect of intoxication.

However, these people were certainly in a state far removed from civilization, and I do not doubt that their passions might have occasionally instigated them to violences that were savage: yet that at any time they would kill their children by dashing them against rocks, I cannot but think an assertion without proof. The murderer would have been brought to condign punishment by the Superintendant; who, so

far from thinking it prudent to keep his distance, would have instantly seized the wretch. I speak particularly of Trelawney Town, the Superintendant of which had been long resident there, and whose character, fully refutes the charge of a dastardly prudence.

Instances of revenge arising from jealousy seldom occurred among the Maroons. Like their African progenitors, they parted with their wives for incontinency, without inflicting severer punishments. In Africa, the men had the power of selling the adultresses. The younger females were not generally votresses of Diana. When a girl was of an age to become a wife, the parents killed a hog, and made a feast, to which the neighbours were invited. Plenty of good things were provided; nor was rum spared by the elders, while the younger people danced. Each of the party put a small piece of money in the girl's mouth, generally a quarter of a dollar, but the parents' piece was frequently gold. Although this feast was intended by the family as a signal to the young men for making an offer, the girl herself usually preferred a state of celibacy for some years after it was publicly known *that she had killed a hog*.

The funerals of the Maroons were much the same as those of other negroes. Deaths were not more frequent among them than elsewhere, although they seldom had recourse to the aid of medicine. Not that they were averse to it; for, if an opportunity offered, they readily applied to the plantation doctors, and sometimes they took simple herbs prescribed

to them by their old women. It was their custom to sing over their dead previous to burial; and, inclosing the body in a wooden coffin, they interred it in some part of their inclosure.

*Description of the Spanish Chasseurs
and Blood Hounds of the Island of
Cuba.*

(From the same.)

THE commissioner (Colonel Quarrel, sent from Jamaica to Cuba, for the purpose of engaging Chasseurs) every where met with the greatest hospitality, and received the politest attentions from the most respectable families. He was particularly obliged to an English Guinea-merchant, named Allwood, residing at the Havanna, through whose influence with persons of the highest rank and appointments he had great advantages, many interesting themselves in promoting his views. One of them, Don Manuel de Seias, the Alcade Provinciale, commanded about six and thirty chasseurs, who were in the King's pay. The employment of these is to traverse the country for the purpose of pursuing and taking up all persons guilty of murder and other offences, in which they seldom fail of success, no activity on the part of the offenders being able to elude their pursuit. An extraordinary instance occurred about a month before the commissioner arrived at the Havanna. A fleet from Jamaica, under convoy to Great Britain, passing through the gulf of Mexico, beat

up on the north side of Cuba. One of the ships, manned with foreigners, chiefly renegado Spaniards, being a dull sailer, and consequently lagging astern, standing in with the land at night, was run on shore, the captain, officers, and the few British hands on board murdered, and the vessel plundered by the Spanish renegadoes. The part of the coast on which the vessel was stranded, being wild and unfrequented, the assassins retired with their booty to the mountains, intending to penetrate through the woods to some remote settlements on the south side, where they hoped to secure themselves, and elude all pursuit. Early intelligence of the crime, however, had been conveyed to the Havanna, and the assassins were pursued by a detachment of twelve of the Chasseurs del Rey, with their dogs. In a few days they were all brought in and executed. The head and right arm of each were suspended in frames, not unlike parrot-cages, which were hung on various gibbets, at the port and other conspicuous places on the coast, near the entrance of the harbour.

The dogs carried out by the Chasseurs del Rey are perfectly broken in, that is to say, they will not kill the object they pursue unless resisted. On coming up with a fugitive, they bark at him till he stops, they then couch near him, terrifying him with a ferocious growling if he stirs. In this position they continue barking to give notice to the chasseurs, who come up and secure their prisoner. Each chasseur, though he can hunt only with two dogs properly, is obliged to have three, which he maintains

maintains at his own cost, and that at no small expence. These people live with their dogs, from which they are inseparable. At home the dogs are kept chained, and when walking with their masters, are never unmuzzled or let out of ropes, but for attack. They are constantly accompanied with one or two small dogs called finders, whose scent is very keen, and always sure of hitting off a track. Dogs and bitches hunt equally well, and the chasseurs rear no more than will supply the number required. This breed of dogs, indeed, is not so prolific as the common kinds, though infinitely stronger and hardier. The animal is the size of a very large hound, with ears erect, which are usually cropped at the points; the nose more pointed, but widening very much towards the after-part of the jaw. His coat, or skin, is much harder than that of most dogs, and so must be the whole structure of the body, as the severe beatings he undergoes in training would kill any other species of dog. There are some, but not many, of a more obtuse nose, and which are rather squarer set. These, it may be presumed, have been crossed by the mastiff, but if by this the bulk has been a little increased, it has added nothing to the strength, height, beauty, or agility, of the native breed.

The chasseur has no other weapon than a long strait muschet, or couteau, longer than a dragon's sword, and twice as thick, something like a flat iron bar sharpened at the lower end, of which about eighteen inches are as sharp as a razor. The point is not unlike the old Roman sword. The steel

of them is excellent, and made at Guanabacoa, about three miles from the Havanna. The handle of the muschet is without a guard, but scolloped to admit the fingers and suit the grasp. These men, as we have seen, are under an officer of high rank, the Alcade Provinciale, and receive a good pay from the Government, besides private rewards for particular and extraordinary services. They are a very hardy, brave, and desperate set of people, scrupulously honest, and remarkably faithful.

The activity of the chasseurs no negro on earth can elude; and such is their temperance, that with a few ounces of salt for each, they can support themselves for whole months on the vegetable and farinacious food afforded by the woods. They drink nothing stronger than water, with which, when at a distance from springs, they are copiously supplied by the wild pine, by the black and grape withes, which are about two inches in diameter, and the roots of the cotton-tree. Of the last, six feet junked off the smaller part of the root, where it tapers to the thickness of a man's thigh, will yield several gallons of water. In the greatest drought these resources seldom fail. For the wild pine they are obliged to climb trees; but that they do almost with the velocity of a monkey. This plant takes root on the body of a tree, and the leaves of it are so formed as to catch the rain and conduct it to a reservoir at the base, where being never exposed to the sun, it is found delightfully fresh and cool. But the easiest method of obtaining water in the woods, and with less delay on a march, is from the black

and grape withes: it is done with greater expedition than drinking at a spring. The chasseur catches a pendent withe, which, with his muschet, he divides about two feet from the ground, and applies the end of the withe, as it hangs, to his mouth, or to his dog's, who indicates his thirst, he then cuts the withe off, about six feet higher, keeping the upper end elevated, when the air being admitted above, he receives through the porous fibres of it near a quart of delightful cold water. With respect to animal food, if any of them happen to desire it, they find no difficulty in obtaining it. The little finder, if set on, but not otherwise, will soon bay one of the wild hogs with which the woods abound; the animal, retreating for shelter to the trunk of a tree, is immediately transfixed with a lance. The men cure as much of the flesh as they think they will have occasion for, by scoring it internally to the skin, sprinkling it with salt, and smoking it; over the smoke they throw some aromatic leaves, which not only add to its flavour, but assist in preserving it. The meat thus cured will keep for months, and is esteemed a very great dainty by the most refined Epicures. It is in fact the jirked hog, already mentioned in the account of the Maroon mode of life. The part of the hog not preserved is given to the dogs. The pursuit of the game is entirely the province of the finder; the larger dogs, from their training, would pass a hog without notice; were one of them to bark at a hog, he would be severely punished. The chasseurs beat their dogs most unmercifully, using the flat sides of their heavy muschets,

When they are going out on service, the large chains in which they are kept at home are taken off, and a light, but well-twisted, cotton rope substituted, to which the muzzle and collar joined together are attached at one end, while the other is fixed to the belt of the chasseur; who, when a pursuit is to be made, slips them off, securing them round his waist with the rope to which they are tied, draws his muschet, and pushes forward nearly as fast as his dogs; for the latter are impeded by the underwood, and are sometimes so entangled as to require the assistance of their masters to cut their way through the difficulty which obstructs their proceeding. The greatest privation felt by a chasseur in service is the want of a segar, which he must not use in the woods, where the scent, from the freshness of the trees and stillness of the air, continues long suspended, and is gradually spread in the atmosphere, by which the company could not but be betrayed, in spite of the great silence which they observe on their marches. At other times the segar is hardly ever out of their mouths.

I must now complete your idea of a Spanish chasseur, by giving you a description of his dress. You may imagine it will be brief, for the wearer is not a man of fashion, and he lives beneath a vertical sun. A check shirt open at the collar so as to expose the neck, from which hangs a small crucifix; a wide pair of trowsers, also check; a straw hat, or rather one manufactured of the morass thatch divided into small filaments, seven or eight inches in the rim, with a shallow round crown, and very light; and his belt and sword, already described,

scribed, and a pair of untanned leather shoes. Into this dress put a man with a Spanish countenance, swarthy but animated, a person above the middle size, thin but not meagre: to his belt affix the cotton ropes, and imagine them attached by collars round the necks of his dogs, and you will have a finished picture of him.

Besides his untanned shoe, the chasseur often contrives in the woods a curious defence for his feet, which is greatly preferable. Having skinned the thighs and hocks of the wild hog, he thrusts his foot into the raw hide as far as he can force it, then cuts a small slip at the instep, and with his knife takes off the superfluous skin behind, adapting the remainder to his ankle and the lower part of his leg. The pliant hide takes the shape of a close short half boot, fitting like a glove on the foot, with a lengthened useless projection beyond the toe, something resembling the modern fashion of our beaux. This contrivance will last a march of weeks, or months; but once taken off, the skin dries, shrivels, and becomes useless. There are *porco zopatos* made of dried hides, that reach to the calf of the leg; but they are wide, hard, and not pliant to the feet.

Doctor Franklin's Plagiarisms.

(From Davis's Travels in America.)

I OBTAINED accommodations at the Washington tavern, which stands opposite the Treasury. At this tavern I took my meals at the

public table, where there was every day to be found a number of clerks, employed at the different offices under Government; together with about half a dozen *Virginians*, and a few *New England* men. There was a perpetual conflict of opinions between these southern and northern men; and one night, after supper, I was present at a vehement dispute, which terminated in the loss of a horse, a saddle, and bridle.

The dispute was about Dr. *Franklin*; the man from *New England*, enthusiastic in what related to *Franklin*, asserted that, the Doctor being self-taught, was original in every thing that he had ever published.

"Sir," replied the *Virginian*,
 "the writings of *Franklin*, so far
 "from being original, exhibit no-
 "thing but a transposition of the
 "thoughts of others. Nay, *Frank-*
 "*lin* is a downright plagiarist. Let
 "him retain only his own fea-
 "thers; let those he has stolen
 "be restored to their lawful pos-
 "sessors, and, *Franklin*, who now
 "struts about expanding the gay-
 "est plumage, will be without a
 "single feather to cover his
 "rump." (A loud laugh from the
 whole party.)

New England Man. If accusa-
 tion without proof can condemn a
 man who, Sir, shall be innocent?
 Sir, you are a *Virginian*. I intend
 no personal reflection, but it is no-
 torious that the southern people
 do not hold the memory of *Frank-*
lin in much estimation. But hear
 what a *Latin* writer says of him.
Eripuit cælo something—Gentle-
 men, I have forgot the most of my
Latin; I cannot quote so correctly
 now as I did once; but this I can
 assure

assure you, and you may rely on my word for it, that the compliment is a very fine one.

Virginian. I know the line you advert to; it was an eruption of mad enthusiasm from the disordered intellect of *Turgot*. But this is digressing from our subject; I maintain, and can prove, that *Franklin* is a plagiarist; a downright, bare-faced, shameless plagiarist.

New-England Man. *Franklin*, perhaps, Sir, had not that stoical calmness, which a great man in your state is remarkable for; he did not endeavour to catch applause by baiting his hook with affected diffidence. *Franklin* was above it. His penetration discovered, and his candour acknowledged, that sheer impudence was any time less injurious than mock-modesty.

Virginian. Sir, an oracular darkness accompanies your discourse. But why retreat? Why not stand your ground? Why not evince yourself the champion of *Franklin*? Again I throw down the gauntlet! *Franklin*, I maintain, was a shameless plagiarist.

New-England Man. Have you a horse here, my friend?

Virginian. Sir, I hope you do not suppose that I came hither on foot from *Virginia*. I have, Sir, in Mr. *White*'s stable the prettiest *Chickasaw* that ever trod upon four pasterns. I swopped for her a roan horse; Mr. *Gibbs*, you remember my roan (turning to a man in company), I say, I swopped for her a roan with *Mad-Dog*, the *Chickasaw* Chief, who lives on the *Mississippi*.

New-England Man. And I

have a bay mare here, that I bought of *Nexer Mattocks*, at *Salem*. I gave ninety dollars in hard cash for her. Now, I, my friend, will lay my bay mare against your *Chickasaw*, that Doctor *Franklin* is not a plagiarist.

Virginian. Done! Go it! Waiter! You waiter!

The waiter obeyed the summons, and making the *Virginian* a bow, replied, You call, *Mossa Ryland*?

Virginian. Yes, *Atticus*. Bring down my portmanteau out of my room. I never travel without books. And it critically happens, that in my portmanteau, I have both *Franklin's* *Miscellanies*, and *Taylor's* *Discourses*.

The trunk being opened, the *Virginian* put *Franklin's* *Miscellanies* into the hand of the disputant, and desired he would read the celebrated Parable against persecution.

New-England Man (reading).
 “ And it came to pass, after these
 “ things, that *Abraham* sat in the
 “ door of his tent, about the going
 “ down of the sun. And behold
 “ a man, bent with age, coming
 “ from the way of the wilderness
 “ leaning on his staff! And *Abraham*
 “ arose and met him, and said
 “ unto him: Turn in, I pray
 “ thee, and wash thy feet, and tarry
 “ all night; and thou shalt arise
 “ early in the morning, and go on
 “ thy way, and the man said,
 “ Nay; for I will abide under
 “ this tree. But *Abraham* pressed
 “ him greatly; so he turned, and
 “ they went into the tent,—and
 “ *Abraham* baked unleavened
 “ bread, and they did eat. And
 “ when *Abraham* saw that the man
 “ blessed not God, he said unto
 him,

“ him, wherefore dost thou not
 “ worship the Most High God,
 “ Creator of heaven and earth?
 “ And the man answered, and said,
 “ I do not worship thy God,
 “ neither do I call upon his name;
 “ for I have made to myself a
 “ god, which abideth in my house,
 “ and provideth me with all
 “ things. And *Abraham's* zeal
 “ was kindled against the man;
 “ and he arose and fell upon him,
 “ and drove him forth with blows
 “ into the wilderness. And God
 “ called unto *Abraham*, saying,
 “ *Abraham*, where is the stranger?
 “ And *Abraham* answered and said,
 “ Lord, he would not worship
 “ thee, neither would he call upon
 “ thy name; therefore have I
 “ driven him out from before my
 “ face into the wilderness. And
 “ God said, Have I borne with
 “ him these hundred and ninety
 “ and eight years, and nourished
 “ him, and cloathed him, not-
 “ withstanding his rebellion against
 “ me; and couldest not thou, who
 “ art thyself a sinner, bear with
 “ him one night?”

The *New-England Man* having
 read the parable, he turned to the
 company, and, with tumultuous
 rapture, exclaimed, “ What a noble
 “ lesson is this to the intolerant!
 “ Can any thing speak more home?
 “ Why the writer appears in-
 “ spired.”

And inspired he was, cried the
Virginian. There is nothing in
 that parable, Sir, natural; every
 word of it was revealed. It all
 came to *Franklin* from Bishop *Tay-*
lor. There, Sir; read and be con-
 vinced. This book was printed
 more than a century ago; it is a
 volume of Polemical Discourses.

New-England Man (reading).

“ When *Abraham* sat at his tent
 “ door, according to his custom,
 “ waiting to entertain strangers,
 “ he espied an old man stooping
 “ and leaning on his staff, weary
 “ with age and travel, coming
 “ towards him, who was an hun-
 “ dred years of age. He re-
 “ ceived him kindly, washed his
 “ feet, provided supper, and caused
 “ him to sit down; but, observing
 “ that the old man ate and prayed
 “ not, nor begged for a blessing on
 “ his meat, he asked him why he
 “ did not worship the God of hea-
 “ ven? The old man told him,
 “ that he worshipped the fire only,
 “ and acknowledged no other god.
 “ At which answer *Abraham* grew
 “ so zealously angry, that he
 “ thrust the old man out of his
 “ tent, and exposed him to all the
 “ evils of the night, and an un-
 “ guarded condition. When the
 “ old man was gone, God called to
 “ *Abraham*, and asked him where
 “ the stranger was? He replied,
 “ I thrust him away, because he
 “ did not worship thee. God an-
 “ swered him, I have suffered him
 “ these hundred years, although he
 “ dishonoured me; and couldest
 “ not thou endure him one night,
 “ and when he gave thee no
 “ trouble?”

The *New-England Man* having
 done reading, the *Virginian* leaped
 from his seat, and, calling the
 waiter, exclaimed, “ *Atticus!* Tell
 “ the ostler to put the bay mare in
 “ the next stall to the *Cluckasaw*,
 “ and, do you hear, give her half
 “ a gallon of oats more upon the
 “ strength of her having a new
 “ master.”

Here followed a hearty laugh
 from the audience; but the *New*
England Man exhibited strong
 symptoms

symptoms of chagrin. "Devil take *Franklin*," said he. "An impostor! a humbug." "If he ever obtains the wish he expresses in his epitaph, of under-going a new edition in the next world, may his plagiarisms be omitted, that no more wagers may be lost by them."

"His epitaph, did you say, Sir?" cried the *Virginian*. "I hardly think he came by that honestly."

New England Man. Sir, I will lay you my saddle of it; a brand new saddle. *Jonathan Gregory*, of *Boston*, imported it from *London*.

Virginian. My saddle, Sir, is imported too.—I swapped a double-barrelled gun for it with Mr. *Racer*, of *Fairfax County*. And I will not only lay my saddle against your's, Sir, that *Franklin* did not come honestly by his epitaph; but I will lay my snaffle-bridle, and my curb, my plated stirrups and stirrup leathers—aye, and my martingale into the bargain.

New England Man. Done! Go it! Now for your proof.

Virginian. Is there any gentleman in company besides myself, who understands *Latin*. If there is, let him have the goodness to speak.

New England Man. This gentleman who came with me from *Salem*, is not only a *Latin*, but a *Greek* scholar. He was reared at *Cambridge* *. He will talk *Latin* with professor *Willard* an hour by the clock.

Virginian. Then, Sir, I believe, he will adjudge to me your imported saddle. Will you do me the favour to introduce me to your companion.

New England Man. This, Sir, is Mr. *Meadows*. He is the author of an Ode on the Clam Feast †.

Virginian. Mr. *Meadows*, give me leave. Within the cover of this book you will find the epitaph which passes as *Franklin's*. I entreat you to read it aloud.

Mr. *Meadows* (reading).

" THE BODY

of

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Printer,
(Like the cover of an old book.

Its contents torn out,
And stript of its lettering and gilding)
Lies here, food for worms.

Yet the Work itself shall not be lost;
For it will (as he believ'd) appear once more

In a new
And more beautiful Edition,
Corrected and Amended

By
The Author."

New England Man. Well, Sir! And what objection can you make to this? Does it not breathe hu-

mility? Is it not a lecture on mortality?

Virginian. Sir, it was not ho-

* An University near *Boston*.

† The first emigrants to *New England*, appeased their hunger, upon landing on the shore of *America*, with some shell-fish they found on the beach, known in popular language by the name of *Clams*. The anniversary of this day is every year celebrated on the spot, by their descendants, who feast upon *Clams*.

nestly come by. Franklin robbed a little boy of it. The very words, Sir, are taken from a Latin epitaph written on a bookfeller, by an Eton scholar. Mr. Meadows, do, Sir, read the epitaph which I have pasted on the other cover*.

Mr. Meadows (reads).

“ Vitæ volumine peracto,
Hic finis JACOBI TONSON,
Perpoliti Soffiorum principis :
Qui, velut obftetrix mufarum,
In lucem edidit
Felices ingenii partus.
Lugete, fcriptorum chorus,
Et frangite calamos ;
Ille vefter, margine erafus, deletur !
Sed hæc poftrema infcriptio
Huic primæ mortis paginæ
Imprimatur,
Ne prelo fepulchri commiffus,
Ipfe editor careat titulo:
Hic jacet bibliopola,
Folio vitæ delapfo,
Expectans Novam Editionem
Auctiorem et Emendatiorem.”

Virginian. Well, Mr. Meadows, what fay you? Is this accidental or ftudied fimilitude? What fay you, Mr. Meadows?

Mr. Meadows. The faddle, Sir, is your's!

On hearing this laconic, but decisive fentence pronounced by his friend, the New England Man grew outrageous—which ferved only to augment the triumph of the Virginian. Be pacified, cried he. I will give you another chance. I will lay you my boots againft your's, that Franklin's pretended difcovery of calming troubled waters by pouring upon them oil, may be found in the third book of Bede's History of the Church; or that his facetious Effay on the Air-bath, is poached word for word from Aubrey's Miscellanies. What fay you?

Why I fay, returned the New England Man; that I fhould be forry to go bootlefs home, and, therefore, I will lay no more wagers about Doctor Franklin's originality.

*Description of a Visit to the Grave of
an Indian Warrior.*

(From the fame.)

ON the north bank of the Occoquan is a pile of ftones, which indicates that an Indian warrior is interred underneath. The Indians from the back fettlements, in travelling to the northward, never fail to leave the main road, and vifit the grave of their departed hero. If a ftone be thrown down, they religiously reftore it to the

* If it fhould be objected that Franklin was ignorant of Latin, let it be told that, an Englifh tranflation of this epitaph may be found in the Gentleman's Magazine, for February, 1736. The fource, probably, from which Franklin got his thought.

pile; and, sitting round the rude monument, they meditate profoundly; catching, perhaps, a local emotion from the place.

A party of Indians, while I was at Occoquan, turned from the common road into the woods, to visit this grave on the bank of the river.

The party was composed of an elderly Chief, twelve young War Captains, and a couple of Squaws. Of the women, the youngest was an interesting girl of seventeen; remarkably well shaped, and possessed of a profusion of hair, which in colour was raven black. She appeared such another object as the mind images Pocahontes to have been. The people of Occoquan, with more curiosity than breeding, assembled round the party; but they appeared to be wholly indifferent to their gaze; the men amused themselves by chopping the ground with their tomahawks, and the women were busied in making a garment for the Chief.

Among the whites was a young man of gigantic stature; he was, perhaps, a head taller than any of the rest of the company. The old Indian could not but remark the lofty stature of the man; he seemed to eye him involuntarily; and, at length, rising from the ground, he went up to the giant stranger, and shook him by the hand. This raised a loud laugh from all the lookers-on; but the Indians still maintained an inflexible gravity.

When I saw the squaws a second time, they were just come from their toilet. Woman throughout the world delights ever in finery; the great art is to suit the colours to the complexion.

The youngest girl would have attracted notice in any circle of

Europe. She had fastened to her long dark hair a profusion of ribbons, which the bounty of the people of Occoquan had heaped upon her; and, the tresses of this Indian beauty, which before had been confined round her head, now rioted luxuriantly down her shoulders and back. The adjustment of her dress one would have thought she had learned from some English female of fashion; for she had left it so open before, that the most inattentive eye could not but discover the rise and fall of a bosom just beginning to fill.

The covering of this young woman's feet rivetted the eye of the stranger with its novelty and splendour. Nothing could be more delicate than her mocassins. They were each of them formed of a single piece of leather, having the seams ornamented with beads and porcupine quills; while a string of scarlet ribbon confined the mocassin round the instep, and made every other part of it fit close to the foot. The mocassin was of a bright yellow, and made from the skin of a deer, which had been killed by the arrow of one of the Indian youths. Let me be pardoned for having spoken of this lady's foot with such minuteness of investigation. A naturalist will devote a whole chapter to the examination of a bird, count the feathers in its wings, and declaim with the highest rapture on its variegated plumage; and a traveller may surely be forgiven a few remarks on the seducing foot of an Indian beauty.

Utrum horum marvis accipe?

Of these Indians, the men had not been inattentive to their persons. The old Chief had clad himself in a robe of furs, and the young

young warriors had blacked their bodies with charcoal.

The Indians, being assembled round the grave, the old Chief rose with a solemn mien, and, knocking his war-club against the ground, pronounced an oration to the memory of the departed warrior.

“Here rests the body of a Chief of our nation, who, before his spirit took its flight to the country of souls, was the boldest in war, and the fleetest in the chase. The arm that is now mouldering beneath this pile, could once wield the tomahawk with vigour, and often caused the foe to sink beneath its weight. (A dreadful cry of Whoo! Whoo! Whoop! from the hearers.) It has often grasped the head of the expiring enemy, and often with the knife divested it of the scalp. (a yell of whoo! whoo! whoop!) It has often bound to the stake the prisoner of war, and piled the blazing faggots round the victim, singing his last song of death. (A yell of whoo! whoop!) The foot that is now motionless, was once fleetier than the hart that grazes on the mountain; and in danger it was ever more ready to advance than retreat. (A cry of whoo! whoo! whoop!) But the hero is not gone unprovided to the country of spirits. His tomahawk was buried with him to repulse the enemy in the field; and his bow to pierce the deer that flies through the woods.”

No orator of antiquity ever exceeded this savage chief in the force of his emphasis, and the propriety of his gesture. Indeed, the whole scene was highly dignified. The fierceness of his countenance, the flowing robe, elevated tone, naked arm, and erect stature, with a circle

of auditors seated on the ground, and in the open air, could not but impress upon the mind a lively idea of the celebrated speakers of ancient Greece and Rome.

Having ended his oration, the Indian struck his war-club with fury against the ground, and the whole party obeyed the signal by joining in a war-dance;—leaping and brandishing their knives at the throats of each other, and accompanying their menacing attitudes with a whoop and a yell, which echoed with ten-fold horror from the banks of the river.

The dance took place by moonlight, and it was scarcely finished, when the Chief produced a keg of whiskey, and having taken a draught, passed it round among his brethren. The squaws now moved the tomahawks into the woods, and a scene of riot ensued. The keg was soon emptied. The effects of the liquor began to display itself in the looks and motions of the Indians. Some rolled their eyes with distraction; others could not keep on their legs. At length, succeeded the most dismal noises. Such hoops, such shouts, such roaring, such yells, all the devils of hell seemed collected together. Each strove to do an outrage on the other. This seized the other by the throat; that kicked with raging fury at his adversary. And to complete the scene, the old warrior was uttering the most mournful lamentations over the keg he had emptied; inhaling its flavour with his lips, holding it out with his hands in a supplicating attitude, and vociferating to the bye-standers Scuttawawbah! Scuttawawbah! More strong drink! More strong drink!



NATURAL HISTORY.

*Account of a new Species of Delphinus,
an Inhabitant of the Ganges.*

(From the Asiatic Researches, vol. vii.)

LINNÆUS, in his arrangement of the animal kingdom, separates the Narval, Whales, Cachollets, and Dolphins, comprising the tribe of cetaceous animals, from the fishes, and places them in the class Mammalia, because they suckle their young. This mode has been by some deemed unnatural; but as it renders the arrangement methodical, easy, and conspicuous, it is now generally followed*. The animals of the cetaceous order of the class Mammalia, to which belongs the species now to be described, are characterized by the following circumstances. They inhabit the ocean, or large rivers. They have no feet. They breathe through a fistulous opening on the upper part of the head.

They have two pectoral fins, and an horizontally flattened tail. They copulate and suckle their young like quadrupeds; which they resemble also in the structure and use of their internal parts.

The four genera composing this order, are distinguished chiefly by the teeth. That to which this new species belongs, is denominated Delphinus; the essential character of the species thereof is: They are furnished with bony teeth in each jaw; whereas the other three genera have either no teeth, or have them in one jaw only. Gmelin's last edition of the *Systema Naturæ* of Linnæus, mentions only four distinct species, viz. Phocæna, (*a*;) Delphis, (*b*;) Orca, (*c*;) and Leucas (*d*;) to which I now add a fifth, viz.

DELPHINUS GANGETICUS,

The body of which is nearly of a lanceolate shape, and almost round.

* Pennant in his *British Zoology*, makes a different arrangement; by which he places the Cete amongst the fishes, distributing the whole into three grand divisions. 1st, Cetaceous-fish. 2d, Cartilaginous-fish. And 3d, Bony-fish. But in the subdivision of this last grand class, he follows Linnæus.

(*a*) The Porpoise. (*b*) The Dolphin. (*c*) The Grampus. (*d*) The Beluga, or white fish of the Russians.

The jaws, long and slender; with sixty teeth in each. No dorsal fin.

Soosoo is the name it is known by amongst the Bengalese about Calcutta.

They are found in great numbers in the Ganges, even so far up as it is navigable, but seem to delight most in the slow moving labyrinth of rivers and creeks, which intersect the delta of that river to the South, S. E. and East, of Calcutta.

DESCRIPTION.

The Body (including the head) is of an ovate-lanceolate shape; by which term I mean rather long and slender, thickest about the fore part, from thence tapering to the tail; from the anus forward, nearly round*. The skin is soft, smooth, and of a shining pearl grey, or lead colour, when dry; with here and there lighter coloured spots, or clouds, particularly when old; but when the animal is alive, and as we then see it wet when it rises to breathe, it appears much darker. The length of the individual, (a young, little more than half grown male,) from which this description is taken, six and a half feet, and at the thickest part, which is nearly about, or rather behind, the pectoral fins, three in circumference: the weight one hundred and twenty pounds.

Head obtuse, somewhat carinated on the upper and anterior part, suddenly tapering to a long, slender, but strong beak, or mouth; (not unlike that of some birds.) The jaws are strong,

though slender: nearly equal, and almost straight. Taken singly, they are sub-cylindrical, and without lips, or any other substance to hide the teeth. Their length is nearly about a sixth part of the length of the whole animal, beak and tail included.

Teeth, in both jaws one hundred and twenty; of which there are thirty in each side of each jaw; those before are longer, sharper, more approximated, and somewhat incurved; they become gradually smaller, shorter, and more remote, as they approach the throat; and are fitted to lock into those of the opposite jaw when the mouth is shut.

Tongue large, oval, firmly attached in its whole length to the integuments which connect the posterior furcated part of the lower jaw.

Eyes exceedingly minute, being only about a line in diameter, of a bright, shining, blackish colour; situate nearly two inches above the posterior angles of the mouth; and sunk pretty deep in their small round orbits.

Fistula, or spout hole, is situate on the upper part or crown of the head; it is linear, and somewhat bent like the letter *f*.

Ears external, two small, semilunar apertures, considerably behind, and a little above the eyes.

Fins pectoral, of an oblique fan-shape, about nine inches long and seven broad at the posterior margin, which is scolloped; beneath their skin may be felt the bones, extending to the angles of the scolloped margin. Instead of a dorsal-fin, there is only a

* But behind that aperture, the vertical diameter exceeds the horizontal considerably.

projecting angle about half way between the fistula and tail.

Tail horizontal, (as in the rest of the order Cete,) crescent shaped; expands, at the extreme points fourteen inches. Depth of the concave side of the crescent about two inches: besides, there is a fissure in the center, which penetrates about an inch and a half farther into the tail.

Genital organs of the male. The aperture is about twelve inches behind the insertion of the pectoral fins, and about ten before the anus. The member itself, in its flaccid state, is about ten inches long, and then entirely hid in the belly. It is composed of two portions, having their limits marked by two large projecting lobes, affixed to the under side: these are of a firm liver-like texture and colour. The posterior portion is perfectly cylindric, and about as thick as a man's finger; the anterior part is much smaller, and tapers to a fine point; they are nearly of equal lengths; that is, about five inches each.

The female has not yet been examined.

When in pursuit of the fish on which it feeds, it moves with great velocity, and uncommon activity; but at all other times, so far as I have been able to observe, or learn the motions of this animal are slow and heavy, often rising to the surface of the water to breathe.

Between the skin and the flesh, is a coat of pale yellowish coloured

fat, more or less thick, according to the state of the animal. This the Hindoos set a high value on, as an external medicine, of great efficacy for removing pains of various kinds. The flesh is like the lean of beef in colour, nor has it any disagreeable smell; yet, so far as I can learn, the natives never eat it.

In the stomach were found only some grains of paddy, (rice in the husk,) a few minute fragments of shells, and many living active *Ascarides**. Notwithstanding the contents of the stomach of this individual, there is no doubt of the animal being piscivorous.

The Palm Tree.

From Winterbottom's Account of the native Africans near Sierra Leone.

AMONG all their vegetable productions, however, there is none for which they ought to be more grateful than for the palm tree, one of the most useful inhabitants of the forest, as well as one of its greatest ornaments. The leaves of the palm tree afford an excellent thatch for houses, and a kind of hemp of which fishing lines, &c. are made. The inner bark is manufactured into a thick kind of cloth, on various parts of the coast; and from the outer bark of the young tree are frequently manufactured baskets, mats, &c. This tree has been not unaptly compared to the mast of a large vessel, having its summit crowned with verdure.

* These (*Ascaris Delphini* they may be called) are about two inches long, of a pale almost white colour, tapering little, but equally towards each end: the mouth is situate in the center of three tubercles; over the anus is a small pointed hornlet on the obtuse tail of the animal

Its fruit *, which is nearly as large as a hen's egg, when roasted is esteemed a great delicacy, and yields the palm oil, which they hold in much esteem, and use in all their dishes instead of butter. To procure the oil, the palm nuts are gathered when ripe, which is known by their fine red colour, and beaten in a mortar until the pulp is completely separated from the nucleus. A quantity of water is then added, and the whole mass is poured upon a kind of sieve, formed of split bamboo. The water, together with the pulpy part of the nut, passes through, and is received into a large iron pot, leaving behind the fibrous part and the stones; the former is thrown away, but the latter are reserved. The pot, with its contents, is placed upon the fire to boil, and as the oil, which is of a crimson colour, rises, they skim it off for use. When no more oil can be extracted by boiling, the contents of the iron pot are poured into a hole dug in the ground, and when the water has drained off, the solid part is taken out, and exposed to the sun to dry. To this is added, in order to form a soap, a quantity of the small unripe fruit of the papaw sliced, together with a certain proportion of an alkaline lixivium obtained by burning the leaves and stems of the plantain and banana trees, and the capsules of the wild cotton or pullom tree. The ashes are put into a kind of bas-

ket composed of bamboo, and water is poured upon them so as to obtain a saturated solution; the ingredients, to which this ley is added, are frequently stirred, and boiled until they become stiff. An oil is also extracted from the kernels of the palm nuts, the shells of which are broken between two stones, and the kernels picked out. The latter are then parched in an iron pot, and afterwards pounded in a large mortar; they are next boiled in water, and the oil skimmed off as it floats on the surface. This is used for the same purposes as palm oil, but more nearly resembles butter, as it has no peculiar smell. This oil is mentioned by Cada Mosto, who made a voyage to Senegal, in the year 1455. He says, "they make use of a certain oil in the preparation of their victuals, though I could not learn whence they drew it, which possesses a three-fold property, that of smelling like violets, of tasting like oil of olives, and of tinging victuals like saffron, with a colour still finer †." Herodotus appears to describe the same kind of oil, when he says the Ethiopians wash themselves in a certain *fountain*, which renders their skins as shining as oil, and imparts to them a smell like violets ‡. To this cause he attributes their attaining so great an age, that of 120 years, hence called *Macrobii*, or long lived. As this tree does not grow in the

* The fruit of the palm tree is thus described by Fröger, who visited this coast in the year 1695. "The negroes made a present to us, as a choice banquet, of certain large fruits that resemble small gourds, but, under the skin, is only a kind of substance like dressed flax: they cause them to be roasted under embers, and afterwards chew them to suck out the juice, which is as yellow as saffron: this fruit has a stone as large as an egg, and as hard as iron."

† Voyages of the Portuguese during the 15th and 16th centuries.

‡ Herodot. *Thalia*, 23.

Foola country, or at least not in sufficient abundance, the Foolas are obliged to purchase the oil, of which they are extremely fond, from their neighbours *.

The palm tree, moreover, affords the natives for drink

“ Its freshning wine,
More bounteous far than all the frantic
juice
Which Bacchus pours.”

To procure the palm wine requires no small degree of agility and address. As the trunk of the tree is too rough to allow the hands and knees to be applied in climbing to its summit, the natives use a kind of hoop of an elliptical form, made of bamboo, and open at one side. The person about to ascend, first passes the hoop round the stem of the tree, including himself also, he then fastens the hoop by twisting its two ends into a kind of knot. The hands are applied to the sides of the hoop, while the feet are firmly pressed against the tree, and the lower part of the back supported by the opposite end of the hoop. In order to advance, the person thus prepared draws his body a little forwards, keeping his feet steady, and at the same moment slips the hoop a little higher up the tree, after which he advances a step or two with his feet. In this manner he alternately raises the hoop and his feet, and thus advancing, he gains at length the upper part of the stem, just below where the branches are thrown off. Here, at the height of 50 or 60 feet,

with no other support than the pressure of his feet against the tree, and of his back against the hoop, he sits with perfect composure. In a small bag hung round his neck or arm he carries an auger to bore the tree, and a gourd or calabash to receive the wine. A hole is bored, about half an inch deep, below the crown of the tree, and into this is inserted a leaf rolled up like a funnel, the other end of it being put into the mouth of a calabash capable of containing several quarts, which is filled in the course of a single night. The liquor is discharged more abundantly during the coolness of the night and morning than in the heat of the day. About a quart of wine may thus be procured twice a day, for the space of a month, from each tree, without any injury to it, as it will yield the same quantity for many succeeding years. If, however, wine be taken from it for a longer time than about a month, the tree either dies, or requires a much longer respite to recover. When the palm wine has been drawn off, the hole is carefully filled up with mud, to prevent insects from depositing their eggs in it, the larvæ of which would destroy the tree. Upon the Kroo coast it is the custom to cut the tree down, and to burn or scorch the outside before they tap it, probably to excite a degree of fermentation. Palm wine, when fresh drawn, is sweet, remarkably cool and pleasant, and very much resembles whey in appearance, and somewhat in taste. In this state it is not in the least

* The oil obtained from the fruit of a plant called *sillicyprian* by Herodotus, possessed some of the properties of that of the palm nut, and was perhaps somewhat of the same nature. The Egyptians procured it in the same manner in which the Africans obtain their palm oil, and they used it to burn in their lamps, as well as to anoint their bodies, notwithstanding its unpleasant odour.

degree intoxicating; but after standing twenty-four hours it enters into the vinous fermentation, and becomes very inebriating, and on that account is preferred by the natives. In order to increase the intoxicating effects of palm wine, they infuse in it a little of the bark of a species of plumb, called by the Bulloms rot; they also render the natural fermentation more brisk by adding the lees of a former brewing*. When drunk to excess, it is said to produce a violent headache, though perhaps only in those who are not much accustomed to it. Palm trees sometimes grow in sandy places, but are in general indicative of a good soil, and it is further remarked, that "wherever palm trees grow, however arid the soil, there is always water to be found, by opening the ground to the depth of ten to fifteen feet†." This has not escaped the observation of the Africans.

Account of the Cameleon.

(From Golberry's Travels.)

THE cameleon, an animal so long celebrated, and to which eloquence and poetry, have attributed the faculty of assuming the colour of every object which it approaches; which they have so frequent-

ly employed to embellish their metaphors, and which they have made the emblem of falshood and imposture, yet remains unknown; and it is more than probable, that the natural history of this singular reptile, has hitherto been explored only in a faint manner.

Classed in the third genus of lizards, the cameleon is particularly a native of the torrid zone, and it is most common in the burning countries of Africa; though it may be seen in great quantities in the western parts of this continent comprised between Cape Blanco and Cape Palmas; it is astonishingly numerous on the banks of the Senegal, and it was at Isle St. Louis during the winter of 1786, and 1787, that I collected a great quantity at once, on which I made those observations which will form the subject of this chapter.

One of the most extraordinary characteristics of this animal is that it appears to be composed of a light ossified carcase, covered with a very subtile and tenuous skin, which is as it were entirely destitute of flesh; and when most handsome in appearance, and apparently most fat and beautiful, it is in reality filled only with an aëriform substance, which it is capable of imbibing and expelling at pleasure;

* Herodotus informs us, that the palm wine was procured in great quantity in the province of Babylon. From the same tree, (phenix dactylifera?) he says, was obtained bread, wine, and honey‡. This latter practice is explained by Dr. Shaw, who says, "in the East, they, on great occasions of festivity, cut off the branches of a strong tree, and scoop out the crown or top of the trunk into the form of a basin; in this collects every day for the space of a fortnight or three weeks, about three quarts or a gallon of fluid, sweeter than, and of the consistence of a thin syrup, which soon, however, thickens, ferments, and becomes intoxicating. This quantity of fluid daily diminishes, and in about six weeks or two months the tree is totally exhausted, and fit only to be burnt§. It is probable that the African palm tree will not yield a similar produce, as the natives do not practise this method. They make use of the medullary part found in the crown of the tree as an article of food. This has been called the palm cabbage, from its resemblance to the vegetable of that name, both in appearance and taste.

† Vincēt's Voyage of Nearchus.

‡ Clio, 193.

§ Travels in the Levant.

hence

hence it may be conceived, that such animals cannot exist but in the hottest climates, and that excessive warmth alone can agree with its singular organization.

The size, exterior form, &c. of this species of lizard, are sufficiently known to render a description of them here unnecessary; the attention and researches of naturalists, should be now confined to its other more obvious peculiarities, and its more rare and singular properties.

There are many phenomena to be found in the cameleon, which have not yet been sufficiently explained or demonstrated; such as its variation of colour; its absorption and expulsion of air at pleasure; its power of living a considerable time, without taking any kind of nourishment; and lastly, its possessing certain visual perfections and advantages which I believe are found in no other work of creation.

Towards the end of the year 1786, I collected at one time many cameleons of all sizes and ages, and I amused myself with observing them, with considerable attention; my first object was directed towards the variations of colour which are observable in this lizard, and on the nature and alternation of these varieties.

I was very soon convinced that the cameleon does not assume its colour from the circumambient objects, or from those with which it may be covered, but that the alterations which its natural colour undergoes originates entirely in the painful sensations which this animal internally experiences, and of which it is singularly susceptible.

Its natural colour is a fine emerald green. Such have I always seen it, when in a state of liberty perched like a parrot on the branch of some young tree, ornamented with gay foliage, in the midst of which, it is with much difficulty perceived; or when it lazily basks in, or creeps along the fresh grass.

At this time, it is not only always of that fine emerald green colour, but it is also in its most healthful and corpulent state. Hence, it appears to me, that to preserve these two qualities, a state of liberty, and the power of living in the grass, or in the midst of fresh foliage, are indispensable.

From the moment that the liberty and security of this reptile was either constrained or interrupted, I could perceive very palpable alterations in the brightness and vivacity of its colour, and in the rotundity of its form.

It may be confidently asserted, that the cameleon is an animal very timid and fearful, and at the same time, equally slow and indolent. Its very subsistence and health, is doubtless owing to its colour, for from this circumstance, it is confounded with the grass or leaves in the midst of which it delights to exist. It remains immovable when on the branch of a tree or in the herbage; and lolls out its glutinous tongue, which resembles an earth-worm, and possesses most probably some peculiar smell, which attracts the little insects who form its nourishment; when the tongue is thus covered with a sufficient quantity, it immediately draws it in with an amazing rapidity.

This economy is incessantly repeated,

peated, and always with success, for the insects deceived by the colour, and immobility of the cameleon, approach without suspicion, and are taken in the snare.

The fine green of the skin of this lizard, in its healthful state, so completely confounds it with the trees or grass in which it is hidden, that it is impossible to discover it except by chance; this brilliant colour, also proves its security against those animals who would injure it, but are unable to see or distinguish it; in fact it requires a well-organized sight to make this discovery.

This reptile, therefore, well knows that it is only when thus confounded that it is able to procure its food, and escape its enemies: and when therefore, it is deprived of its liberty, and destitute of these advantages, it becomes full of apprehension, of fear, and of terror; its life is one continued torment, and it sustains all the anguish of dread: its health visibly declines, and the freshness of its natural colour rapidly decays. Thus whenever I took a cameleon out of the grass, or from off a branch whereon it was perched, I perceived in a very short time, not only a very obvious alteration in its colour which began to fade, but also a diminution in the rotundity of its body.

If I placed the animal on the arid sand, or on the floor, or in a cage, it immediately became of a yellow tinge, and insensibly expelled the air with which it was inflated: it hence decreased in size, and the smallness of its body became obvious even to the naked eye.

If I afterwards replaced it in the grass, or on the branch of a

tree, the fine green colour in a short time returned, and its body expanded, and assumed its wonted rotundity.

Whenever I kept my cameleons confined in a cage, and there plagued and tormented them, I always easily succeeded, in exciting a degree of irritation and anger, which they manifested by expiring the air so strong, as to be heard: they likewise became thin, and their colour gradually became dull. If I continued to disquiet them, the dull green changed to a yellow tinge; then to yellow, spotted with red; next a yellow-brown, spotted with red-brown; then a grey-brown, spotted with black; and lastly from shade to shade, they at length became almost black, and more and more thin. These are the only colours in which I could succeed in making them assume.

After having thus tormented and kept them prisoners during a number of days, I set them free. I carried them to a tree, or into the grass; and however black and meagre they were, they quickly assumed their green colour, and their usual state of solidity.

Reiterated experiments have therefore convinced me, that the cameleon, in a state of perfect liberty, is always fat, and of a green hue; and that in a state of captivity, not only its colour becomes changed, but its health also experiences an alteration.

I have often wrapped my cameleons, up in white, red, blue, violet, green and yellow stuffs, and left them thus for whole days together; at the end of which, when I visited my poor captives, I found them neither white, red, blue, violet, yellow, nor a fine green; but on the contrary, always of that yellow-

low-green, that tarnished yellow, or that grey-black, which they for ever assume, when in distress and suffering.

The skin of the camelion is extremely fine and delicate, and very soft and cold to the touch; when examined with a strong lens, on the living animal, it appeared like that kind of prepared skin which is called shagreen.

This epidermis is not shiny, but it is singularly fine and elastic. The small points or protuberances of this shagreen skin, is as it were imperceptible, and hardly distinguishable by the naked eye. Though it is excessively delicate, fine, and pliable, it has notwithstanding a considerable degree of tenacity, and is likewise gifted with a strong elastic property, as well as with the power of expanding and contracting itself at pleasure.

It is doubtless to this texture, to this kind of tissue, which the skin of the camelion has, that we must attribute its facility in varying its colour, according to the degree of dilatation or contraction which it may experience: in fact, we may safely ascribe to this, those sudden alternations of colour which so much astonish us. But whatever it may be, its fine green colour is always a sign of happiness and health, and it never exists in all its splendour, but when the animal is well saturated with the atmosphere, and perfectly free: on the contrary, when it is in a state of captivity and suffering, this lively colour fades, and progressively degenerates from a fine emerald green, to perfect black, which is the sign of its greatest distress and most poignant grief.

But, in my opinion, the camelion possesses a still more astonishing faculty than this of varying its colour; viz. that of expanding and contracting itself at pleasure. With the air which it inspires, it is enabled to expand; but how shall we account for the power which it has, of swallowing, retaining, and, as it were, directing this aëriiform fluid, so as to remain in a state of expansion, which is at the same time that of its most perfect health and happiness?

What therefore is its peculiar organization, whence it derives the power, not only of inhaling a considerable quantity of the atmospheric air, but likewise of keeping, absorbing, and, as I before said, of directing it? for the air, inspired by the camelion, does not remain in its breast, in its stomach, or in its intestines; it spreads and percolates through every part of its body; and this so completely and so generally, that it is every where fat and plump; at the very extremities of its feet and tail; and even its eyes are affected, for they become more round and projected.

It must therefore be admitted, that the air thus inhaled by the camelion, penetrates, enters, and insinuates itself into every, even the minutest, part of the body; and it is likewise certain, that this faculty of imbibing the atmospheric air, is very extensively possessed; for I have seen my camelions, after many days of fasting, or more properly speaking of starving, become almost immediately fat, and in a state of the finest plumpness. In the same manner, I have sometimes seen them remain expanded for fifteen days together, and then all

at once decrease, so as to become nothing but skin and bones.

It must not be supposed that the caméléon, when thus in a state of *embonpoint*, looks merely like a bladder blown up with air. It has all the appearance of a well distributed and natural plumpness, and in every part of its body it is equal and regular.

In its utmost state of contraction, and when it has almost entirely voided the atmospheric air, retaining only a quantity sufficient for the preservation of its vital faculties, the extreme tenuity of its body is truly astonishing. The extraordinary appearance which it presents, is greatly augmented when the animal moves, and particularly when it convulses, for it then looks like an empty sack twisted up.

This faculty of expanding itself, so as to appear absolutely full and adipose; of remaining in this state for whole months, or only for a few hours, as it pleases, and then contracting itself, so as to present a mere fleshless body; with the spine of its back pointed, and the flesh of its sides actually united, and apparently but of one piece, is doubtless one of the most extraordinary circumstances which is to be found in the natural history of the caméléon; and the cause of which, though but little known, yet seems worthy of the utmost attention and research which naturalists can bestow.

I wished to convince myself, how far we might admit the assertion, that the caméléon is capable of living on air, and existing for a considerable time without eating. Towards the end of the year 1786, being then at Isle St. Louis, my

caméléons, which were then in their full strength, were destined to the following experiments. I was at that time in possession of seven.

I took five of them, and confined them separately in a cage of iron wire, covered all over with very fine gauze, the texture of which was too compact to admit any insect to enter. I then suspended my cages by means of cords and pulleys to the ceiling of my chamber; and the five ropes being united at the extremities, I inclosed them in a little wooden box, which was fastened against the wall, and locked with a key; by this precaution, I was certain no person could lower down the cages, to convey nourishment to the caméléons, and therefore the abstinence to which they were condemned, would be absolute, and unmitigated. For the sake of convenience, I shall number the cages 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

On the first of November, 1786, I began my experiment; and visited four times in the space of four and twenty hours, my unhappy captives doomed to perish by famine.

In a few days they became thin, and assumed that grey-black colour which is the certain indication of their distress. But when they had attained a greater degree of exility, they remained in a fixed state during a month; so that I was unable to perceive any sensible diminution in their strength during that time.

The cages in which I had confined them, were fifteen inches high, and intersected by little pieces of wood in the same manner as bird-cages are in general. Whenever I lowered them down, to observe my caméléons, they opened their mouths, and expired the air

Very strongly against me. These expirations were easily felt, and became even audible.

During the first six weeks, my prisoners used to run all over the cage from top to bottom. In the morning I most generally found them at the top; but towards the end of the sixth week I perceived they did not mount so high, and at the conclusion of two months they no longer quitted the bottom of their cage. Their tenuity had now become excessive; their weakness and langour was very obvious: their skin was almost black, and I also observed a great slowness in the motion of their eyes. They still preserved the faculty of expanding themselves, though at the most not more than half as much as usual; their bodies were never perfectly distended, and they soon contracted again.

Towards the early part of January, they had attained to such a degree of thinness, that they were mere animated skeletons, and I concluded that it was impossible for them to live much longer. Number 3, however, which died the first, did not expire till the 28th of January, 1787. Number 1, died on the 30th of the same month. Number 4, expired on the night of the 13th of February following. Number 5, sustained the torment of hunger till the 23d of February, on the morning of which day it fell a victim.

Number 2, lived till the 24th of February, and was so weak and emaciated, that I was strongly tempted to think the period of its existence also at hand. I was resolved, however, to shew it some mercy, though I had not the least reason to suppose it would live. It

had now existed upon air three months and 24 days. I liberated it, and carried it into the government garden, where I placed it among the foliage; in fifteen days it regained its colour and strength, and even began to assume its usual state of expansion.

On the 30th of March, it appeared once more green, though of a very faint tinge, and it had entirely recovered its faculty of swelling itself. During the month of April, it appeared to me to be in total possession of its health and strength. At the end of this month it escaped, and all my endeavours to recover it were totally ineffectual; hence I could not satisfy myself with regard to the perfect re-establishment of the health of my resuscitated cameleon; though doubtless the long abstinence which it had sustained, must have abridged the duration of its existence.

From the seven cameleons which I had destined to the above-narrated experiments, I selected two, which I confined in the same cage without any nourishment whatever.

As soon as they were inclosed together, they placed themselves opposite to each other with mutual looks of steadiness; their mouths open, and expelling their breath with great energy. They remained in this situation for a considerable time; though it was easy to discover, from their looks, that they were very much enraged, and that they occasioned mutual fear and apprehension.

One entire day passed in this attitude of reciprocal menace, and it was only towards the evening that one of them slowly climbed to the top of the cage; the other remained

ed at the bottom; but though thus separated, they constantly kept their eyes fixed on each other; their mouths remained open, and they expelled their breath with great rapidity.

On the following morning, I found them in the same attitude and place as on the preceding evening; but there had been a battle between them during the night, the effects of which were easy to be perceived; for I saw on their skins various wounds, and the vestiges of biting; but the one which had retired to the top of the cage, had manifestly experienced the worst of the conflict.

These evidences of a combat between my two prisoners excited my curiosity, and I observed them with a great deal of attention, but nothing passed between them during the whole day. The vanquished one remained at the top of the cage, while the conqueror kept his place at the bottom.

The whole day passed in this manner, and in a sort of immobility, during which, however, they constantly looked at each other, and reciprocally expelled their breath with great force.

I foresaw that, during the subsequent night, they would again wage another battle, I therefore hid a lighted taper in an adjoining chamber; and keeping myself perfectly still in the dark, I watched, during the night, the movements of the two cameleons.

I soon heard a slight noise; they did not emit any cries, but the agitation of the cage, a dull movement, and a very audible and strong expiration of their breath, all concurred to persuade me that my two prisoners were now engaged.

I therefore lowered the cage

down to the floor very softly, and procuring my taper, I saw my two cameleons grappled together, with their talons, and biting each other's sides with great vengeance.

I did not separate the combatants, but the appearance of the light, no doubt, excited greater fear in them than they had before experienced anger; they mutually ceased the attack; and the strongest who had commenced the combat with the other at the top of the cage, now descended to the bottom. His antagonist had been sadly treated; his body was covered with wounds; his flesh was almost torn off, and he appeared in a state of extreme lassitude.

This warfare was continued for nine successive days, at the end of which time, the one which had regularly been vanquished at length fell, and I found him dead in the bottom of the cage, where his carcase lay extended.

The conqueror had now taken refuge in the top of the cage, owing no doubt to the horror which he felt at seeing the dead body of his enemy. He lived, however, seventeen days longer without eating, and perished from inanition and extreme leanness, though perhaps the wounds which it received considerably hastened its end.

It now remains for me to speak of the eyes of the cameleon, which certainly possess some very remarkable singularities. The eye-ball not only projects much farther from the head than that of any other animal, but its exterior surface appears to be conically formed, and terminates in a point. The eyes of the cameleon are covered with a membrane, which serves it instead of an eye-lid.

This membrane is like a case perforated

perforated by a longitudinal hole of about half a line in breadth in its widest part; it is by means of this orifice that the animal is enabled to see, and exposes to view a brown coloured pupil, bordered by a small circle of gold, extremely bright and shining. This case is gifted with the faculty of following all the motions of the eye, in which respect it differs totally from the eye-lids of any other animal. With regard to theameleon, the motion of its eye-lids agree so perfectly with those of the eye, that they are absolutely one and the same; and in all the movements, the little aperture of the eye-lid is precisely correspondent to the central point of the pupil.

But what is still more singular, and which I believe is to be found in no other animal of the creation, is the faculty which theameleon possesses of moving its eyes in every possible direction; and this motion is conducted totally independent of each other.

Theameleon moves one of its eyes, while the other remains motionless; with one eye he looks before him, while with the other he will look behind; the one is sometimes directed towards the heavens, and the other is bent towards the earth.

These opposite motions are performed either at once, or alternately, with astonishing rapidity. They are carried to such a degree, that at one time the pupil passes even under the projection which serves for the eye-brow, and then suddenly buries itself in the corner of the orbit, by which means the animal readily and at once discovers the objects which are placed behind him, and those immediately in its front without moving his head in the least degree, which is strongly confined to his shoulders.

These rapid evolutions enable him to see at once in every direction, and incessantly to observe whatever passes around him.

The object of this perfect conformation is doubtless the personal security of theameleon, and the success of its pursuit of small insects and flies, with which it is nourished; it projects its glutinous tongue, and leaves it pendant on the side, where it perceives the prey which it wishes to entrap.

I have now said sufficient to prove, that theameleon is in many respects a very extraordinary and curious animal, and that it possesses many peculiarities, which are well deserving the attention of naturalists.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

*List of Patents for New Inventions,
granted during the Year 1803.*

ROBERT Wilson, of the parish of St. Saviour, Southwark, Surry, plaisterer; for an apparatus for the purpose of stopping ungovernable horses. Dated January 20.

Joseph Jacob, of Greek Street, of the parish of St. Anne, Soho, Middlesex, coachmaker; for a metal box for the axle-trees of wheels, carriages, mills, engines, and machines. Dated January 20.

George Matcham, of the city of Bath, esquire; for a principle or mechanical power for raising weights, in preventing ships from sinking, in raising ships when sunk, in rendering ships, which are disproportioned to shallow water, capable of entering rivers, passing bars or shoals, or otherwise moving in shallow water; and for a variety of other useful purposes. Dated January 29.

Edward Stephens, of the city of Dublin, for a furnace stove or

fire place, which can conveniently be applied to the burning of limestone, at the same time that it is used for the heating of all manner of corn kilns, evaporating stove, and drying houses. Dated January 29.

James Gayleard, of New Bond Street, Middlesex, stay-maker; for long stays, and corsetts, on an improved construction. Dated February 1.

Stephen Hooper, of Walworth, Surry; for machines, or machinery, upon improved principles, and methods of using the same, for the purpose of cleaning Creeks, bars of harbours, and preventing bars from making. Dated February 5.

William Henry Clayfield, of the city of Bristol, wine merchant; for a method of reducing and extracting lead, and other metals, from a compound substance commonly known by the name of regulus. Dated February 10.

Timothy Cobb, of Banbury, Oxfordshire, woollen manufacturer; for improvements in the manufacturing a certain kind of piece

piece goods, called shag, or plush.
Dated February 21.

Jonathan Woodhouse, of Ashbey-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire, engineer; for a method of forming a cast iron rail, or plate, which may be used in making iron rail roads, or ways, for the working and running of waggons, carts, drays, and other carriages, on public and other roads, and also a new method of fixing, fastening, and securing, such cast iron rail or plate on such roads. Dated February 28.

Robert Kirwood, of Edinburgh, engraver and copper-plate printer; for improvements on the copper-plate printing press. Dated February 28.

Thomas Johnson, of Bradbury, Cheshire, weaver; for a method of preparing and dressing cotton warp. Dated February 28.

Robert Mason, of Cumberland Street, Portsea, Hampshire, gentleman; for improvements on a common waggon, whereby the same may be separated, and used as two carts, which he denominates the "Patent Hampshire waggon." Dated February 28.

Benjamin Haden, of the parish of Sedgley, Staffordshire, bagging weaver; for an improvement in the manufacture of Bagging, for packing of nails and other purposes. Dated February 28.

Barker Chifney, of London, gentleman; for improvements in the manufacturing and preparing roofing slates, and in laying the same. Dated March 8.

James Bennet, of Oldham Street, Manchester, Lancashire, manufacturer; for a method of felting woollen cloth, and also of felting cloth manufactured of sheeps wool,

and other combined materials.
Dated March 10.

Samuel Miller, of the parish of St. Pancras, Middlesex, engineer; for his improved method of applying the repelling or repulsive force of nature, in order to give a stronger impulse to any substance or body in motion, as well as to destroy the bad effects of its baneful activity. Dated March, 16.

Edward Shorter, of New Crane, Wapping, Middlesex, mechanic; for an apparatus for working of pumps. Dated March 21.

Robert Clark, of Fitzroy-place, Middlesex, instrument maker; for improvements in the construction of a truss, to be worn in the case of rupture. Dated March 23.

Deers Egg, of the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, Middlesex, gunmaker; for improvement upon-fire arms. Dated March 23.

William Bainbridge, of Little Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, Middlesex, musician; for improvements on the flageolet or english flute. Dated April 1.

William Boond, of Manchester, Lancashire, cotton manufacturer; for a new invented manufacture of mixed and coloured cotton velvets, velveteens, veverets, thick-fets, cords, and other cotton piece goods, commonly called fustians. Dated April 5.

Richard Francis Hawkins, of Woolwich, Kent, gent.; for a method of applying a certain power to the working of ships and other windlasses, ship and other winches, cranes and other purposes, to which the same hath never been employed. Dated April 5.

John Leach, of Merton abbey, Surrey.

Surry, calico printer; for improvements on Steam engine boilers, which improvements are applicable to boilers in general. Dated April 7.

Daniel Paulin Davis, of Bloomsbury Square, Middlesex; for a method of cleansing and sweeping chimnies. Dated April 11.

John Todd, of Bolton, Lancashire, cotton spinner; for a method of weaving and manufacturing woollen cotton, linen, silk, and worsted cloth or stuffs; and also certain improvements on, and additions to the machines used in weaving, by means of looms wrought by water, steam engines, or any other power. Dated April 14.

William Horrocks, of Stockport, Cheshire, cotton manufacturer; for improvements on the loom for weaving cotton, and other goods, by steam or water. Dated April 20.

Samuel Day, of Charter-house, Hinton, Somersetshire, esq.; for an engine or time piece, which he denominates, "The Watchman's Noctuary and Labourer's regulator." Dated April 20.

James Hall, of Mellor, in the parish of Glossop, Derbyshire, weaver; for improvements upon Looms. Dated April 27.

Elizabeth Bell, of Hampstead, Middlesex, spinster; for a method of sweeping chimnies, and of constructing them in such a manner as to lessen the danger and inconvenience from fire and smoke. Dated May 10.

George Beaumont, of South Crossland, near Huddersfield, Yorkshire, and Walter Beaumont, of the same place, manufacturer of woollen goods; for a mixture

to be used in the preparation of sheep or lamb's wool, for various purposes. Dated May 17.

Joshua Green, of Banbury, Oxfordshire, manufacturer; for a method of manufacturing corded and ribbed shags or plushes, composed of different materials on a principle entirely new. Dated May 17.

James Roche, of King Street, Holborn, Middlesex, gent.; for a medicine for the cure of the whooping cough. Dated May 23.

Chester Gould, of Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell, Middlesex; for a glass on a new principle, to be used by mariners at sea, instead of the common sand glasses when heaving the log, for the purpose of ascertaining the ship's rate of sailing; and also for other uses, either on land or at sea. Dated May 28.

Thomas Fulcher, the elder, of Ipswich, Suffolk, Surveyor and Builder; for a water-proof composition, in imitation of Portland Stone, for stuccoing and washing new and old stone, and brick buildings; and for cementing the joints, and tucking and pointing all stone and brick works that require proof against water and damps. Dated May 28.

John Gamble, of Leicester Square, Middlesex, gent.; for improvement on and additions to a machine for making paper in single sheets without seams or joinings. Dated June 7.

John Randall Packham, of White Lion street, Clerkenwell, Middlesex, watchmaker; for improvements on a lock to a musket, fusée, carbine, fowling-piece, or pistol. Dated June 10.

James Fussell, of Mills, Somersetshire, iron manufacturer; for a method

a method of working water wheels for raising of water, and in a great measure, preventing water wheels from being flooded, and other useful purposes. Dated June 14.

John Wood, of Manchester, Lancashire, machine maker; for improvements upon machines for spinning and reeling of cotton. Dated June 14.

James Thomson, of the city of Edinburgh, bell hanger; for improvements in the hanging of bells, window curtains, window and other blinds. Dated June 14.

John Harriott, of Wapping Middlesex, and Edmund Cobb Hurry, of Gosport, Southampton, esqrs. and William Crispin, of Gosport aforesaid, shipwright; for a method of making and working windlasses. Dated June 14.

Thomas Newstead, of Kingston upon Hull, Yorkshire, Chemist; for a method of preparing barrilla and kelp, and the neutral salts obtained therefrom. Dated June 18.

Peter Storck, of John Street, Tottenham Court Road, Middlesex, baker; for a substitute for Brewer's yeast, which may be made and used in all weathers and climates. Dated June 21.

Thomas Brown, of Alnwick, Northumberland, whitesmith; for a machine for the cutting of tobacco, tallow for tallow chandlers and soap boilers; and also for the cutting of turnips, cabbages, carrots, and other kind of roots, for the feeding of cattle. Dated June 21.

Joseph Everett, of Salisbury, Wiltshire, clothier; for an article manufactured of different materials, and wove in a peculiar manner, so as to give it the appearance of

velvet, which he denominates "Salisbury Angola Mole-skin." Dated June 28.

George Woods, of Barbican, in the city of London, gentleman; for a method of constructing harps, harpsichords, piano fortes, violins, guitars, and other stringed musical instruments. Dated June 28.

Archibald Earl of Dundonald; for a method of treating or preparing hemp and flax, so as materially to aid the operation of the tools called hackles, in the division of the fibres, and which is likewise attended with other advantages. Dated June 28.

Edward Warner, the younger, of Little New Street, in the city of London, brass founder; for an improvement upon the air lamp, the properties whereof consist in reflecting a more general and stronger light by means of certain valves, and a newly constructed burner. Dated June 29.

James Roberts, of Abbotston Farm, Southampton, yeoman, and George Cathery, of New Alresford, in the same county, gent.; for a method of completely and effectually eradicating smut from wheat; and that wheat, when cleansed by their invention, will produce flour of as good quality and value as flour made from wheat of the best growth. Dated July 6.

Joseph Manton, of Davies Street, Berkley Square, in the parish of St. George's Hanover Square, Middlesex, gun-maker; for a hammer upon a new construction, for the locks of all kinds of fowling-pieces and small arms. Dated July 6.

James Stuart, of London Street, in the parish of St. Dunstan, Stepney, Middlesex; for a method

to strengthen ships or floating vessels. Dated July 27.

John Norton of Roll's buildings, Fetter Lane, Fleet Street, London, mathematical instrument maker; for an improvement in the construction of a water mill. Dated July 28.

Thomas Kentish, of Baker Street North, Portman Square, Middlesex, esq.; for a dewick, for the purpose of more expeditiously, with less labour and at less expence than heretofore, loading and unloading ships and vessels, removing heavy bodies in any direction, and which is also applicable to other useful purposes. Dated July 29.

Arthur Woolf, of Wood Street, Spa fields, Middlesex, engineer; for an improved apparatus for converting water or other liquid, into vapour or steam, for the working of steam engines, for the heating of water or other liquid employed in brewing, distilling, dying, bleaching, tanning and other processes connected with arts and manufactures; calculated also to make a stronger extract than can be obtained by the processes commonly in use from a given quantity of any vegetable or other substance from which extracts are or may be made without the danger of burning, scorching, or singeing, such vegetable or other substance, and applicable to various other processes. Dated July 29.

Laver Oliver, of Bury St. Edmund's, Suffolk, upholster and cabinet maker; for dining, card, pembroke, and other tables, upon an improved construction. Dated August 3.

James Hall, of Mellor, in the parish of Gossop, Derbyshire, weaver; for an improvement to the

loom, whereby a new and cheap method of perpetually taking away the articles woven therein, as they are woven, is effected. Dated August 3.

Francis Godbold, of Craven Street, Westminster, dice-maker; for new invented dice. Dated August 3.

John Edwards, of Vine Street, Lambeth, Surry, engineer; for improvements in distilling, rectifying, and dying, whereby the same will be considerably accelerated, and the consumption of fuel will be materially reduced. Dated August 3.

Bryan Donkin, of Dartford, Kent, mill-wright; for a mode of producing a rotatory motion applicable to useful purposes. Dated August 3.

Michael Logan, of Paradise street, in the parish of St. Mary Rotherhithe, Surry, engineer; for a conservative lock for the use of inland or canal navigation. Dated August 5.

Cathcart Dempster, of St. Andrews, North Britain, gent.; for improvements in the manufacture of canvas or strong cloths, of vegetable materials, for sails, tents, packages, and other useful purposes. Dated August 30.

Chester Gould, of Red Lion street, Clerkenwell, Middlesex, gent.; for an hydrometer on a new principle, for the purpose of ascertaining the strength of spirits, and determining the specific gravity of fluids. Dated September 3.

John Isaac Hawkins, late of Bordenton, in the United States of America, now residing in King Street, Clerkenwell, Middlesex, Merchant; for machinery and methods for writing, painting, drawing,

ing, ruling lines, and other things; and for applying part of the afore-said machinery to other purposes. Dated September 24.

Robert Ransome, of Ipswich, Suffolk, iron founder, being one of the people called quakers; for a method of making and tempering cast iron plough-shares, and other articles of cast iron for agricultural uses. Dated September 24.

Robert Atkins, of Fenchurch Street, in the city of London, mathematical instrument maker; for improvements in the construction of hydrometers, for ascertaining the strength of spirituous liquors; and a sliding rule of correction for temperature to the hydrometer, and various improvements thereof. Dated October 31.

Edward Thomason, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, button and toy manufacturer; for a new mode of making hearth brushes. Dated October 31.

Booth Hodgetts, of Dudley, in the County of Worcester, nail ironmonger; for machinery for rolling iron for shanks, and for forming the same into shanks for nails. Dated November 8.

Richard Younger, of Pittman's Buildings, Old Street, in the County of Middlesex, gent.; for an improved method of extracting worts from malt, barley and other grains and substances. Dated November 12.

William Freemantle, of Bunhill row, in the parish of St. Luke, Old Street, in the county of Middlesex; watchmaker; for improvements in the construction of Steam Engines. Dated November 17.

James Bevans, of Castle Street, City Road, in the county of Middlesex, carpenter, being one of the society of the people called Quakers; for methods of applying machinery for the purposes of more expeditiously striking or sticking mouldings, and for rabbetting, ploughing, or grooving, fluting, and excavating wood, in every manner, now usually performed by any kind of plane. Dated November 19.

George Penton, of New Street Square, in the city of London, brass founder; for an improvement on lamps, commonly called Argand's lamps. Dated November 19.

James Sturman Searles, of little Alie Street, Goodman's fields, in the Parish of Saint Mary, Whitechapel, in the county of Middlesex, gun maker; for an improvement or improvements to be applied to any kind of fire arms or defensive instruments. Dated December 3.

Charles Wyatt, of New Bridge Street, in the City of London, Merchant; for a new invented process of purifying ardent spirits. Dated December 21.

Robert Cross, of Quaker's Brook within Houghton, in the County of Lancaster, tanner; and Thomas Southworth, of Houghton, afore-said, cotton manufacturer; for their new invented mode of heating such pans, vats, cisterns, and other vessels as are required to be heated by fire, and used for working steam engines, and in the businesses of Calico printer, dyer, brewer, paper maker, bleacher, salt maker, tanner, and other such like trades; by which invention much expence will be saved, not only in the fuel to be used

used in the heating of such vessels, but also in constructing the vessels themselves. Dated December 31.

On the Nature of the Varieties of engrafted Fruit-Trees, and a Plan for increasing the Number of new valuable Fruits. By Thomas Skyp Dyot Bucknal, Esquire.

From the Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.

SOME friends have requested that I would introduce another paper on the nature of the valuable varieties of engrafted fruits, as they are of opinion that the Essay in the seventeenth volume of the Transactions of the Society is not sufficiently extended for a subject so important to the fruit-growers, and those interested in the productions of fruits. As a proof of my willingness to make the orchardist as perfect as I can, I beg you to present my compliments to the Society with the following elucidations.

This is a subject in rural economy which ought to be much better understood than it is, in order to enable the planters to judge of the sorts proper to be planted, either as an article of pleasure, profit, or recreation; as much of the credit of the plantation must arise from judiciously choosing trees of the best, new, or middle-aged sorts, and not of the old worn-out varieties, which latter cannot, in the planting of orchards in common situations, ever form *valuable trees*, and must end in the disappointment of the planter.

Engrafted fruits, I have before said, and I now repeat, are not permanent. Every one of the

least reflection must see that there is an essential difference between the power and energy of a seedling plant, and the tree which is to be raised from cuttings or elongations. The seedling is endued with the energies of nature, while the graft, or scion, is nothing more than a regular elongation, carried perhaps through the several repetitions of the same variety; whereas the seed from having been placed in the earth, germinates and becomes a new plant, wherever nature permits like to produce like in vegetation; as in the oak, beech, and other mast-bearing trees. These latter trees, from each passing through the state of seedlings, are perfectly continued, and endued with the functions of forming perfect seeds for raising other plants by evolution, to the continuance of the like species.

This is not the case with engrafted fruits. They are doomed by nature to continue for a time, and then gradually decline, till at last the variety is totally lost, and soon forgotten, unless recorded by tradition, or in old publications.

Reason, with which Providence has most bountifully blessed some of our species, has enabled us, when we find a superior variety, to engraft it on a wilding stock, or to raise plants from layers and cuttings, or even to raise up the roots, and thus to multiply our sources of comfort and pleasure. This, however, does not imply that the multiplication of the same variety, for it is no more, should last for ever, unless the species will naturally arise from seed.

Nature, in her teaching, speaks in very intelligible language; which language is conveyed by ex-

perience and observation. Thus we see that among promiscuous seeds of fruits of the same sort, one or more may arise, whose fruits shall be found to possess a value far superior to the rest in many distinguishable properties. From experience also, we have obtained the power, by engrafting, of increasing the number of this newly-acquired tree, can change its country, give it to a friend, send it beyond the seas, or fill a kingdom with that fruit, if the natives are disposed so to do. Thus we seem to have a kind of creative power in our own hands.

From the attention lately paid to the culture of engrafted fruits, I hope we are now enabled to continue a supposed happily-acquired tree, when we can find it, for a much longer duration than if such variety had been left in the state of unassisted nature; perhaps I may say for a duration as long again, or something more. After these sanguine expectations, I may reasonably be asked, to what does all this amount? for here there is no direct permanency—and why? The *why* is very obvious—because the kernels within the fruit, which are the seed of the plants for forming the next generation of trees, will not produce their like. I allow they may do so accidentally; but nothing more can be depended on.

For example, suppose we take ten kernels or pips of any apple raised on an engrafted stock: sow them, and they will produce ten different varieties, no two of which will be alike; nor will either of them closely resemble the fruit whence the seeds were collected. The leaves also of those trees raised

from the same primogenious or parent stock, will not *actually* be a copy of the leaves of any one of the varieties or family, to which each is connected by a vegetable consanguinity. I intentionally used the word *actually*, because a resemblance may be found though not much of that is to be expected.

I beg that what has been last mentioned may not be taken as a discouragement to attempts for raising new varieties. I was obliged to speak very strongly, in order to place the culture upon its true foundation. I think it need not be observed, that there is no acquiring a new variety but through the means of a seedling plant; and therefore whoever wishes to succeed must attempt it that way, or wait till others in their plantations may more fortunately produce it.

In choosing the seeds, that apple is most likely to produce the clearest and finest plants, whose kernels are firm, large, and well ripened. The size of the fruits is not to be regarded; for large apples do not always ripen their fruit well, or rather the small fruits are generally preferred for making the strongest, highest-flavoured liquor. And from what I have been able to collect in the cider-countries, it is there the opinion, that an apple something above the improved crab promises the best success. This advantage also attends the practice: if there are no valuable apples raised from that attempt, these wildings will make excellent stocks to engraft upon.

Gentlemen who actually employ themselves in attempting to acquire new varieties, should remember

ber that they ought to select all the sets, from the bed of apple-quick, whose appearance is in the least degree promising, and plant them together, at such a distance as to allow each to produce its fruit, which will happen in about twelve, fifteen, or eighteen years. My friend Mr. Knight, who undoubtedly is the first in actual exertions for procuring these happily-acquired new varieties, has had two plants bear fruit at six years old, and one at five. The cider-countries have offered several premiums for procuring new varieties, and some with good effect. Premiums have been given both to Mr. Knight and Mr. Alban.

When the new variety is to be raised from a valuable *admired* apple, I should recommend the placing these seeds in a garden-pot, filled with mould from an old melon-bed; carrying the pot into a retired situation near the water, and giving attention to run the plants to as large a size as is convenient within eighteen months. With this view, the pot should be placed in the green-house the first winter; and when the plants are afterwards to be set out in the spots, they should not be placed under the drip of trees, or much exposed to the winds.

Two instances have been mentioned, the improved crab, and most admired apple; but prudence says, try all sorts, and something probably will arise; and the process is attended with little trouble or expence to a person who constantly resides in the country: yet, after all this scientific care, the apple may want flavour, and be in other respects nothing better than a common wilding.

It is an undoubted fact, and worthy of observation, that all the different trees of the same variety have a wonderful tendency to similarity of appearance among themselves; and that the parent-stock, and all engrafted from it, have a far greater resemblance to each other, than can be found in any part of the animal creation; and this habit does not vary to any extent of age.

As an encouragement in attempting to increase the number of new valuable fruits, we can prove that the Golden Pippin is native English. The Red-streak a seedling of Herefordshire, if not raised, yet was first brought into notice by Lord Scudamore, and was for a long time called Scudamore's Crab. The Stire Apple was accidentally raised in the Forest of Dean, in Gloucestershire, and took the name of *Forest Stire*. The cider made from this apple was the strongest the country ever produced, according to any living record. The Haglo-crab, the best cider-fruit now remaining, was discovered in the parish of Ecloe, on the banks of the Severn; and about sixty or seventy years ago, many scions were taken from this tree by Mr. Bellamy, and engrafted on seedling-stocks about Ross. These are now grown old; and, to ascertain the age of the variety, I went with Charles Edwin, Esq. to Ecloes, in hopes of seeing the parent-stock of this family. The proprietor of the estate acquainted Mr. Edwin that it had ceased to bear years ago, and was cut down. Those at Ross are but poor bearers now, and I should suppose the variety must be 140 years old, though Marshal, who wrote in the year 1786, mentions

tions these trees were prolific, and he supposes the sort to be about eighty years old; but, from present experience, it must be much more. The Tinton-squash pear is of Gloucestershire; the Barland and Old-field were near Ledbury, Herefordshire. The two last pears clearly bear the names of the two fields where they were raised. The Barland fell about six years ago, visibly from weight and longevity, which was supposed to have been about 200 years. There have been many other names of estimation handed down to us, though the realities are now totally worn out, and have ceased to exist. Can any better proof be desired, that engrafted fruits are not permanent, than the regret we feel for the loss of these old valuable fruits?

To make my paper as short as convenient, I have dwelt only on the apple and pear; yet all the engrafted fruits are under the same predicament of the seed not producing its like, and the offspring in time falling into a nothingness of growth and bearing, though that space of time must certainly depend on the natural longevity and hardness of the sort, soil, position, care, &c. All these are more fully expressed in the papers published in the different volumes of the Transactions of this Society, and the two volumes of the Orchardist, wherein the whole system is extended, to form a rational culture for the management of standard fruits.

It should be remembered, that as I am now alluding to the state of actual permanency, fifty years are to be accounted as nothing; and as often as we come to that

point, we are compelled to resort to our first assertion, "That engrafted fruits are not permanent, they being continued from elongations, and not raised as a repetition of seeds." This is the only rational way as yet introduced of accounting for the loss of the valuable old varieties of fruits. Should a better system be introduced, I shall readily adopt it; but this sufficiently answers the purposes of the planter.

Some years ago, from due investigation and thorough conviction, I propagated this principle; and it was published in the seventeenth volume of the Society's Transactions, in the following words: "All the grafts taken from this first tree, or parent-stock, or any of the descendants, will for some generations thrive; but when this first stock shall, by mere dint of old age, fall into actual decay, a nihil-ity of vegetation—the descendants, however young, or in whatever situation they may be, will gradually decline; and, from that time, it would be imprudent, in point of profit, to attempt propagating that variety from any of them. This is the dogma which must be received. I do not expect a direct assent, neither do I wish it, for it should be taken with much reserve; but it is undoubtedly true." These considerations should stimulate us in searching after new varieties, equal or perhaps superior to those of which we regret the loss.

Observe that, from the time the kernel germinates for apple-quick, should the plant be disposed to form a valuable variety, there will appear a regular progressive change, or improvement, in the organization of the leaves until that

that variety has stood, and grown sufficient to blossom, and come into full bearing; that is, from the state of infancy to maturity; and it is this and other circumstances by which the inquisitive eye is enabled to form the selection among those appearing likely to become valuable fruits. But from that time the new variety, or selected plant, compared with all the engraftments which may be taken from it, or any of them, these shall shew a most undeviating sameness among themselves.

It is readily allowed, that the different varieties of fruits are easily distinguished from each other by many particulars, not only respecting their general fertility, and the form, size, shape, and flavour of the fruit, but also the manner of the growth of the tree, the thickness and proportion of the twigs, their shooting from their parent stem, the form, colour, and consistence of the leaf, and many other circumstances, by which the variety can be identified; and were it possible to engraft each variety upon the same stock, they would still retain their discriminating qualities, with the utmost undeviating certainty.

The proper conclusion to be drawn from the statement in the last paragraph, is this—that were any one to put the thought in practice on a full-grown hardy or crab stock, it would produce an excellent proof that engrafted fruits are not permanent. For if twenty different varieties were placed together, so that each might receive its nature from the same stem, they would gradually die off in actual succession, according to the age or

state of health of the respective variety, at the time the scions were placed in the stock; and a discriminating eye, used to this business, would nearly be able to foretell the order in which each scion would actually decline. Should it also happen that two or three suckers from the wilding stock had been permitted to grow among the *twenty grafts*, such suckers or wilding shoots will continue, and make a tree after all the rest are gone. A farther consequence would result from the experiment: among such a number of varieties, each of the free growers would starve the delicate, and drive them out of existence only so much the sooner. It must be observed, that this supposed stem is the foster-parent to the twenty scions, and real parent to the suckers; and those the least conversant with engrafted fruits know the advantage acquired from this circumstance. And here it is worth while remarking, that a Gascoyne, or wild cherry, will grow to twice the size that ever an engrafted cherry did.

By an experiment we have had in hand for five years, it will appear that the roots and stem of a large tree, after the first set of scions are exhausted or worn out, may carry another set for many years; and we suspect a third set, provided the engrafting is properly done, and the engrafter chooses a new variety. Now the Ripston Pippin, of Yorkshire, is the favourite, as being a free grower and good bearer, with fine fruit. This however may certainly be depended on, that when a new apple is raised from seed, if a scion were placed in a retired situation, and con-

stantly cut down, as a stool in a copse-wood, and the apple never suffered to fulfil the intentions of nature in bearing fruit, the practitioners of the following ages may secure scions from that stool, to continue the variety much longer. Hence, though I have written as much as is in my power against permanency, yet I have taken some pains to assure the planters, that forecast, selection, pruning, cleanliness, and care, will make the orchards turn to more profit for the rising generations than what they have done for the last hundred years.

To place the nature of varieties in its true light, for the information of the public, I must maintain, that the different varieties of the apple will, after a certain time, decline, and actually die away, and each variety, or all of the same stem or family, will lose their existence in vegetation; and yet it is a known fact, and mentioned in the seventeenth volume of the *Transactions*, that after the debility of age has actually taken possession of any variety, it will yet thrive by being placed against a southern wall, and treated as wall-fruit. Who, however, can afford to raise cider at that expence, except as matter of curiosity, to prove, that when the vital principle in vegetation is nearly exhausted, a superior care and warmth will still keep the variety in existence some time longer?

It should be understood, that the external air of Britain is rather too cold for the delicate fruits, which is the reason why, in the Orchardist, I lay such a stress on procuring *warmth* for the trees, by

draining, shelter, and manure. It would be now lost time to attempt to recover the old varieties as an article of profit.

If I have not expressed myself in this Essay on the Nature of Varieties, with so much clearness and conviction as might have been expected, it should be considered that it is an abstruse subject, very little understood, and requiring at first some degree of *faith, observation, and perseverance*. The prejudices of mankind revolt against it. They are not disposed to allow the distinction of nature; and they imagine, that in the act of engrafting or multiplying they give new life, whereas it is only continuing the existence of the same tree, stick, or bud. Observe what I said before:—the seed of the apple, when placed in the earth, germinates, and unfolds itself into a new plant, which successively passes through the stages of infancy, maturity, and decay, like its predecessors. I might say, all-created nature is similar in this respect; though, from the circumstance that varieties are much longer lived than man, the plants have appeared to be possessed of eternal powers of duration; nothing sublunary, however, which possesses either animal or vegetable life, is exempt from age and death.

Whithin the last twenty years I have travelled many hundred miles, and conversed with the most intelligent men in each country; and I now want to convince mankind, for no other reason than because it is their interest so to believe, that there is in creation an order of beings (engrafted fruits) so formed, that we have the power
of

of multiplying a single variety, to whatever number of trees we please;—that the first set arises from a small seed;—that the next and descendant sets are propagated by engraftings, or from cuttings, layers, &c.;—and that although these trees may amount to millions, yet, on the death of the primogenious or parent-stock, merely from old age, or nihility of growth, each individual shall decline, in whatever country they may be, or how ever endued with youth and health. I say they shall gradually begin to decline; and in the course of time, or of centuries, to those who would prefer that expression, the *whole variety* will scarcely have a single tree remaining to show what the fruit was. Let those who are not disposed to assent to this statement, ask themselves what is become of the old lost varieties? did they die, or did wicked men maliciously cut them up?

I, who am firmly convinced of the truth of what I have advanced on this subject, have no doubt but that the same would happen by engrafting on the oak or beech, if the mast raised from the engrafted tree did not produce the like; for there the question turns.

It is not known, that the wood-

man in setting out his sapling oaks always selects new seedling plants, and never continues one upon an old stool; and that if he should so blunder, that tree, from the stool, will neither have the freedom of growth, nor the size nor firmness of timber, equal to a new-raised plant.

I wish I could persuade my friends, that with the same attention with which the woodman acts, the planter is to raise his orchard from the young fruits which thrive in the neighbourhood, or are in health, and full-bearing in the country whence they are to be brought.

The fruit-grower should look to selection, cleanliness, and care. To me it is a circumstance perfectly indifferent, whether he is to use Mr. Forsyth's composition, Mr. Bullingham's boiled linseed oil, or my medication. I only maintain that the wounded parts of trees want something to destroy the insects and vermin, and heal the wood, from which the trees are kept in health.

Let those who are blessed with fruit-plantations attend to their preservation, and not leave them to the state of unassisted nature.

ANTIQUITIES.

*Remarks on a Gimmel Ring by Robert Smith, Esq. F. R. S. and F. A. S.
(From Archæologia Vol. XIV.)*

Sir,

I HAVE the pleasure to exhibit to the Society a curious Gimmel Gemmow Ring; which was dug up, a few months ago, by the workmen employed on some buildings belonging to George Shepley Esq. at Horsley-down, in Surry. It was discovered about eight or nine feet below the surface of the earth, in what is called made-ground, but which appeared to have lain undisturbed for a considerable length of time. Other rings, and many ancient copper coins and medals, both Roman and English, were found near the same spot; as were the skeletons of several human bodies.

This Ring is constructed, as the name imports, of twin or double hoops, which play one within another, like the links of a chain. Each hoop has one of its sides flat, the other convex; each is twisted once round, and each surmounted by a hand, issuing from an embossed fancy-work wrist or sleeve; the

hand rising somewhat above the circle, and extending in the same direction. The course of the twist, in each hoop, is made to correspond with that of its counterpart, so that on bringing together the flat surfaces of the hoops, the latter immediately unite in one ring. On the lower hand, or that of which the palm is uppermost, is represented a heart; and, as the hoops close, the hands slide into contact, form with their ornamented wrists, a head to the whole. The device thus presents a triple emblem of love, fidelity and union. Upon the flat side of the hoops are engraved “*Usé de Vertu*,” in Roman capitals; and, on the inside of the lower wrist, the figures “990.” The whole is of fine gold, and weighs two pennyweights four grains.

It is of foreign workmanship, probably French, and appears to be of no great antiquity; perhaps about the reign of our queen Elizabeth: for though the time of the introduction into Europe of the Arabic numerals be referred by some to an æra nearly corresponding with the figures on the Ring, the better opinion seems to be, that the Arabian

bian method of notation was unknown to the Europeans until about the middle of the 13th century. I conjecture, therefore, that the figures were meant to express, not a date, but the artist's number; such as we see still engraven on watches. The workmanship is not incurious; and as the Ring furnishes a genuine specimen of the gimmel (a term now almost forgotten), I presume to offer it to the notice of the Society.

Rings, it is well known, are of great antiquity; and, in the early ages of the world, denoted authority and government. These were communicated, symbolically, by the delivery of a ring to the person on whom they were meant to be conferred. Thus Pharaoh, when he committed the government of Egypt to Joseph, took the ring from his finger and gave it to Joseph, as a token of the authority with which he invested him. So also did Ahasuerus to his favourite Haman, and to Mordecai, who succeeded him in his dignity.

In conformity to this ancient usage, recorded in the Bible, the Christian church afterward adopted the ceremony of the ring in marriage, as a symbol of the authority which the husband gave the wife over his household, and over the "earthly goods" with which he endowed her.

But the Gimmel Ring is comparatively of modern date. It should seem that we are indebted for the design to the ingenious fancies of our Gallic neighbours, whose skill in diversifying the symbols of the tender passion has

continued unrivalled, and in the language of whose country the mottoes employed on almost all the amorous trifles are still to be found. And it must be allowed, that the double hoop, each apparently free yet inseparable, both formed for uniting, and complete only in their union, affords a not unapt representation of the married state.

Among the numerous love-tokens which lovers have presented to their mistresses, in all ages, the ring bears a conspicuous part; nor is any more likely than the gimmel to "steal the impression of a mistress's fantasy," as none so clearly expresses its errand. In the "Midsummer-Night's Dream" of Shakspeare, where Egeus accuses Lysander, before the Duke, of having inveigled his daughter's affections, or, as the old man expresses it, "witch'd the bosom" of his child, he exclaims,

"Thou hast given her rhimes,
And interchang'd love-tokens with my
child:
Thou hast, by moon-light, at her window
sung,
With feigning voice, verses of feigning
love;
And stol'n the impression of her fantasie,
With bracelets of thy hair, rings, gawds,
conceits."

From a simple love-token, the gimmel was at length converted into the more serious "*sponsalium annulus*," or ring of affiance. The lover putting his finger through one of the hoops, and his mistress her's through the other, were thus, symbolically, yoked together; a yoke which neither could be said wholly to wear, one half being allotted to the other*.

* Among the explanations given of Gemmellus, by R. Stephens, in his Thesaurus, is the following, "Gemellos quoque vocat Paulus Equos forte bijuges, id est, binos & geminos conjungi solitos: ut in l. proinde D. ad legem Aquil. Veluti si quis ex comœdis, aut symphoniâcis, aut gemellis, aut quadrigâ, aut pari mularum unum vel unam occiderit."

And in this use of the gimmel may be seen typified, a community of interests, mutual forbearance, and a participation of authority.

The French term for it is, "foi," or "alliance;" which latter word, in the "Dictionnaire de Trévoux," is defined, "bague ou jonc que l'accordé donne à son accordée où il y a un fil d'or, et un fil d'argent." This definition not only shews the occasion of its use, but supposes the two hoops to be composed, one of gold the other of silver; a distinction evidently meant to characterise the bridegroom and bride. Thus Columella calls those vines which produce two different sorts of grapes, "Gemellæ vites."

Our English glossaries afford but little information on the subject. Minshew refers the reader from gimmel to gemow; the former he derives from "gemellus," the latter from the French "jumeau:" and he explains the Gemow Ring to signify, "double or twinned, because they be rings with two or more links." Neither of the words is in Junius. Skinner and Ainsworth deduce gimmel from the same Latin origin, and suppose it to be used only of something consisting of correspondent parts, or double. Dr. Johnson gives it a more extensive signification; he explains gimmel to mean, "some little quaint devices, or pieces of machinery," and refers to Hamlet: but he inclines to think the name gradually corrupted from geometry or geometrical, because, says he, "any thing done by occult means is vulgarly said to be done by geometry."

The word is not in Chaucer, nor in Spenser; yet both Blount

in his "Glossography," and Phillips in his "World of Words," have geminals; which they interpret twins.

Shakespeare has gimmel in two or three places; though none of the commentators seem thoroughly to understand the term. The most striking passage is that in "The Midsummer-Night's Dream," Act IV. Scene I.—Hermia and Helena, with their lovers, Demetrius and Lysander, having just awaked from the dream which gives name to the play, are relating the changes which they perceived to have taken place in their affections, during sleep. Hermia remarks.

"Methinks, I see these things with parted
eye;
When every thing seems double."

Helena seizes the idea which the word double presented, and beautifully expands it, in a manner almost peculiar to the author. Applying it instantly to her lover, Demetrius, who had acted two such different parts that night, that she could hardly even then know whether to count or not upon his love, she replies,

"So methinks;
And I have found Demetrius like a jewel,
Mine own and not mine own."

Warburton, perceiving the corruption of the text, in the admission of the word jewel, reads the passage thus:

"And I have found Demetrius like a
gemell,
Mine own, and not mine own."

But knowing nothing of the Gimmel Ring, or not recollecting its

its use, he derives his emendation from *gemellus*, a twin and there stops. Johnson notices the bishop's observation, and adds, "this emendation is ingenious enough to deserve to be true;" but he proceeds no farther nor does the late Mr. Steevens, in commenting upon this passage, make any mention of the Gimmel Ring; which alone can remove the obscurity of the last line, and render the whole intelligible. One half of the Gimmel Ring, as I before observed, being worn by the lover, the other by his mistress, it might with the strictest truth be predicated, as well of his part as of her's, when either spoke of it,

" it is
Mine own and not mine own."

Or, as the lawyers express the tenure by joint tenancy, they were each "seised per mie & per tout;" that is, each of each half, and each of the whole, by a unity of title and possession. "No other interpretation," (to use your own words, in the note, which you gave me on the above passage), "in my humble opinion, makes the passage worthy of Shakespeare."

Gimmel again occurs, in "King Henry the Fifth," Act IV. Scene II. where the French lords are proudly scoffing at the condition of the English army. Grandpree says,

"The horsemen sit like fixed candlesticks,
With torch-staves in their hands; and their
poor jades
Lob down their heads, dropping the hide
and hips:
The gum down-roping from their pale dead
eyes;

And in their pale dull mouths the GIM-
MAL BIT
Lies foul with chaw'd grafs, still and
motionless."

We may understand the gimmel bit, therefore, to mean either a double bit, in the ordinary sense of the word, (*duplex*), or, which is more appropriate, a bit composed of links, playing one within another (*gemellus*.)

The last passage which I shall notice, is, that in the "First part of king Henry the Sixth," Act I. Scene II, in which gimmel seems to carry the broad signification assigned to it by Dr. Johnson. In the scene before Orleans, after the French had been beaten back with great loss, Charles and his Lords are concerting together the farther measures to be pursued. The king says,

"Let's leave this town, for they are hair-
brain'd slaves,
And hunger will enforce them to be more
eager:
Of old I know them; rather with their
teeth
The walls they'll tear down, than forsake
the siege.

To which Reignier subjoins,

"I think, by some odd *gimmals* or device,
Their arms are set, like clocks, still to
strike on;
Else they could ne'er hold out so, as they
do.
By my consent we'll e'en let them alone."

Some of the commentators have the following note upon this passage,
"A gimmel is a piece of jointed work, where one piece moves within another; whence it is taken at large for an engine. It is now vulgarly called "Gimcrack."

And

And in Ainsworth's Thesaurus, the Latin given for gimmel, or gimmer, is, machine quædam; without mentioning of what kind.

I have the honour to be,

Sir, your most obedient

Basinghall Street, and most humble
6 Dec. 1800. Servant,

ROBERT SMITH.

The Rev. Mr. Brand, Secretary to
the Society of Antiquaries of
London.

On the Cave of Trophonius.

(From Faber's Dissertation on the
Mysteries of the Cabiri.)

PORPHYRY concludes his treatise with a variety of refined remarks upon the olive which Homer represents as overshadowing the Nymphæan cavern. None of them however are in the least degree satisfactory, excepting his observation, that suppliants were accustomed to bear olive branches in their hands, from which they augured, that the gloom of their present calamities would be exchanged for light, happiness, and prosperity*. Here we have some remains of the original matter of fact, though completely misunderstood and perverted by Porphyry. The olive in the Mysteries was commemorative of the olive-branch brought back to Noah by the dove: and it was the propitious omen, that the patri-

arch and his family would speedily emerge from the gloom of the Ark to the light of day; that they would exchange their confinement for liberty; and that they would each soon be able to exclaim in the language of the mystagogue, "I have escaped an evil, I have found a better lot†." With a similar allusion to the history of the deluge, the priests of Mithras were styled Hierocoraces, or sacred ravens‡; and the oracular priestesses of Hammon, Peleïades, or doves§: while, in consequence of the close connection of the dove and the olive, a particular species of that tree was denominated Columbas||.

These remarks upon the treatise of Porphyry will prepare us for the examination of several other Mithratic caverns; one of the most celebrated of which was that of Trophonius in Beotia.

Upon the death of Orchomenus, whom I have shewn to be Orca-Menus, or the arkite Noah, his kingdom was supposed to have devolved to Clymenus, the grandson of Phrixus. Clymenus was slain by the Thebans at the festival of the Onchestian or oceanic Neptune, and he was succeeded by his eldest son Erginus, the father of Trophonius and Agamedes. Trophonius is said to have been nursed by Ceres-Europa; and he had a consecrated grove near the city Orchomenus, and in it a famous oracular cavern. Upon the bank of the adjacent river stood a small

* ΛΕΙΠΕΤΑΙ ΔΕ ΠΑΡΑΣΗΝΑΙ ΤΟ ΤΗΣ ΠΕΦΥΤΕΥΜΕΝΗΣ ΕΛΑΙΑΣ ΣΥΜΒΟΛΟΝ, ὃ ὅτι ΠΟΤΕ ΜΗΝΥΕΙ—
ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΛΙΤΑΝΙΑΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΚΕΤΗΡΙΑΙΣ ΤΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΑΙΑΣ ΘΑΛΕΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΣΤΕΙΝΗΣΙΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΛΕΥΚΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ
ΤΟ ΣΚΟΤΕΙΝΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΙΝΔΥΝΩΝ ΜΕΤΑΒΑΛΛΕΙΝ ὈΠΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΙ. Porh. de Ant. Nymph. p. 269.
270.

† ΕΦΥΓΟΝ ΚΑΚΟΝ, ΕΥΡΟΝ ΑΓΓΕΙΟΝ. Vide supra vol. i. p. 276.

‡ Ban. Mythol. vol. i. p. 289.

§ Herod. lib. ii. cap. 55.

|| Athen. Deipnos. lib. ii. p. 56.

temple of the nymph Hercyna, who was worshipped in conjunction with him, and who was supposed to have been the companion of Proserpine. Near the river was also a tumulus, said to be the monument of a person called Arcestilaus; and a chapel, dedicated to Ceres-Europa. Within the cavern were statues of Trophonius and Hercyna, holding in their hands rods, around which serpents were intertwined. Not far from the oracle was a statue of Jupiter-Pluvius: and, upon the summit of the hill, a temple of Apollo; another of Proserpine, and Jupiter; and a third of Juno, Jupiter, and Saturn. The rivulet itself was named Hercyna; and the cavern, which Pausanias informs us was artificial, was so contrived, that the stream flowed out of it. When any person wished to consult the oracle, he was first washed in this consecrated water by two youths, each of whom bore the title of Mercury or Castmilus. He was then directed to drink of the streams of Lethè and Mnemosynè; the first of which removed from his recollection all profane thoughts, and the second enabled him to remember whatever he might see in the cave. Afterwards he was dressed in a linen robe, and conducted in solemn procession to the oracle. The mouth of the cavern was shaped like an oven*, being extremely narrow and steep; and the method of descending into it was by means of a small ladder. Arriving at the

bottom, the votary found another cave; the entrance into which was yet more straight than that of the former. Here he prostrated himself upon the ground, holding in either hand the offerings to Trophonius, which consisted of cakes mixed with honey. Immediately his feet were seized, and his whole body was drawn into the cavern, by the agency of some invisible power. Here he beheld such visions, and heard such voices, as seemed best to the tutelary deity of the place. The response being given, he forthwith felt himself conveyed out of the cavern, in the same manner as he had been drawn in, his feet in both cases being foremost. As soon as he once more emerged to open day, he was conducted by the officiating priests to the chair of Mnemosynè, and strictly interrogated with respect to what he had seen or heard. Generally speaking however, through the operation doubtless of superstitious terror, the votary was drawn up in a swoon. In this case he was carried to the temple of the Good Genius, till he should have come to himself again: after which he was required to write down the answer of the oracle in a book kept specially for that purpose. Pausanias adds, that he gave this account from his own personal knowledge, for that he had had curiosity to descend himself into the cave and to consult the god†.

From this description of the cavern of Trophonius the reader

* From the circumstance of the mouths of the artificial Mithratic grottoes being thus shaped originated the notion of the more modern Persians, that the waters of the deluge burst forth from the oven of an old woman, called Zala-Cupha. In libro Pharrh. Sur. memoratur mons illustris, ubi tunc habitavit Noah, cum ex eo erumperet aqua diluvii: et ibidem, Zala Cupha dicitur fuisse nomen vetulæ, ex cujus furno aqua diluvii primo erupit. Hyde de Rel. Vet. Pers. cap. 10.

† Paus. Bæot. p. 784—792.

will sufficiently perceive, without the assistance of a formal enumeration and comparison of particulars, that it was an oracular Mithratic grotto; and he will be confirmed in his opinion by the fabulous history of Trophonius and Hercyna.

With regard to Trophonius, the whole of his genealogy, as we have just seen, is purely mythological; both his imaginary descent, and his mysterious worship, relating entirely to the helio-arkite devotion. He was the same in short as the infernal or diluvian Mercury*; and his title Trophonius seems to be a corruption of Tora-Phont, the priest of the heifer.

As Trophonius was the solar Noah, so the goddess Hercyna, worshipped in conjunction with him, is Erca-Nah, the Noëtic Ark; and the rods, which their statues bore, intertwined with serpents, point them out to be the same characters as Esculapius and Salus, or the Noëtic Sun and the arkite Moon. Hercyna in fact was no other than Ceres-Europa, the allegorical nurse of Trophonius; and consequently she was the same as Hippa, Nufa, or Ino, the supposed nurses of Bacchus. Accordingly Lycophron informs us, that Ennèa, Hercyna, and Erinnus, were all titles of Ceres †; and his commentator Tzetzes observes, that Hercyna was at once an epithet of Ceres, and the name of the daughter of Trophonius. He further

adds, that she was debauched by Neptune, being first metamorphosed by him into a Hippa, or mare ‡. It is almost superfluous to observe that it matters little, whether Ceres-Europa-Hercyna-Hippa was esteemed the nurse or the daughter of Trophonius, in either case she will be equally a personification of the Ark.

As for the supposed tomb of the hero Arcefilaus, which was thrown up on the bank of the rivulet Hercyna, I apprehend it to have been merely a high place of Arc-Es-El, the helio-arkite deity; while the two ministering youths, denominated Mercurii, are evidently the Casmili of the Samothracian Mysteries, or the Camilli of the antient Tuscans.

The cavern of Trophonius then being thus destined for the celebration of the diluvian worship, we shall not be surprised to find it situated near the town of Orchomenus, or the arkite Noah, and in Beotia, or the land of the symbolical heifer.

Antiquities of Siwah.

(From Horneman's Travels in Africa.)

AS we approached the spot destined for our encampment in the Vale of Siwah, I descried to the westward some ruins of an extensive building, a few miles distant from the road, and concluded them

* Alter (Mercurius) Valentis et Phoronidus filius, is, qui sub terris habetur, idem Trophonius. Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. iii. cap. 22. Sub terra est alter (Mercurius) Trophonius qui esse jactatur. Arnob. adv. Gent. lib. iv. p. 170.

† Οὐ παππον ἐν γαμφαίῳ ἐνναία ποτε,

Ἐρμῆν, Ἐρμῆν.—— Lycoph. Cass. ver. 152.

Ennèa is only a variation of Antèa, Anèa, Nanèa, Nana, or Anu. Vide supra vol. i p. 145.

‡ Tzet. Schol. in loc.

to be the same as noticed by a late English traveller, (Mr. Brown), of whose discoveries I heard first in London, and afterwards, when in Egypt. Circumstances rendered it necessary for me to be particularly on my guard, and to defer any visit to, or actual inspection of, these antiquities, until I had retrieved the confidence of the natives, who, on my very first appearance, (as I was informed,) had taken me and my interpreter, for Christians; and to this supposition they were induced, from our fairer complexion, from our gait and manners, and from our Turkish dresses. When I took advantage of the disturbances at Cairo and its environs, to get introduced as a Mahomedan to the caravan, I could not indeed speak readily, either Turkish or Arabic; but in this, I flattered myself, the assumed character of a young Mameluke might be my excuse; and I further derived confidence from the experience and abilities of my interpreter, who (a German by birth,) had been forced, twelve years past, to embrace the Mahomedan religion at Constantinople, and whose address and knowledge, I hoped, might preclude, or extricate me from, any consequences of jealousy or suspicion.

Considering the importance of my mission, and the great purpose of exploring the whole of Northern Africa, with which I was entrusted, perhaps it had been more wise and prudent on my part, not to have exposed myself to general intercourse, until better qualified to sustain the character I had assumed; had I so done in the present instance, and abstained from visiting the curiosities of Siwah, and expo-

sing myself in the novelty of the attempt, to examinations and suspicions, I might have avoided a danger which (as will appear in the sequel) nearly proved fatal to myself, and therewith to the object of my voyage.

Making such candid admission of not having the requisite forbearance, with objects of so just curiosity in view, I proceed to state the course of my inquiries, and the result.

I first visited the ruins of the extensive edifice before observed. I accosted some men working in the gardens near, and questioning them as to what they knew of this building, they answered, "that in former times Siwah was inhabited by infidels most of whom lived in caves, but some inhabited these buildings." One spokesman, pointing to a building in the centre, said, "tradition tells us, *that edifice* was the hall in which the divan used to assemble; at the time of its construction men were stronger than I am; for those huge stones serving as a roof to the fabric, were lifted up and placed there by two men only: there is much gold buried under the walls." When I then entered into the ruins, I was followed by all the people near, and thus prevented examining the place with any accuracy. On a second visit I was not more successful; and when, after a few days, I returned thither again, some Siwahans directly said to me, "thou undoubtedly art yet a Christian in thy heart, else why come so often to visit these works of Infidels." In order to maintain the character I had assumed, I was thus necessitated to abandon any further project of nice examination or ad-measure-

measurement, and restrict myself to general observations, such as I now submit in detail as they occurred.

Ummebeda (the name given to the site of those ruins by the natives) lies near a village called *Scharkie* or *Agrmie*, between that place and an isolated mountain, on which a copious spring of fresh water is said to rise. The buildings are in such a state of dilapidation, that a plain observer, who forms an opinion only from what he sees, and does not accommodate the object in application and conjecture to preconceived notions of a particular structure which he is to look for, and trace out, could scarcely, (I think) from these rude heaps, and mouldered and disjointed walls, suggest the precise form or original purpose of the building when first raised. Its materials might suggest, that it was built in the rudest ages, and when the Troglodytæ of these parts first left their caves, and in their first attempt of building, took their scheme and plan of architecture from their old mansions, heaping rock on rock, in imitation of the dwelling places which nature had before furnished.

I ascertained the general bearings of the building by my compass, and found the outward walls constructed with aspects facing the four cardinal points, the aberration being only of twelve degrees, and which might have occurred from variation of the needle. The total circumference may be several hundred yards, and is to be traced out and followed by the foundations of a wall, in most parts visible, and which, from the masses remaining, appears to have been *very strong*. The outward wall, in most places, has been thrown down, and the

materials carried away, and the interior ground has been every where turned up, and dug, in search of treasure.

In the centre of this extensive area, are seen the remains of an edifice, which perhaps may be regarded as the principal building, and to which all around may have been mere appendage, and subordinate.

The northern part of this building stands on a native calcareous rock, rising above the level of the general area, within the outer walls, about eight feet. The height of the edifice appears to be about twenty-seven feet; its width twenty-four, and its length ten or twelve paces. The walls are six feet in thickness, the exterior of which within and without is constructed of large free stones, filled up in the interstice with small stones and lime. The ceiling is formed by vast blocks of stone, wrought and fitted to stretch over and cover the entire building. The breadth of each such mass of stone is about four feet, and the depth or thickness three feet. One of these stones of the roof has fallen in, and is broken; the entire southern wall of the building hath likewise tumbled, and the materials have mostly been carried away. But the people have not been able to remove the large fragments fallen from the roof, which their ancestors were enabled to bring from the quarry, and to raise entire to the summit of the edifice. Such are the vicissitudes of art, of knowledge, and of human powers and means, as well as of human happiness and fortunes!"

The stones that have fallen, lie sunk, with their surface lower than the

the base of the yet standing part of the building, and their bottom almost on a level with the area of the great inclosure. The appearance of these fallen stones of the southern wall, leads to a conjecture, that this extremity of the original edifice had its floor or base *lower than that of the northern part*. The entrances to this building are three, the principal one to the north, and the others to the east and west. The inside walls (beginning at half their height from the ground) are decorated with hieroglyphics sculptured in relief, but the figures seem not to have been sufficiently engraved in *alt*, or *salient*, to resist the ravages of time and weather; and in some places they are wholly mouldered and defaced, and especially on the ceiling.

On different parts of the wall appear marks of paint, and the colour seems to have been green. I could nowhere discover traces of the edifice having in any part been lined or inlaid with a finer stone or material. A few paces from the chief entrance, I observed two round stones, of about three feet diameter, each indented, as if to receive the base of some statue or other ornament. The general material of which the building is constructed, is a lime-stone, containing petrifications of shells and small marine animals; and such stone is to be found and dug up in the vicinity.

On examining the country around these ruins, I found the soil contiguous to the foundations of the outward wall on the south to be marshy, and was informed that it contained salt springs. I asked if no considerable spring of fresh water was to be seen near; and was shewn a fine rivulet of sweet water,

about half a mile from the ruins, which takes its rise in a grove of date trees, and in a most romantic and beautiful situation: it is not, however, its delightful scene that recommends it to the native of Siwah, but an opinion that it is a specific against certain diseases.

I am conscious that the above description of the remains of antiquity near Siwah, is by far too cursory and incomplete, for any purpose of just and accurate inference; and that it must yet remain a mere conjecture, whether these ruins are those of the famous *Temple of Jupiter Ammon*. It must be obvious, from many points I have adverted to in my description, that I had the site of this renowned temple in view, and that it was a principal object of my research. Circumstances I was under, and of which the reader is already apprised, prevented my pursuing this great subject of just and learned curiosity with the nicety of inspection, and care in the consideration, which I could have wished to employ. Supposing, on reference to ancient writers, the comparison of the buildings not to bear me out in the idea which I entertain; yet on many other grounds I should contend, that Siwah had been a residence of the ancient Ammonites. I draw my conclusion from the relative situation of the country; from the quality of the soil, from its fertility; from the information of its inhabitants, that no other such fruitful tract is to be found any where near; and, in addition to the certainty, at least, that some great and magnificent building once here stood, I derive a further conclusion from the numerous catacombs to be found in the vicinity,

and which I shall have occasion more particularly to notice. In regard to the memorable Temple of Ammon, should even my own description of the existing vestiges of building not accurately agree with general accounts of that edifice, yet, notwithstanding, I must continue to hold an opinion, from the general appearance and from the situation of those ruins, that they *may be* remains of the Temple of Jupiter Ammon. A delineation and decipher of the hieroglyphic figures, which adorn the inner walls of the building, might be conclusive on this question.

I will further add on this subject, that on inquiry after *Edrisi's Santrich*, no one knew it even by name; but I was told that at a distance of seven days journey from *Siwah*, six from *Faiume*, and two or three* from *Biljoradec*, there exists a country, similar to that of *Siwah*, its inhabitants less in number, and speaking the same language. That region I should take to be the *Minor Oasis* of the ancients. I speak of this place from mere report, and could gain no more accurate, or further account; perhaps it lies among the mountains which traverse the great Desert near *Ummesogeir*, extending towards the south.

I come now to the subject of the various catacombs, to be found in the territory of *Siwah*, and which I was enabled more fully to examine, as lying in more sequestered spots, and where I was less liable to observation.

If I well understood my companion, an inhabitant of *Siwah*, there are four principal places, where catacombs are found. The first,

Belled-el-Kaffer; the second, *Belled-el-Rumi*; both these terms, denote one and the same thing, namely, "place or town of infidels;" the third is, *El-Mota*, or place of burial; the fourth, *Belled-el-Chamis*, or *Gamis*. My inquiries were in particular directed to *El-Mota*, situated at the distance of about one mile north-east from *Siwah*. It is a rocky hill, with a number of catacombs on the declivity, but the most remarkable, are on the summit. There is a separate entrance to each, and the descent inwards is gentle and gradual. The passage from the aperture, leads to a door-way, from which the space of the room is enlarged, and on each side, are smaller excavations for containing the mummies. The stones rising from the threshold are cut in a form that shews a door to have been formerly hung, and to have closed the entrance. The catacombs are of different extent, and each is wrought with great labour and neatness of work, and especially the uppermost, which contains no traces of any mummy. In others are found various remains. I long, but in vain, searched for an entire head: I found fragments, and especially of the *occiput* in abundance, but none with any investiture remaining; and even in the *occiputs* most entire I could not discover any stain or mark of their once having been filled with *resin*. The cloth still adhered to some *ribs*, but so decayed, that nothing could be further distinguished, than that the stuff in which the mummy had been wrapt, was of the coarsest kind.

The ground in all these cata-

* The distance from *Biljoradec* is not clearly expressed in the original.

combs has been dug and explored in search of treasure, and I was told, by my guide, that in every one of these sepulchres gold has been, and is yet sometimes found.

There is every probability that entire mummies might be discovered in the catacombs at a greater distance to *westward* of Siwah. I was credibly informed, that besides the open catacombs on the mountains, there are others under ground, and the entrance of which is to be found at no great depth; and that *Biut-el-Nazari*, (houses of Christians, synonymous here to Infidels,) exist on both sides of a long subterraneous passage, forming a communication, between two catacomb-mountains. The catacombs met with on *Gibel-el-belled*, being the hill on which *Siwah* is built, are small, and consist of a little antichamber, leading generally to two caverns where the mum-

mies were deposited. Of these the two most remarkable are two large and high caverns on the north side; the one is twenty, the other sixteen feet square, and both are open to the north.

There are likewise two other caverns, of similar dimensions, but not so lofty, to be seen westward of *Siwah*, and leading to *Augila*; their entrance is low and narrow, and the two excavations are so near, that the partition, as appears from a small perforation, is only ten inches thick.

Quitting the subject of antiquities in the territory of Siwah, I have only to add, that in the nearest plain west of the town, there are other massive remains of some building, but which bear no token or note of remote antiquity, such as may be attributed to the ruins I first described.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

On the Dialect of London.

From Anecdotes of the English Language.

In a Letter to an Antiquary.

(By Samuel Pegge Esq.)

SO much has been said of the English language since the death of Dr. Johnson, that I have been induced to look minutely into one branch of it, which has had the misfortune to be severely reprobated, “The local dialect of London and its environs.” I am well aware that the subject is too trivial to be brought before the tribunal of the Society of Antiquaries at large; and therefore throw it into the world to find advocates under your benevolent protection, and as a closet-amusement for individuals, in a vacant hour.

The charge against the Londoners, is, that they have *corrupted* and *debased* our language; to support which, the accusers bring forward the dialect of the present age as the standard, which, on examination, will be found to be very far from the truth.

Not being myself a Cockney, if I produce evidence sufficient to acquit the Londoners, I shall, at least, escape the imputation of partiality, if I am not honoured with the freedom of the City in a gold box.

Few people trouble themselves about the daily provincial seeming jargon of their own County, because, being superficially understood, it answers the purposes of the natives without farther investigation: though, I believe, it may be affirmed that every dialect in the kingdom of England has (for the most part) a radical existence in one or other of the languages whereof our own is compounded. I dare, at least, confidently assert that there is a less number of provincial words and expressions in London and its vicinities (within twenty miles), than in any other part of the kingdom, from a given centre; that the verbal peculiarities are comparatively few; and that what is called *vulgarity* is barely a residuum of what was anciently the established national dialect, at different periods, from time immemorial*.

* Mr. Ray has given us a considerable number of North Country words, and left a vast many behind him; whereas the dialect of London (as far as my penetration goes) produces comparatively but few.

In support of this asseveration I shall not refer you to dictionaries, which seldom give us more than one descent of the word in question; whereas, if extended higher, they would contain the genealogical history of a language. This will appear from the following remarks, whereby some aboriginal words, in more languages than our own, will unexpectedly transpire.

Do not be alarmed by supposing that I am leading you into a dogmatical detail regarding the English language, in general: but suffer me to say two or three words on it, whether they have, or have not, been said an hundred times before. Dr. Johnson was scarcely at all aware of the authenticity of ancient dialectical words, and therefore seldom gives them any place in his dictionary. He seems not to consider them as *free-born*, or even as *denizens*; but rather treats them as *out-laws*, who have lost the protection of the commonwealth: whereas they generally contain more originality than most of the spurious words of modern date.

I do not, Sir, contend for the strict legitimacy of our language; for the provincial branches of it are not all by one common parent. Thus, for instance, if you would seek for the terms and expressions of the Northern people of England, it will be in vain to ransack the British tongue, which fled with the natives into the fastnesses of Wales: for the Northern dialect (Scotland included) is for the most part *Saxon*. On the other hand, it would be as fruitless to search in the Saxon forests of the North for the language of the Western counties of England,

which (except by transplantation) is of British growth. In Kent and Suffex, and the immediate Southern counties (coast-wise at least) our pursuit may be directed in a great degree to *Gallicisms*, in point of idiom as well as words: and lastly, in London (the great Babel of them all) every language will be found incorporated; though that of the true Cockney is, for the most part, composed of *Saxonisms*. The Danes left us some traces of their language, though it is but a dialect of that extensive tongue, which, under the different names of Teutonic, Gothick, Celtick, &c. &c. was known in every region of what is called *the North of Europe*. As to the irruption of words from the Southern parts of the Continent, we have the French which came in with the Conqueror, and continued in full force, so long as our Law Pleadings ran in that language, and our Statutes were penned in it. From Italy we have gathered a few words (not a great many), introduced perhaps first by the Lombards, then by Nuncios who came hither from the Pope, and by Ecclesiasticks who were perpetually scampering to Rome before the Reformation; to which may be added other words imported by our merchants trading to Italy and the Levant.

Of modern date we have a few more, that have been smuggled over by our fine travelled Gentlemen, or which have made their *entrée* with the Singers, Fiddlers, and Dancers at the Opera.

The Spanish language will afford more adopted words (especially in the military branch) than the Italian; a circumstance perhaps to be attributed to our royal inter-

marriages. Katharine of Arragon lived here many years, even after her divorce, in whose suite were probably many Spaniards; and King Philip must have contributed a large re-inforcement of Spanish words and phrases, as he had an hundred Spanish body-guards in daily pay. Katharine, the queen of King Charles II. may be supposed to have introduced a few Portuguese terms; but those are so nearly allied to the Spanish, as to be scarcely discernible from them.

Many Flemish and Dutch words might also be imported by emigrants, who fled hither from persecution on the score of religion at different periods.

These, Sir, I conceive to have formed the apparently component parts of our language; but not without a retrospect to the Latin and Greek tongues: and yet, notwithstanding that the Romans were in possession of this island for four hundred years as a colony, I rather imagine that the reliques of their language have, for the most part, been derived to us through the media of the Northern nations, with the addition of the French, Italian, and Spanish. As to the Greek, Dr. Meric Casaubon,* and after him more copiously the Rev. George William Lemon in his Dictionary, have laboured to bring our language in a very great degree to the standard of the Greek. Mr. Camden concurs as to a strong plausibility in the deduction of some words in his Remains, but cautions us against an implicit belief. Franciscus Junius was of opinion that the Gothick was really a dialect of the Greek; and Ju-

nus, from the turn of his studies, was perhaps a better judge than Camden. Dr. Hickes, the great Saxonist, also allows that the Gothick language has a bold mixture of the Greek in it; for, says he, "*Gothica Lingua in multis locis græcessat* †." To this opinion the Rev. William Drake, (late vicar of Isleworth), a very accurate critick of the present day, says he is much inclined to accede, as it seems to be the only rational way to account for that variety of Greek idioms and terms that are so plentifully interspersed in his own language. Sir John Fortescue Aland likewise, in his elaborate notes on Sir John Fortescue's Treatise on Monarchy, insinuates that the Gothick and Greek tongues probably originated from one common language, and carries his supposition so far as to imagine that this common language was that spoken by the sons of Japhet, and refers us to the Book of Genesis, Ch. x. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

This, if you please, we will leave to the decision of others, and of this Dr. Parsons will tell you more perhaps than you want to know. As to the Latin tongue, Dr. Blackwell, in his court of Augustus, observes, that the body and general structure of that language is, "clipped Greek."

Apart from the surmise of Dr. Hickes and Sir John Fortescue Aland, if you have sufficient curiosity to collate the formation of the major part of the capital letters (about 15.) in the *Mæso-Gothick* alphabet (as given by Dr. Hickes) with the corresponding letters in the *Greek* alphabet, you will find

* De Linguâ Saxonica.

† Saxon Grammar.

an internal evidence of the affinity, if not of the consanguinity, between the two languages. Dr. Hickes, however, goes farther, and points out a very striking feature of resemblance in the similar pronunciation of G. G. when in contact, by observing that, in this situation, the first G. had, in the Mæso-Gothick, the sound of N. as it has in the Greek. This he exemplifies in the Gothick verb *Gaggan* (to go) which, he tells us, from such pronunciation produced the Saxon verb *Gangan* *.

The Goths here spoken of were those who inhabited Mæsia, not far from the Northern borders of Greece (a vast tract of country now comprehended in Turkey), whose language, with different dialects, probably extended over all the North of Europe, nearly in the same latitude, from the coast of Norway to the Black Sea.

To compound the matter. It is hence pretty clear that there was formerly either a *Græcitas* in the Gothick, or a *Gothicitas* in the Greek language; or, in other words, it becomes a question whether the Goths spoke Greek, or the Greeks spoke Gothick? Who shall decide which was the parental language? Be this as it may, it would not be to my purpose to enter into an investigation of such a nature; and therefore let the subject be dismissed with an observation, that, whatever Greek we may find scattered about in our language, it was brought hither North about in neutral bottoms, and took the several names of the importers, whether

Saxons, Danes, or others, who carried with them more or less of the language of every country which they overspread, or with which they were connected.

Taking our language mixed and modified as we find it, give me leave to apprise you, by one little previous disquisition, that the most unobserved words in common use are not without fundamental meanings, however contemptible they may appear to us in this age of refinement.

To elucidate this, I have selected two words from the humblest line of humble language; for, when our waggoners and carmen make use of the terms *ge* and *two* to their horses, they speak in language well known to, and in actual use (in their general senses respectively) among our ancestors. Horses are made to move or stop mechanically by these words at the pleasure of the drivers, being drilled into an observance of them by habitual sound and the fear of punishment. Now the word *ge*, Sir, does not appear to me to be an artificial or whimsical term, without any other meaning than as applied to the motion of a cart-horse; on the other hand, with a very trifling modification, it seems to be the imperative "*Geh*," of the German verb "*Geben*"—"To go &c." The pronunciation of "*Geh*," I am told, is hard ("*Ghey*"), which, with us, has by length of time, and for more easy utterance, been softened into "*Ge*," conformably to the sound of "*Geh*" in English; for, in our language, the letter *E*,

* Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica, p. 43. Whence our verb "*to Gang*."

† See the German Dictionaries and Grammars.

preceded by the letter G, is allowed to have a soft tone; as, where G comes into contact with the vowels, the intonations are thus:—"Ga, Jee, Jy, Go, Gu."

In Yorkshire, in Lancashire, and other Northern parts of the kingdom, the term "*Ge*" is applied in other cases; for where things do not suit or fit each other, or where neighbours do not accord, the expression is,—"*They do not Ge well together.*" You will see the word "*Ge*" given, in this sense, in the glossary to the Lancashire dialect in the works of Tim Bobbin*:—nay, I can say that I have been an ear-witness to this expression myself.

But to return. The horses by this word "*Ge*" are put in motion, when, if their pace be too slow, the command is doubled or re-doubled by—"Ge, Ge, Ge," which, in case of non-compliance, is enforced by the whip.

Our Lexicographers, Bailey and Dr. Johnson, allow the word a place in their Dictionaries; but content themselves by observing, that "*Ge*" (so they write it) is a term among waggoners to make their horses go faster, without recurring to the radical word—which you will allow me to call a *Primum Mobile*.

Let us now proceed to the second principal word understood by horses, viz. "*Wo.*" which will be found to be a term of high de-

gree, anciently applied to valourous knights and combatants in armour (or harness as it was called), though now it is degraded to horses in the harness of the present day. When, therefore, a waggoner uses this interjection to his horses, he speaks in the Danish language, in being a broad pronunciation of the word *Ho!* which is a word commanding cessation and desistance. It had antiently, as I have hinted, an honourable attachment to tilts and tournaments; for when the king, or president at the combat, gave the signal of discontinuance, by throwing down his warder (or baton), the Heralds cried out to the combatants *Ho!* that is stop†. The French have enlarged the term to a dissyllable by the assistance of their favourite adjunct *La*, and used the compound word *Ho-la* (or stop there) in combats, and which we have adopted in common language, when we call to a person to stop. "*Mettre entre eux le Hola,*" is a French expression, borrowed from the *Tilt-yard*, used for putting an end to a dispute or verbal controversy. Shakespeare gives us the word *Hola* in one passage, where it is closely connected in metaphor with a horse's motion, when Celia says, in "*As you like it,*" (Act III. sc. 2.)—"Cry *Hola!* to thy tongue I prythee; it *curvets* unseasonably."

Of the simple term *Ho!* uncom-

* A writer not often quoted and not known to thousands of people who look into books.

† See a note on a passage in the Tragedy of Macbeth, in the edition by Dr. Johnson and Mr. Steevens, 1778, p. 478; and also a note to Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, by Mr. Tyrwhitt, lines 1708 and 2638, when Holinshed is cited. See also the Reliques of ancient English Poetry, vol. I. p. 20. 3d Edition. Dr. Johnson likewise in his Dictionary, produces authorities for it both from Shakespeare and Dryden.

pounded in the sense of stop, you have these two instances in Gawen Douglass's Translation of Virgil:

“ Forbiddis Helenus to speik it—and cries
Ho!”

In this example it appears in the proper form of an interjection; but in the second it is used as a verb, where speaking of Juno he says:

“ That can of wraith and malice never
Ho.”

In nautical language it still exists insensibly, and in its pure and natural state, with a very trifling expansion; for when one ship hails another, the words are—“ What ship? *Hoy!*”—that is, “ *Stop*, and tell the name of your ship, &c. *”

Take this little disquisition as a specimen of the dry matter with which I am proceeding to encumber you; and do not let your patience too hastily throw down its warder, and cry Ho!

But to return. Your long and intimate acquaintance with every thing relating to our fore-fathers gives me the boldness to ask an eleemosynary patronage of the following address. It is in behalf of some old, unfortunate, and discarded words and expressions, turned out to the world at large by persons of education (without the smallest protection) and acknowledged only by the humbler orders of mankind, who seem charitably to respect them as decayed Gentlefolks that have known better days. I am confident, Sir, that you, as an Antiquary, whose voluntary office it

is to succour and preserve the aged from perdition, will not withhold your attention from hearing me in defence of the injured parties which I shall bring before you in your judicial capacity as a literary man: when I hope to prove that my clients are not mere *Certificate-men*, but that they have *whilom* gained *legal settlements* by long service, though now ousted by usurpers, to the verification of the adage, that “ *Might overcomes Right.*”

Though the subject of the following pages be too trivial for the consideration of the great tribunal of the Society of Antiquaries collectively, it may, nevertheless, serve to amuse you for an hour as an individual.

The ear, Sir, is equally negligent with the eye; and we take no more note of sounds which we daily hear, than of objects which we daily see. Thus, while we are commenting on Shakespeare, mending or marring his text, the dialect of the hour passes by our ears unheeded.

The language of every country is as subject to change, as the inhabitants, property, buildings, &c.; and while Antiquaries are groping for the vestiges of tottering castles, and poring over fragmentary inscriptions just risen from the grave;—why not advert also to words and phrases which carry with them the like stamp of age? Such will these be with which I am now going to trouble you, and which, though current every day, and suspected of a base alloy, will be found to bear the fire, and come

* Perhaps the little trading vessel, termed a Hoy, may have received its original name from stopping at different small places in its voyage, to take in goods or passengers, when called to or hailed from the shore.

up to the standard. I know it is felony, without benefit of clergy, to scour an old coin, be the legend ever so illegible; but the objects before us will appear more antient for the operation, when the modern dust and dirt which obscure them shall have been brushed away.

By all that has been hitherto observed, I would prepare you, Sir, for what follows;—meaning only to insinuate that there is food for an Antiquary in the daily dialect of London, which, with all its seeming vulgarity, owes its birth to *days of yore*, as much as any other object of the senses on which time has laid his unfeeling hand.

Bishop Wilkins remarks, that “All languages which are vulgar (or living languages) are subject to so many alterations, that in tract of time they will appear to be quite another thing than they were at first.” Every school-boy knows (and perhaps very feelingly) the debasement of the Greek tongue, the subdivisions of which into dialects have occasionally brought him to the block. The Bishop adds, that “every change is a gradual corruption, partly by refining and mollifying old words for the more easy and graceful sound.” This is so far from an accusation that can be brought against the parties before you, that it operates strongly in their favour; for, if a Cockney chuses to adhere to the dress of his ancestors, or to their language, he cannot, in either case be called an innovator. Most people admire family plate; but

family language (forsooth!) must be melted down and modernized.

If the Cockney merely speaks according to the usage of his progenitors,—what shall be said of a man who actually wrote such language, two hundred years ago, on a conviction that it was stronger and more energetick than that of his own time, which he had courage enough to despise, though it was then reputed to be in a state of refinement? The author I point at is Spenser, whose language, both in his Pastorals and in his Fairy Queen, is evidently not of the age when he wrote (the reign of Queen Elizabeth), but is professedly introduced in imitation of Chaucer. The reason for this is given by a commentator, (known by the initials E. K.) who was Spenser’s contemporary and friend, and therefore knew his motives. To all this Mr. Thomas Warton accedes*.

This Commentator, to use his own words, gives the Poet great praise, for that—“he laboured to restore, as to their rightful heritage, such good and natural English words as have been long time out of use, and almost clean disherited.”

Some of these insulted parties it is now my province to endeavour to vindicate, and to replace them in their patrimonial respectability and rights of primogeniture.

And now, Sir, before I move a step farther, you have a natural right to call upon me for an explanation of the word—“Cockney;” but, alas! it is confessed to be of most others the least definable. Bailey in his Dictionary, and after

* E. K. means Edward Kerke, as appears from Mr. Warton’s note on a passage, in Act II. Sc. 1. of Shakspeare’s first part of Hen. IV. Edit. Johnson and Steevens, 1778.

him Dr. Johnson, give it as a term the origin of which is much controverted. Glossarists have written about it and about it,—the game has been started; but not one of them had the satisfaction of hunting it down *. Dr. Meric Casaubon would persuade us, as he attempts to do in most possible cases, that it and its article taken together, (a Cockney,) complete the Greek word—"Oicognes," born and bred at home. The learned Doctor may not indeed be far from the meaning, however he may err in the etymon. The Greek word, to be sure, is picturesque, and the combined sounds approximate: but, as far as derivation is concerned, I beg to take my leave. Dr. Hickes deduces it from the old French "Cockayne," now "Coquin," to which last Cotgrave (among other senses of the word) gives us that of "A Cockney;" and Cotgrave seems to have seen farther into the intrinsic meaning of the word than he here expresses, as will be shewn before we quit the subject. To obtain Dr. Hickes's point, the word "Cockayne" must become a tri-syllable; but he gives no authority by accent in prose, or by metre in verse; though his conjecture may find support hereafter.

If, Sir, you will insist upon the vulgar and received opinion, as delivered by story-tellers, *vivâ voce*, we learn that the word is compounded of Cock and neigh; for that, once upon a time, a true-born and true-bred Londoner went into the country, and, on first hear-

ing a horse neigh, cried out—"How the horse laughs!" but, being told that the noise made by the Horse was called neighing, he stood corrected. In the morning, when the cock crew, the Cit immediately exclaimed, with confident conviction, that the cock neighed! This traditional history is mentioned by Dr. Skinner, who treats it deservedly, as a mere forced conceit—"De quo," says he, "*nota Fabula est, revera Fabula* †." It might have passed well-enough among Dean Swift's jocular etymons.

Let us not, however, so rashly favour the story as to believe that the first exclamation produced the common term, "A horse-laugh;" for that expression, I think, rests upon different ground. Some etymologists contend that it is a corruption of hoarse laugh; but in such case it must be confined to those who either naturally have a very rough voice, or have got a violent cold, neither of which circumstances are absolutely necessary; for what we call a horse-laugh depends rather upon loudness, rude vehemence, or vulgarity of manner. It seems to be, in fact, no more than an expression of augmentation, as the prepositive horse is applied variously to denote several things large and coarse by contra-distinction. Thus in the vegetable system we have the horse-radish, horse-walnut, and horse-chestnut. In the animal world there is the horse-emmet (or formica-leo), the horse-muscle, and the horse-crab; not forgetting that a fat, clumsy, vulgar woman

* The French have, at Paris, the word Badaud, according to Boyer, exactly in the same situation as our word Cockney; this is confirmed by Mr. Menage. The French word by the way, is equally obscure and unaccounted for. (Menage, *Dictionnaire Etymologique*.)

† Etymologicon, in voce Cockney.

is jocularly termed a horse-god-mother. To close all, we say, "As sick as a horse," to express a great discharge by vomiting, whereas a horse never experiences that sort of sickness.

Notwithstanding the definition lies so remote, yet most interpreters seem to agree in the meaning of the word that the term Cockney is intended to express a person bred up and pampered in the City of London, and ignorant of the manners and ideas of all the rest of the world, which agrees with Dr. Skinner's description (and coincides with other writers) that a Cockney is, "*Vir urbanus, rerum rusticarum prorsus ignarus.*" Dr. Hickes, indeed, carries the criterion to another point, collaterally not very foreign, when he says that the old French word Cokayne implied, one who loved good eating and drinking, "*Gulæ et ventri deditus.*" The Glossarist to Chaucer, however, goes abundantly too far in annexing any degree of derogation to the word, which he renders as expressive of very opprobrious qualities, such as, rogue, knave, &c. terms which are never of necessity implied: for though many rascals may perhaps be Cockneys, yet the converse will by no means hold good. On the other hand, from the situation in which we find the word in written language (taken with the context) it applies merely to the fondled Citizen, whose notions are confined within the walls of the Metropolis*. In Chaucer it imports no more than a silly fellow, devoid of wit or courage,—

I shall be held a daffe (i. e. a fool) or a Cockney.

The antiquity of the word may be carried up much higher; for Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, in the reign of king Stephen, had a strong castle at Bungay in Suffolk, which he held to be impregnable; and, when speaking of the wars between that King and the Empress, whose partisan it is evident he was, he said,

"Were I in my castle of Bungay,
Upon the River Wavenay,
I would not value the king of Cockney."

By Cockney, I presume, the Earl meant to express the whole City of London indiscriminately. The Earl of Dorset, in his Poems, uses the term to denote a native of the metropolis. Shakspeare, in one passage seems to contrast the idea of a Cockney's cowardice with a swaggering braggadocio, where, in *Twelfth-night*, the Clown says,

"I am afraid this great lubber the world will prove a Cockney."

In another place he paints the party in bolder colours, and in exact conformity with the received opinion. The words are from the tragedy of *King Lear*. In an agony of despair, the King exclaims.

"Oh me, my heart, my rising heart!—
but down!"

to which the Fool replies,

"Cry to it, Nuncle, as the Cockney did to the Eels, when she put them into

* It seems very odd at this day to suppose that any man born in London should never have been in the country; but we must take the state of the roads in former times, and various other things into the consideration:—but the term Cockney itself is now pretty well worn out.

the pasty alive:—she rapped them o' th' coxcombs with a stick, and cried, Down, wantons, down! It was her brother that, in pure kindness to his horse, buttered his hay."

Eels being always sold alive, the ignorant maid, who we are to presume had not dressed any of them before, never thought of killing them; but treated them as rebellious creatures, wondering that they did not submit themselves as quietly as other fish, which came dead to her hands. The above cited instances point strongly at the—"Rerum rusticarum ignarus:" and as to the "Buttering the hay," it is no bad sympathetic type of the—"Gulæ et ventri deditus."

Thus much for traits of our own Cockneys; and, as I have hinted at those of Paris, I give you the following specimen of French Cockney-ship (Badauderie) from Mr. Menage. A Parisian, who could not swim, bathing in the Seine, got out of his depth, and would have been inevitably drowned had not some swimmers been at hand to save him. On recovering, he protested that he would never venture into the water again till he had learned to swim.

Upon the whole, Sir, the term Cockney, being one of those inexplicable words which has puzzled the greatest Glossarists, I may well be excused from any investigation; with observing that the established criterion of this class of people (as to the natale solum) is the having been born within the sound of Bow bell; that being taken, I presume, as the most central point of the ancient City of London within the walls. In support of this test, the fantastick and aspiring daughter of honest Touchstone (the goldsmith

of Cheapside), in the Comedy of "Eastward Hoe!" (printed 1605), says, in contempt of her birth, family, and at the horrid thought of being a Cockney that she used—"to stop her ears at the sound of Bow bell."

For the honour of the Cockneys, be it remembered, that in the Christmas feasts, which were formerly held with so much foolish expence at our Inns of Court, The King of Cockneys (an imaginary Lord-mayor of London, chosen from their own community) was entertained with extraordinary respectability; of which we have a full account in Dugdale's "Origines Juridiciales:"—for in the 9th year of king Henry VIII. it was ordered that—"The King of Cockneys should sit, and have due service; and that He, and his marshal, butler, and constable-marshal, should have their lawful and honest commandments, by the delivery of the officers of Christmas."

After all that has been said, Sir, let us not be unmindful of some real and substantial benefits which have arisen to society from this order of Citizens in particular, who have thus innocently fallen into such unmerited contempt. At the time when Mr. Strype published an enlarged edition of Stowe's Survey of London and Westminster, there was an annual feast, held at Stepney, expressly called "The Cockney's Feast," on which day a contribution was made, either at church or at dinner (or at both), with which the parish children were apprenticed. Mr. Strype (who was himself a Cockney) adds, that he had more than once preached before the society on the occasion. Mr. Lysons says, that the principal

principal purpose of the society was the apprenticing poor children to the sea-service; and that the institution was patronized by several persons of distinction; among which he adds, that the Duke of Montagu and Admiral Sir Charles Wager were the stewards for the year 1734. It gave place at length to a more general institution, "The Marine Society," established 1756. So long as the primary fraternity lasted, a secondary effect was produced, as it certainly tended to keep up the breed of true and genuine Cockneys, and thereby operated toward the preservation of the purity of the English language, as will appear from the circumstance and examples which follow.

Having said thus much, Sir, to no purpose, I will have the boldness to throw out one word of comfort, that seems to point at the semblance of an etymon, and will risque a conjecture, which, as far as I know, has not been hazarded before. The French have an old appropriated verb (not to be met with in the modern Dictionaries—but you will find it in Cotgrave) viz. "*Coqueline* un enfant," to fondle and pamper a child. The participle passive of this verb will therefore be "*Coqueline*," which by no great violence may, I think, be reduced to "*Coquené*;" for, in pronunciation, the penultimate syllable (*li*) will easily melt in the mouth, and accord, in our spelling, with the word Cockney*.

Thus I have brought together every thing material that I can find relative to the term in ques-

tion:—nor had I urged so much, but that I felt myself amenable to you for something on the subject—and here I leave it.

Hieroglyphic Characters.

(From the additional Notes on Darwin's Temple of Nature.)

THE outlines of animal bodies, which gave names to the constellations, as well as the characters used in chemistry for the metals, and in astronomy for the planets, were originally hieroglyphic figures, used by the magi of Egypt before the invention of letters, to record their discoveries in those sciences.

Other hieroglyphic figures seem to have been designed to perpetuate the events of history, the discoveries in other arts, and the opinions of those ancient philosophers on other subjects. Thus their figures of Venus for beauty, Minerva for wisdom, Mars and Bellona for war, Hercules for strength, and many others, became afterwards the deities of Greece and Rome; and together with the figures of Time, Death, and Fame, constitute the language of the painters to this day.

From the familiarity of the characters which designate the metals in chemistry, and the planets in astronomy it may be concluded that these parts of science were then believed to be connected; whence astrology seems to have been a very early superstition.

* Baret, in his *Alvearie*, says, that a child which sucks long used to be called "A Cockney, after St. Augustine," meaning the well-known Doctor of the Church.

These, so far, constitute an universal visible language in those sciences.

So the glory, or halo, round the head is a part of the universal language of the eye, designating a holy person; wings on the shoulders denote a good angel; and a tail and hoof denote the figure of an evil demon; to which may be added the cap of liberty and the tiara of popedom. It is to be wished that many other universal characters could be introduced into practice, which might either constitute a more comprehensive language for painters, or for other arts; as those of ciphers and signs have done for arithmetic and algebra, and crotchets for music, and the alphabets for articulate sounds; so a zigzag line made on white paper by a black-lead pencil, which communicates with the surface of the mercury in the barometer, as the paper itself is made constantly to move laterally by a clock, and daily to descend through the space necessary, has ingeniously produced a most accurate visible account of the rise and fall of the mercury in the barometer every hour in the year.

Mr. Grey's *Memoria Technica* was designed as an artificial language to remember numbers, as of the eras, or dates of history. This was done by substituting one consonant and one vowel for each figure of the ten cyphers used in arithmetic, and by composing words of these letters; which words Mr. Grey makes into hexameter verses, and produces an audible jargon,

which is to be committed to memory, and occasionally analysed into numbers when required. An ingenious French botanist, Monsieur Bergeret, has proposed to apply this idea of Mr. Grey to a botanical nomenclature, by making the name of each plant to consist of letters, which, when analysed, were to signify the number of the class, order, genus, and species, with a description also of some particular part of the plant which was designed to be both an audible and visible language.

Bishop Wilkins in his elaborate "Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language," has endeavoured to produce, with the greatest simplicity, and accuracy and conciseness, an universal language both to be written and spoken, for the purpose of the communication of all our ideas with greater exactness and less labour than is done in common languages, as they are now spoken and written. But we have to lament that the progress of general science is yet too limited both for his purpose, and for that even of a nomenclature for botany; and that the science of grammar, and even the number and manner of the pronuciation of the letters of the alphabet, are not yet determined with such accuracy as would be necessary to constitute Bishop Wilkins's grand design of an universal language, which might facilitate the acquirement of knowledge, and thus add to the power and happiness of mankind.



P O E T R Y.

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR, 1803.*By* HENRY JAMES PYE, *Esq. Poet Laureat.*

THOUGH the tempestuous winds no more
The main with angry pinion sweep,
Though raging 'gainst the sounding shore,
No longer howl th' impetuous seas ;
But sooth'd to rest, the billows sleep,
Save where soft Zephyr's tepid breeze
Fans with its silken wing the rippling deep ;
Yet still with unremitting eye
The pilot marks th' uncertain sky,
The seaman watches still the gale,
Prompt or to spread or furl the sail,
Mindful of many a danger past,
Toft by the turbid wave, check'd by the adverse blast.

Not keen Suspicion's jealous glance,
Not fierce Contention's feverish rage,
Shall bid Britannia point the lance,
New realms to grasp, new wars to wage.
In conscious rectitude elate,
In conscious power securely great,
While she beholds the dangerous tide
Of Battle's crimson wave subside,
Though firm she stands in act to dare
The storms of renovated war,
Her ready sword, her lifted shield,
Provoke not the ensanguin'd field,
More than the wary pilot's cautions urge
The wind's tempestuous strife, or swell the foaming surge.

O from our shores be exil'd far
Ambition's wild and restless crew,
Who, through the bleeding paths of war,
False Glory's dæmon form pursue ;

Whose

Whose burning thirst, still unsubdu'd
 By deluges of guiltless blood,
 Glares on the regions round with fiend-like eyes,
 While scarce a vanquish'd world its wish supplies;
 Yet ne'er may Sloth's inglorious charm
 Unnerve the manly Briton's arm,
 Nor Sophistry's insidious art
 E'er lull the manly Briton's heart.
 May Peace, with Plenty by her side;
 Long, long, o'er Albion's fields preside!
 Long may her breath, with placid gale,
 Of Commerce swell the happy sail;
 But, rous'd in Justice' sacred cause,
 Insulted rights or violated laws,
 Sill may her sons with fierce delight
 Flame in the gleamy van of fight,
 Spread o'er the tented plain, or brave
 With warlike prow the hostile wave;
 And on each firm ingenuous breast
 Be this eternal truth impress'd,
 Peace only sheds perennial joys on those
 Who guard with dauntless arm the blessing Peace bestows.

ODE for his MAJESTY'S Birth-Day, June 4, 1803.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, Esq. Poet Laureat.

I.

BRITAIN, alas! has woo'd in vain,
 Reluctant Peace, thy placid charms;
 Compell'd, she treads once more th' ensanguin'd plain,
 Where Fame, where Freedom, call aloud for arms.

II.

Yet be awhile the battle's sound
 In notes of festive triumph drown'd:
 Whether the fiends of Discord fly
 Portentous through the fiery sky,
 Or, bound in Fate's coercive chain,
 Howl 'mid th' infernal seats in vain;
 On this auspicious day the Muse,
 Jocund, with grateful voice, her wonted theme pursues.

III.

Amid the boast of tyrant pride,
 The pomp of state, the arm'd array,
 Can all the shouts of slav'ry hide
 That slaves unwilling homage pay?

No force can shield Ambition's head
 From noontide care, from midnight dread,
 When the still monitor within
 Searches th' abode of blood and sin:
 While he who rules with virtuous sway,
 Whom freemen glory to obey,
 Sees ev'ry breast the bulwark of a throne,
 His people's surest guard, its sacred rights their own.

VI.

Then let the Muse, with duteous hand,
 Strike the bold lyre's responsive strings,
 While ev'ry tongue through Albion's land
 Joins in the hymn of praise she sings;
 And Labour, from the furrow'd plain,
 And Commerce, from the billowy main,
 With voice symphonious bid arise,
 That purest incense to the skies,
 Above the proudest wreath of fame,
 Which ever grac'd the victor's name,
 A nation's votive breath by truth consign'd
 To bless a patriot king—the friend of human kind.

Elegy on the Death of a Young Lady. By John Greenfields Esq.

From the Poetical Register for 1803.

DEAR to my soul, oh early lost,
 Affection's arm was weak to save,
 And Friendship's pride, and Virtue's boast,
 Have sunk to an untimely grave.

Clos'd ever clos'd, those speaking eyes,
 Where sweetness beam'd where candour shone!
 And silent that heart-thrilling voice,
 Which Music lov'd and called her own.

That gentle bosom now is cold,
 Where Feeling's vestal splendors glow'd;
 And crumbling down to common mould,
 That heart, where love and truth abode!

Yet I behold the smile unfeigned,
 Which doubt dispelled and kindness won;
 Yet the soft diffidence, that gained,
 The triumph it appeared to shun.

Delusion

Delusion all—forbear my heart,
 These unavailing throbs restrain;
 Destruction has performed his part,
 And Death proclaims thy pangs are vain.

Vain tho' they be this heart must swell
 With grief that time shall ne'er efface;
 And still with bitter pleasure dwell,
 On every virtue, every grace.

Forever lost! I vainly deemed,
 That Heaven my early friend would spare;
 And darker as the prospect seem'd,
 The more I struggled with despair.

I said—yet a presaging tear,
 Unbidden rose, and spoke more true,
 She still shall live—the unfolding year,
 Shall banish pain, and health renew.

She yet shall tread the flowery field,
 And catch the opening roses breath;
 To watchful Love Disease shall yield,
 And Friendship ward the shafts of Death.

Alas! before the violet bloom'd,
 Before the snows of winter fled,
 Too certain Fate my hopes consum'd,
 And she was numbered with the dead.

She died—deserving to be mourn'd
 While parted worth a pang can give;
 She died—by Heaven's best gifts adorned,
 While Folly, Falsehood, Baseness, live.

Long in their vileness live secure
 The noxious weed, and wounding thorn;
 While snatched by violence ere mature,
 The lily from her stem is torn.

Flower worthy Heaven—and Heaven alone,
 Thee, good and pure, deserved to share—
 On earth a stranger, only shown,
 To teach what angel natures are.

Yet, who shall blame the heart that feels,
 When Heaven resumes the good it gave?
 Yet, who shall scorn the tear that steals
 From Friendship's eye at Virtue's grave?

Friend, Parent, Sister, tenderest names,
 May I, as pale at Memory's shrine,
 Ye pour the tribute anguish claims,
 Approach, unblam'd, and mingle mine ?

Long on the joys of vanished years,
 The glance of sadness shall be cast ;
 Long, long, the emphatic speech of tears,
 Shall mourn their bloom for ever past.

And Thou! who from the orient day,
 Return'ft, with Hope's gay dreams elate,
 Falsely secure, and vainly gay,
 Unconscious of the stroke of Fate.

What waits thee ?—not the approving smile
 Of faithful love that chafes care ;
 Not the fond glance, o'erpaying toil,
 But cold and comfortless Despair.

Despair! I see the phantom rove,
 By *Cant's* green banks, no longer bright,
 And fiercely grasp the torch of love,
 And plunge it in sepulchral night.

Farewell, sweet Maiden! to thy tomb
 My soul in sadness oft shall stray,
 More dear to me the hallowed gloom,
 Than Life's broad glare, or Fortune's day.

And oft, as Fancy points thy bier,
 And mournful eyes thy lonely bed,
 The secret sigh shall rise—the tear,
 That shuns observance shall be shed.

Nor shall the thought of Thee depart,
 Nor shall my soul regret resign,
 Till memory perish—till this heart,
 Be cold and motionless as thine.

To———. By *R. A. Davenport, Esq.* From the same.

’T WAS not the quick and dazzling glance,
 That fires and overpowers the soul,
 And wrapt it in delicious trance,
 That bow'd me to thy sweet controul.

No! 'twas from eyes of heavenly blue,
 A languid, tender, timid ray,
 Stealing through lids of darkest hue,
 That won me from myself away.

'Twas not the firm commanding voice,
 Whose rapid eloquence o'erflows,
 And seems at homage to rejoice,
 That roused my breast from dull repose.

No! 'twas the soft and melting tones,
 Like nectar dropping from thy tongue,
 By which my heart thy empire owns;
 Its every chord to Passion strung.

And while that winning voice I hear,
 And while those beaming eyes I see,
 Than light, or life, to me more dear,
 My bosom's sovereign thou must be.

To a Lady with a Present of Violets. By Theophilus Swift, Esq.

From the same.

THESE Violets to my fair I bring,
 The purple progeny of Spring;
 Nor thou, dear girl, the gift refuse,
 Love's earliest tribute to the Muse.

Whate'er has beauty, worth or power,
 Or grace, or lustre, is a flower.
 Wit is a flower, and bards prepare
 The flowers of Fancy for the fair.
 In flower of Youth, the Loves appear,
 Leading in flowery youth the year;
 And Beauty's flowery fetters bind,
 In sweet captivity the mind.
 With flowers the graces Venus deck,
 And these adorn a fairer neck;
 That neck whose paradise to range,
 A flower I'd prove and bless the change;
 One little hour I'd live—then die—
 A Violet in that heaven to lie.

Still as you charm, some flowers we trace,
 Some blossom of the mind or face,
 Does Laura lead the courtly dance?
 We hail the *Flower of Elegance*.

Does Fashion's wreath adorn her brow ?
 The *Flower of Taste* is Laura now,
 In Laura's mien, in Laura's mind,
 The twin born *Flowers of Grace* we find ;
 And in her blushing cheek we see,
 The *Royal Rose of Dignity*,
 Yon Lily symbol of her youth,
 Blooms next her heart the *Flower of Truth*.
 Oh, might these violet buds express,
 The opening *Flower of Tenderness* !

But not the brightest flower of Spring,
 That Fancy paints, or poets sing ;
 Nor these, nor all the sweet's that blow,
 The Rose's blush, the Lily's snow,
 With thee in excellence compare,
 Or breathe so fresh, or bloom so fair.
 For in thy bosom lives a flower,
 Not Time shall spoil, nor Death devour,
 A flower that no rude season fears,
 And Virtue's sacred name it bears.

Hannah. Sacred to the Memory of her who is dead to me. By J. Montgomery, Esq.

From the same.

AT fond sixteen, my roving heart
 Was pierc'd by Love's delightful dart :
 Keen transport throb'd in every vein,
 I never felt so sweet a pain !

Where circling woods embower'd the glade,
 I met the dear romantic maid :
 I stole her hand, it shrunk—but, no !
 I would not let my captive go.

With all the fervency of youth,
 While passion told the tale of truth,
 I mark'd my Hannah's downcast eye :
 'Twas kind, but beautifully shy.

Not with a warmer, purer ray,
 The sun enamour'd wooes young May ;
 Nor May, with softer maiden grace,
 Turns from the sun her blushing face.

But, swifter than the frightened dove ;
 Fled the gay morning of my love ;

Ah !

Ah! that so bright a morn, so soon,
Should vanish in so dark a noon!

The angel of affection rose,
And in his train a thousand woes:
He poured his vial on my head,
And all the heaven of rapture fled.

Yet, in the glory of my pride,
I stood—and all his wrath defied;
I stood—though whirlwinds shook my brain,
And lightnings cleft my soul in twain.

I shunn'd my nymph; yet knew not why,
I durst not meet her gentle eye;
I shunn'd her—for I could not bear,
To marry her to my despair.

Yet, sick at heart with hope delay'd,
Oft the dear image of that maid,
Glanced, like the rainbow, o'er my mind,
And promis'd happiness behind.

The storm blew o'er, and in my breast,
The halcyon peace rebuilt her nest;
The storm blew o'er, and clear and mild,
The sea of youth and pleasure smil'd.

'Twas on the morning of that day,
When Phœbus marries rosy May,
I sought once more the charming spot,
Where bloom'd the thorn by Hannah's cot.

Oh! as I cross'd the neighbouring plain,
I lived my wooing days again;
And Fancy sketch'd my future life,
My home, my children, and my wife.

I saw the village steeple rise—
My soul sprang, sparkling in mine eyes;
The rural bells rang sweet and clear—
My fond heart listen'd in mine ear.

I reached the hamlet; all was gay;
I love a rustic holiday!
I met a wedding—stept aside!
O, God!—my Hannah was the bride?

———There is a grief that cannot feel;
 It leaves a wound that will not heal!
 ——My heart grew cold—it felt not *then*!
 When shall it *cease* to feel again?

Combat between Amadis and Abyes, King of Ireland. From "Amadis de Gaul; a Poem, in three Books, freely translated from the first Part of the French Version of Nicholas de Hamezay. By W. J. Rose, Esq."

NOW dawn'd the morn, and, echoing from the fort,
 Loud drums and trumpets wak'd the drowsy court.
 From Erin's camp the same stern greetings sound;
 Thick groups of anxious Gauls the youth surround.
 The church he fought, as well becomed a Knight,
 Pledg'd to the peril of a mortal fight.
 The mass-rite sung, with pomp and mickle* state,
 Forth rode the champion from the western gate.
 With graceful ease a milk-white horse he rein'd;
 Gallia's bold lord himself his helm sustain'd;
 And young Agraves bore his blazoned shield,
 Whose ample orb displayed a golden field;
 On this two azure lions, closed in fight,
 Grappled for mastery: such the painter's flight,
 Their sinews sem'd to swell, their manes to rise,
 And flames of fire to scatter from their eyes.
 Erin's proud Prince came riding from the west,
 A coal-black steed of mighty thewes he press'd,
 And, that he once had slain in bloody field,
 A furious giant, on his massive shield.
 For his device, he bore the fight portray'd,
 His lance uplifted cast a lengthen'd shade.
 All arm'd he was, save that his head was bare;
 Bent were his scowling brows, and stern his air.
 On the bold Child he cast a withering look:
 Gaul saw, and for her youthful Champion shook.
 Each lac'd his helm, and fix'd his lance in rest,
 Then to his God a short-lived prayer address'd.
 The trumpets sound; the hills and vallies rang;
 The impatient couriers from the barrier sprang.
 The beamy spears the opposing bucklers thirl'd†;
 Prone on the field each foaming steed was hurl'd.
 But stung with shame, and arm'd with inborn worth,
 Their stalwart‡ lords upstart'd from the earth;

* Mickle, Great,

† Thirl, to bore or pierce.

‡ Stalwart, strong.

From their pierced sides the splinter'd truncheous wrung,
 And in their lofty saddles lightly sprung.
 Swift round their heads their gleaming falchions threw,
 And furious to the onset rushed anew.
 They lash *, they foin †, their steeds in circles wheel,
 And with mad fury drive the flaming steel.
 Each wounded wounds; and each to madness stung,
 Strikes, as the fortune of the battle hung
 On that one blow; their batter'd shields resound,
 Their arms, to splinters riven, strew the ground.

The ascending sun had driv'n his car on high,
 And shot his radiance from the middle sky!
 Faint wax'd the foes, when Abyes, panting cried;
 ' Both thou and I lack vigour to decide.
 ' The dubious conflict: breathe we from the stow'r,
 ' Till wearied nature re-assume her pow'r.
 ' From no base motive springs my fair request;
 ' Fear is no inmate in this rugged breast.
 ' Or, could my soul admit so base a sway,
 ' Vengeance should drive those dastard thoughts away!
 To whom the Child: ' Tyrant! no rest from thee
 ' Has Gallia found; and none thou gain'st from me.
 ' Swift guard thy life, or to thy mischief ‡ know,
 ' Wether this arm lack vigour for the blow!
 Again with tenfold rage the combat glows,
 Thrusts follow thrusts, and blows are heaped on blows.
 At length the furious King, with either hand,
 Seiz'd and upheav'd in air his ponderous brand,
 Then drove it thundering on his youthful foe;
 His shield uplifted guards him from the blow,
 But, staggering with its fury, o'er the field
 In giddy rounds his frightened courser reel'd.
 A sickly sweat the warrior's brows o'erspread,
 His ears incessant rang, his colour fled.
 Fear blanch'd each gallic cheek; but swift return'd
 The blood, and with fresh hope each bosom burn'd:
 For the cleft shield the biting steel retain'd;
 The King pursued the Child, and vainly strain'd
 To free the brand; but sway'd with matchless force,
 And half upheav'd the Warrior from his horse.
 Woke by the fierce pursuer from his trance,
 The Child his eyes unclos'd; with sudden glance
 He viewed his vantage; and a furious thrust,
 Stretch'd the gigantic monarch in the dust.
 Swift from his lofty steed the victor sprung;
 High o'er the vanquished foe his sabre hung.

* Lash, to cut.

† Foin, to thrust.

‡ To thy mischief, to thy misfortune.

'Yield thee, or meet thy death!' he sternly cried:
 'Yield will I not,' the bleeding Prince replied;
 'But thou, brave Knight, suspend thy vengeful sword,
 'And let my parting soul receive her Lord *;
 'And shriv'd † of sin, and eas'd her last desire,
 'In the fond arms of faithful friends expire.'
 'Thy boon is granted,' cried the Child. 'Thy deed,'
 Replied the King, 'shall reap no worthless meed.
 'Strait shall my chieftains bid their bands retire,
 'And ravaged Gaul from fields of blood respire.'
 Him to his proud pavillion, drenched in gore,
 His sorrowing Knights with loud lamentings bore.
 Each holy rite perform'd, that grace requir'd,
 The Prince mid groups of weeping friends expir'd.
 His chiefs, obedient to their lord's commands,
 From Gallia's ravag'd coast retir'd their bands.

The Cast-Away ‡.

OBSCUREST night involv'd the sky;
 Th' Atlantic billows roar'd;
 When such a destin'd wretch as I,
 Wash'd headlong from on board,
 Of friends, of hope, of all bereft,
 His floating home for ever left.

No braver chief could Albion boast
 Than he, with whom he went,
 Nor ever ship left Albion's coast
 With warmer wishes sent.
 He lov'd them both, but both in vain,
 Nor him beheld, nor heard again.

Not long beneath the whelming brine,
 Expert to swim, he lay;
 Nor soon he felt his strength decline,
 Or courage die away;

* Receive her Lord, receive the Sacrament. † Shrived, confessed.

‡ As this poem, says Mr. Hayley, is the last original production from the pen of Mr. Cowper, I introduce it here, persuaded that it will be read with an interest proportioned to the extraordinary pathos of the subject, and still more extraordinary powers of the poet, whose lyre could sound so forcibly; unsilenced by the gloom of the darkest distemper, that was conducting him, by slow gradations, to the shades of death.

On the 20th of March, 1799, he wrote the stanza, intitled the 'Cast-Away,' founded on an anecdote in Anson's voyage, which his memory suggested to him, although he had not looked into the book for many years.

But

But wag'd with death a lasting strife,
 upported by despair of life.

He shouted: nor his friends had fail'd
 To check the vessel's course,
 But so the furious blast prevail'd,
 That, pitiless perforce,
 They left their outcast mate behind,
 And scudded still before the wind.

Some succour yet they could afford;
 And such as storms allow,
 The cask, the coop the floated cord,
 Delay'd not to bestow.
 But he (they knew) nor ship nor shore,
 Whate'er they gave, should visit more.

Nor cruel as it seem'd could he
 Their haste himself condemn,
 Aware that flight, in such a sea,
 Alone could rescue them;
 But bitter felt it still to die
 Deserted, and his friends so nigh.

He long survives who lives an hour,
 In ocean self upheld:
 And so long he, with unspent power,
 His destiny repell'd:
 And ever, as the minutes flew,
 Entreated help, or cried '*adieu*.'

At length his transient respite past,
 His comrades who before
 Had heard his voice in every blast,
 Could catch the sound no more.
 For then, by toil subdued, he drank
 The stifling wave, and then he sank.

No poet wept him: but the page
 Of narrative sincere,
 That tells his name, his worth, his age,
 Is wet with Anson's tear.
 And tears by bards or heroes shed,
 Alike immortalize the dead.

I, therefore, purpose not, or dream,
 Descanting on his fate,
 To give the melancholy, theme
 A more enduring date.

But misery still delights to trace
Its semblance in another's case.

No voice divine the storm allay'd,
No light propitious thine ;
When, snatch'd from all effectual aid,
We perish'd, each alone ;
But I, beneath a rougher sea,
Am whelm'd in deeper gulphs than he.

The Snail. From the same.*

TO grafs or leaf, or fruit or wall,
The Snail sticks close, nor fears to fall,
As if he grew there, house and all
Together.

Within that house secure he hides,
When danger imminent betides
Of storm, or other harm besides
Of weather.

Give but his horns the slightest touch,
His self-collecting power is such,
He shrinks into his house with much
Displeasure.

Where'er he dwells, he dwells alone,
Except himself has chattles none,
Well satisfied to be his own
Whole treasure.

Thus hermit-like, his life he leads,
Nor partner of his banquet needs,
And, if he meet one only feeds
The faster.

Who seeks him must be worse than blind,
He and his house are so combin'd
If finding it he fails to find
Its master.

* In the course of his academical exercises, Vincent Bourne, whose very amusements were classical, composed, or translated, many exquisite poems, in the purest Latinity. Cowper has very elegantly rendered many of them into English. He has chosen to translate the 'Limax' of his original into a measure of sweetness and simplicity, which the man of letters will remember to have listened to with approbation in the works of the gay Sir John Suckling.

Sonnet addressed by Mr. Cowper to Mrs. Unwin. From the same.

MARY! I want a lyre with other strings;
 Such aid from heaven, as some have feign'd they drew,
 An eloquence scarce given to mortals, new,
 And undebas'd by praise of meaner things!
 That ere through age or woe I shed my wings,
 I may record thy worth with honor due,
 In verse as musical, as thou art true,
 Verse that immortalizes whom it sings.
 But thou hast little need: there is a book,
 By Seraphs writ, with beams of heavenly light,
 On which the eyes of God not rarely look;
 A chronicle of actions just and bright!
 There all thy deeds, my faithful Mary shine,
 And since thou own'st that praise, I spare thee mine.

Lines to a remonstrating Friend. From Poems, by Peter Bayley, Jun. Esq.

Ah! chide me not, if yet once more
 I seek that love long fought in vain;
 Nor blame me if, while I adore,
 My vows are answer'd with disdain.

Yes, I confess, 'tis poor, 'tis weak,
 To droop, to sit with folded arms,
 To bear a fever in my cheek,
 And sorrow for an ingrate's charms.

Yet let me still my cares retain,
 Still droop, with folded arms still sigh;
 Nor mock me that I still remain
 The willing captive of her eye.

For Love, with all his keenest smart,
 Divine enchantment mingles still,
 And, while he fires the conquer'd heart,
 He charms with many a pleasing thrill.

And tortur'd thus, thus doom'd to mourn,
 I still must feed this cherish'd grief,
 And could my peace once more return,
 My heart would scorn the poor relief.

Then chide me not, if yet once more
 I seek that love long fought in vain;
 Nor blame me if, while I a ore,
 My vows are answered with disdain.

*A Lyric Rhapsody. From Poems Lyrical and Miscellaneous, by the late
 Rev. Henry Moore of Liskeard*

BEAUTEOUS Sister of the Sun!
 Whose gentle rule the starry quires obey,
 In full-orb'd glory move majestic on,
 And shed a sober, a religious ray,
 O'er the gloomy front of night
 Cast a sweetly-solemn grace,
 Shower o'er her sable plumes thy pearly light,
 And kindle into smiles her awful face.

Here, musing in the secret glade,
 While beneath the waying shade.
 Dance on the chequer'd ground thy quiv'ring beams,
 Or play bright sparkling on the trembling streams,
 O'er the smooth lake a softer lustre throw,
 And the hill tops seem tipp'd with silver snow.
 From Folly's laugh, from Splendor's idle glare,
 The routs of Riot, and the toils of Care,
 My soul to Solitude, to Silence, flies,
 To Contemplation's pure and placid joys:
 O let her here a calm asylum find,
 And leave the Busy and the Gay behind!

Hail heavenly Contemplation! meek-ey'd Maid!
 Fair Hermit! born beneath th' embowering shade,
 And nurs'd by Silence, daughter of the Night,
 Conversing in thy native wood
 With holy Genii, guardians of the Good,
 Wisdom serene, and rational delight;
 Receive the fugitive—my cares assuage,
 And bid the swelling passions cease to rage!
 I long to hear the whisper'd sounds, that flow
 From thy lov'd lips to cheer the lonely hours,
 Mild as th' ambrosial gales of heaven, that blow
 O'er amaranthine flowr's.

O come! and beaming full on Fancy's eyes
 Bid Virtue's sacred glories rise,
 Such as beside Ilyffus streams,
 Blest as her Plato's hallow'd dreams,

Whence his warm transported thought
 Its high ecstatic spirit caught !
 Bid me with awful pleasure trace,
 Each mental charm, each moral grace,
 In all, their fair attractions drest,
 The Sages thought, the Patriot's flame,
 The pure desire, the generous aim,
 And the bright ardor of the godlike breast !
 The friendly heart, the social glow,
 The melting soul of tenderness,
 The tear by Pity taught to flow,
 To soothe the pangs of keen distress :
 The firm resolve, that dares defy
 The lightning of the Tyrant's eye,
 And, spite of Flattery, or force,
 Holds on unmov'd its honest course !
 Thus let me view, the mind-ennobling Maid,
 In mingled majesty and grace arrayed,
 Till in my breast her thrilling pow'r inspires
 Her own divine delights, her own immortal fires.
 But chief, above the sublunary skies
 Bid my bold ideas rise
 On Rapture's flaming car,
 By fiery coursers born in boundless flight
 Above the blazing height
 Of yon dread concave gemm'd with many a star,
 To orbs inspher'd in empyrean gold,
 Where crown'd with flow'ry wreaths, that never die,
 The blooming sons of Immortality
 Sport with young Joys in endless circles roll'd :
 Where the first Beauty sheds eternal day,
 While round his sapphire throne the flame-rob'd quire
 Touch into transport high the heavenly lyre,
 And to the Perfect Fair devote the lay ;
 And while around his peerless glories stream,
 Glow with the warmth, and brightens in the beam.
 Hail Excellence Supreme ! above, below,
 We see thy beauteous emanations flow.
 Hence each sublime, engaging grace,
 That strikes, or charms on Nature's race ;
 Hence Art derives her mimic power to please,
 Her varied order, and her polished ease :
 Wisdom from Thee, the parent Mind,
 Imbibes her intellectual day,
 The tow'ring sentiment, the thought refin'd,
 Are beamings of thy borrow'd ray :
 When Virtue on her smooth un sullied breast
 Beholds her moral charms confess,

Majestically

Majestically Great, or sweetly Fair,
 She views but thy reflected image there.
 When at thy potent voice confusion fled,
 And from the dread abyfs of antient night
 Young Nature rose—while round her purple head
 Play'd the mild lustre of the new-born light;
 When o'er the wide-extended globe
 Celestial Beauty cast her flowery robe,
 With towering cedars crown'd, the hanging hill,
 Shed o'er the plain, the grove, the glade,
 Her sweetly-varied light and shade,
 And thro' the valley pour'd the vagrant rill;
 While Life diffus'd thro' ocean, earth, and air,
 In her variety of forms more fair,
 Aloft on new-fledg'd pinions wing'd her way,
 Or cleav'd with oary fins the foaming sea,
 Roam'd o'er the mountain, bounded thro' the brake,
 Graz'd the smooth green, or lurk'd in sedgy lake;
 Still was there wanting, to command the whole,
 A ruling pow'r, a reasoning soul.

 A work of more exalted kind
 Thy great ideas then design'd;
 Bade a majestic form arise,
 And lift to heav'n the conscious brow,
 The feat of thought, and sparkling eyes
 All bright in Fancy's vivid glow.
 Him, thy fair Image, did thy word ordain
 The reasoning Monarch of the land and main,
 Supreme, but with a just and gentle sway,
 And bade the Brute his destin'd Lord obey.
 Nor for this world alone, a transient scene,
 Form'dst thou the soul—Some instinct from within,
 Thine inspiration, wings her wish sublime
 Beyond the bounds of nature and of time.
 The strong and restless energy of Mind,
 That roves the fields of Science unconfin'd,
 That spreads its darting plumes from pole to pole,
 Wherever tempests rage, or oceans roll,
 Explores the secrets of the realms on high,
 Draws the red lightnings from the low'ring sky,
 Bids seven-fold light its magic dyes display,
 The blended glories of the golden day,
 Treads the bright path the circling planets run,
 Sports in the living splendors of the sun,
 Or far out-flies the comet's blazing race,
 And seeks new systems thro' the wilds of space—
 Immense designs,

Immortal hopes, and unextinguished fires,
Exalt her vast aspiring thought to Thee,
And only find a bound in thine Infinity.

But when, forgetful of her heavenly birth,
She droops her idle plumes, and sinks to earth,
When lost to Virtue's sacred charms,
Her vigour melts in Pleasure's arms,
Her grace and beauties by degrees decay,
And mists of error cloud her mental ray;
Slaves to a tyrant lust, divine no more,
Her towering faculties no longer soar;
Her nobler powers in wild confusion tost
By furious passions, or in languor lost,
Lie drear and waste, like once a beauteous world
Dash'd into ruin, and in Chaos hurl'd.

Ode occasioned by the Atheistical Tenets publicly avowed in France.

From the same.

"**I**S there a God?" the Sceptic cries,
Profanely daring, and absurdly wise*.
Ask the loud thunder! Ask the lightning's glare!
When Terror riding on his fiery car,
Flashing thro' the blue profound
Shakes the vaulted heav'ns around:
Or ask the troubl'd deep,
When o'er the surge the dire tornado's sweep,
Bid the vex'd surface into mountains rise,
And wild confusion mingles waves and skies;
While the poor pilot, pale with dread,
Sees ghastly death hang foaming o'er his head;
Trembling she'll tell, what awful pow'r presides
To sink, or swell to rage her hoarse-resounding tides.

Ask of the skies, who form'd their shining frame;
Who rang'd the starry legions in array;
Who thro' the void elanc'd the comets' flame,
And from its golden fountain pour'd the day?
Who bends the concave of the seven-fold bow?
Who gives the rising morn its roseate glow?
In tenfold darkness now involves the sphere!
While stalk terrific thro' the dreadful night
Rav'ning death and pale affright,
And shake the shiv'ring heart with frantic fear?

* Hor. Od. 34. l. 1. Infanientis Sapientiae.

Are proofs of power too weak ? behold around
 Bounty profuse, and love, that knows no bound !
 For thee ungrateful Man ! his favourite care,
 He sheds a thousand charms on Nature's face,
 All sweetly blended—the sublime, the fair,
 Order divine, and soul enchanting grace.
 Cloth'd the gay pastures with enlivening green,
 Arch'd with embow'ring shades the sylvan scene ;
 Swell'd the high mountain with majestic pride,
 Slop'd the deep vale, and down its winding side
 Bid many a fresh rill flow, that murmuring strays
 Most musical in many a waving maze.

For thee his vernal Zephyr's play
 And in rich colours blooms the flow'ry May ;
 For thee his handmaid Nature show'rs around
 Her ample stores, and loads the gladden'd ground ;
 For thee his Moons their silver beams unfold,
 And Suns with regal grandeur blaze in gold.

Yet Man with reason blind, perverse of will,
 Caprice his guide, and lust his law,
 Still prone to interdicted will,
 Nor Love can melt, nor Pow'r can awe,
 Of Heav'n's unnumber'd bounties while possessor
 The goodness he blasphemes, that makes him blest
 Weak reptile ! dares with impious pride
 Oppose the Omnipotent's command,
 Nor suffers his uplifted hand*
 To lay the vengeful bolt aside.

Insatiate Famine, flame ey'd War,
 Foul Disease's ghastly train,
 And pining Grief and agonizing Pain,
 Outrageous Frenzy, fullen-ey'd Despair,
 Whose hand determined grasps the dart
 To drive it to her heart,
 Pale-ey'd Anxiety, that knows no rest
 And fell Remorse with snaky tresses crown'd,
 With all her thousand Fiends of horror round,
 That pierce with guilty pangs the secret breast,
 And that dread voice that dogs the godless crew,
 Which silent long, at length with awful roll,
 Like thunder pealing thro' the shuddering soul,
 Compels it to believe and tremble too,
 All at his footstool wait his dread command :

* ————— neque
 Per nostrum patimur scelus.
 Iracunda Jovem ponere fulmina. Hor. Od. iii. l. l.

Grim-visaged Vengeance heads the grisly band :
 Arm'd with her iron rod,
 With all the flames and thunders of her God,
 Her host of marshall'd ills she leads below,
 And deals around variety of woe.

Hail Greatest ! Wisest ! Best !
 While peal thy thunders, and thy lightnings glow,
 Let the bold tremble, and the haughty bow,
 And thrilling terrors chill the Tyrant's breast !
 But bless the pious, gentle, generous Race,
 On whom imprest, in many a lovely line
 The beamings of thy beauty shine,
 With full reflected grace ?
 Theirs is heart-cheering Hope, of eye serene,
 Mild as some smiling Angel's placid mien ;
 Theirs is strong-pinion'd Faith, that dares the sky ;
 Theirs peace ethereal ever calm, and even ;
 Theirs the rapt Seraph's soul-entrancing joy ;
 Theirs the fair dawns of the day of Heaven.

To them thy flaming bolts no terrors bear,
 While in their dread Almighty King they view
 The tender Father too,
 Joy in thy love, and trust thy faithful care.
 Thus some bright Cherub stands before thy shrine,
 Fearless his Maker's awful form surveys
 Securely sees his dreadful glories shine,
 And in his lightning's livid flashes plays.

Translation of a Part of Boileau's 1st Epistle. From the Works of Richard Owen Cambridge, Esq.

“ **T**HUS of Pyrrhus enquired his old Tutor and friend :
 These elephants, soldiers, and ships, to what end ?

PYR. To the siege ; for I've oft been invited to come,
 And with glory to conquer all-conquering Rome.

TUT. I agree that great glory from thence would ensue,
 And 'tis worthy alone Alexander or you.
 After such an exploit, theres no more to be done.—

PYR. Yes—the countries that border on Rome must be won.

TUT. Any more ? PYR. Don't you see Syracuse is so near.

TUT. Any more ? PYR. Give me that, and to Carthage I steer.

TUT. Now I see, you're resolved to be master of all,
 The near and the distant, the great and the small ;
 And I plainly perceive you will not be at rest
 Till you've tried all the East, when you've conquer'd the West,

So Egypt is your's. Your Ambition then ranges,
And bears you away to the Tigris and Ganges.
But when crown'd with success, and with glory you tire us,
What's left to be done when return'd to Epirus?

PYR. Why to feast on good cheer, and good liquor to quaff;
And, forgetting our labours, to sit down and laugh.

TUT. Then why should we travel to Egypt and Rome?
Who forbids us to laugh without *stirring from home?*"

*Youth and Age an Ode. From the Swedish of Chevalier Edelerantz. From
Armine and Elvira. A legendary Tale. With other Poems. By Edmund
Cartwright, M. A.*

MINION of happiness! to-day
'Tis your's in life's smooth path to stray,
While Youth and Health, twin sisters bring
The bloomy progeny of Spring.
A chaplet for your brow to weave;
While Hope, that smiles but to deceive,
With sportive pinion fans the air,
Nor lets you see the growing care;
The senses on your dazzled sight
Unlock the sluices of delight,
Deluge your heart with floods of joy,
Suspecting not that they shall cloy.
Soon as the morning drinks the dew,
And flings around her roseate hue,
For you the groves their sweets prepare,
And new-blown roses scent the air;
For you the groves their music breathe,
And form for you the festive wreath.
The flowing goblet to entwine,
Where of the rich Burgundian vine,
The juice nectareous, sparkling bright,
Invites you with its ruby light.
Now jocund mirth and song abound,
And tales of heroes now go round;
Those heroes of the Swedish name,
Whose deeds reviv'd their country's fame,
Whose blood, profusely flowing, dyed,
With streams of glory, Finland's tide.
Now love your bounding heart engages,
In every vein the tempest rages;
Reason in chains of dalliance bound,
Each sense in sweet delirium drown'd,
Clasp'd in the Elysium of her arms
You revel on the fair one's charms,

Nor dream, while thus entranc'd you lie,
The rose of pleasure e'er shall die!
Mistaken youth! with quick decay
The rose of pleasure dies away!
An insect of the summer hour,
You bask upon a transient flower;
Fast fall its leaves, they perish all!
And with the falling leaf you fall!
Mistaken youth! your dreams are o'er,
And exultation is no more!
As o'er the slumberer in the vale
Unnotic'd steals the passing gale,
So unperceiv'd youth's moments slide;
Days, months, and years, with hurried haste,
Pass on, their very track untrac'd!
With equal speed, the pleasures too
Their unremitting flight pursue.
In vain would you impede their pace,
And win them back to your embrace;
Mere unsubstantial forms, alas!
Now only seen in memory's glass!
And even there how soon to fade,
As Time's dark wings extend their shade!
Ah! now what pangs your bosom share!
See pain, and grief, and want, and care;
Anxiety that gnaws the heart,
And self-reproach's burning smart,
And wild unsatisfi'd desire,
All, all, against your peace conspire!
Time on your locks his snow has spread,
The roses on your cheeks are dead,
There sorrow digs, with hand severe,
A furrow for the falling tear!
Unthinking sorrower, cease to mourn!
Tho' late, Reflection may return,
Reason again resume her seat,
Calm Wisdom, from her still retreat,
Once more her precepts may impart,
And Friendship hold you to her heart!
Its foliage scatter'd by the wind,
Yet on the tree remains behind
Autumnal fruit, that shall adorn
The leafless branches, tempest-torn.

*Apostrophe to Aurelia. From "Scenes of Infancy descriptive of Teviotdale"
By John Leyden."*

OFT have I wandered, in my vernal years,
 Where Ruberslaw his misty summit rears,
 And, as the fleecy farges clos'd amain,
 To gain the top have traced that shelving lane,
 Where every shallow stripe of level green,
 That, winding, runs the scattered crags between,
 Is rudely notched across the grassy rind,
 In awkward letters, by the rural hind.
 When fond and faithful swains assemble gay,
 To meet their loves on rural holiday,
 The trace of each obscure, decaying name,
 Of some fond pair records the secret flame:
 And here the village maiden bends her way,
 When vows are broke, and fading charms decay,
 Sings her soft sorrow to the mountain gale,
 And weeps, that love's delusions e'er should fail.
 Here, too, the youthful widow comes, to clear,
 From weeds, a name to fond affection dear:
 She pares the sod, with bursting heart, and cries,
 "The hand, that traced it, in the cold grave lies!"—
 Ah dear Aurelia! when this arm shall guide
 Thy twilight steps no more by Teviot's side,
 When I, to pine in eastern realms, have gone,
 And years have passed, and thou remain'st alone,
 Wilt thou, still partial to thy youthful flame
 Regard the turf, where first I carv'd thy name,
 And think, thy wanderer, far beyond the sea,
 False to his heart, was ever true to thee?
 Why bend, so sad, that kind, regretful view,
 As every moment were my last adieu?
 Ah! spare that tearful look, 'tis death to see,
 Nor break this tortured heart, that bleeds for thee!
 That snowy cheek, that moist and gelid brow,
 Those quivering lips, that breathe the unfinished vow,
 These eyes, that still with dimming tears o'erflow,
 Will haunt me, when thou canst not see my woe.
 Not yet, with fond but self-accusing pain,
 Mine eyes, reverted, linger o'er the main;
 But, sad, as he that dies in early spring,
 When flowers begin to blow, and larks to sing.
 When Nature's joy a moment warms his heart,
 And makes it doubly hard with life to part,
 I hear the whispers of the dancing gale,
 And, fearful, listen for the flapping sail,

Seek, in these natal shades, a short relief,
 And steal a pleasure from maturing grief.
 Yes! in these shades, this fond, adoring mind
 Had hoped, in thee, a dearer self to find.
 Still from thy form some lurking grace to glean,
 And wonder, it so long remained unseen,
 Hoped, those seducing graces might impart
 Their native sweetness to this sterner heart,
 While those dear eyes, in pearly light that shine,
 Fond thought! should borrow manlier beams from mine.
 Ah! fruitless hope of bliss, that ne'er shall be!
 Shall but this lonely heart survive to me?
 No! in the temple of my purer mind,
 Thine imaged form shall ever live enshrined,
 And hear the vows, to first affection due,
 Still breathed—for love, that ceases, ne'er was true.

Thomas the Rhymer. From the same.

BY every thorn along the woodland damp,
 The tiny glow-worm lights her em'rald Camp;
 Like the shot-star, whose yet unquenched light
 Studs with faint gleam the raven-vest of night.
 The fairy ring-dance now, round Eildon-tree,
 Moves to wild strains of elfin minstrelsy:
 On glancing step appears the fairy queen;
 The printed grass, beneath, springs soft and green:
 While, hand in hand, she leads the frolic round,
 The dinning tabor shakes the charmed ground;
 Or, graceful mounted on her palfrey grey,
 In robes, that glister like the sun in May,
 With hawk and hound she leads the moonlight ranks,
 Of knights and dames, to Huntly's ferny banks,
 Where Rymour, long of yore, the nymph embraced,
 The first of men unearthly lips to taste.
 Rash was the vow, and fatal was the hour,
 Which gave a mortal to a Fairy's power.
 A lingering leave he took of Sun and Moon;
 —Dire to the Minstrel was the Fairy's boon!—
 A sad farewell of grass and green-leaved tree,
 The haunts of childhood doomed no more to see.
 Through winding paths, that never saw the sun,
 Where Eildon hides his roots in caverns dun,
 They pass,—the hollow pavement, as they go,
 Rocks to remurmuring waves, that boil below;

Silent they wade, where sounding torrents eave
 The banks, and red the tinge of every wave ;
 For all the blood, that dyes the warrior's hand,
 Runs through the thirsty springs of Fairy-land.
 Level and green the downward region lies,
 And low the ceiling of the Fairy skies;
 Self-kindled gems a richer light display
 Than gilds the earth, but not a purer day.
 Resplendent crystal forms the palace-wall,
 The diamond's trembling lustre lights the hall :
 But where soft emeralds shed an umbered light,
 Beside each coal-black courser sleeps a knight ;
 A raven plume waves o'er each helmed crest,
 And black the mail, which binds each manly breast,
 Girt with broad faulchion, and with bugle green—
 Ah ! could a mortal trust the Fairy Queen !
 From mortal lips an earthly accent fell,
 And Rymour's tongue confessed the numbing spell :
 In iron sleep the Minstrel lies forlorn,
 Who breathed a sound before he blew the horn.

So Vattock once, as eastern legends tell,
 Sought the vast dome of subterranean Hell,
 Where ghastly, in their cedar biers enshrined,
 The fleshless forms of antient Kings reclined,
 Who, long before primæval Adam rose,
 Had heard the central gates behind them close.
 With jarring clang the hebon portals ope
 And, closing, toll the funeral knell of Hope.
 A sable tapestry lined the marble wall,
 And spirits cursed stalked dimly through the hall :
 There, as he viewed each right hand ceaseless prest,
 With writhing anguish, to each blasted breast,
 Blue, o'er his brow, convulsive fibres start,
 And flames of vengeance eddy round his heart ;
 With a dire shriek, he joins the restless throng,
 And vaulted Hell returned his funeral song.

Mysterious Rymour ! doomed, by Fate's decree,
 Still to revisit Eildon's lonely tree,
 Where oft the swain, at dawn of Hallow-day,
 Hears thy black barb with fierce impatience neigh !
 Say, who is he, with summons strong and high,
 That bids the charmed sleep of ages fly,
 Rolls the long sound through Eildon's caverns vast,
 While each dark warrior rouses at the blast,
 His horn, his faulchion, grasps with mighty hand,
 And peals proud Arthur's march from Fairy-land ?
 Where every coal-black courser paws the green,
 His printed step shall evermore be seen :

The silver shields in moony splendour shine —
 Beware, fond youth! a mightier hand than thine,
 With deathless lustre, in romantic lay,
 Shall Rymour's fate, and Arthur's fame display.
 O Scott! with whom, in youth's sereneest prime,
 I wove, with careless hand, the Fairy rhyme,
 Bade chivalry's barbaric pomp return,
 And heroes wake from every mouldering urn!
 Thy powerful verse, to grace the courtly hall,
 Shall many a tale of elder time recall,
 The deeds of knights, the loves of dames, proclaim
 And give forgotten bards their former fame.
 Enough for me, if Fancy wake the spell,
 To eastern Minstrels strains like thine to tell,
 Till saddening memory all our haunts restore,
 The wild-wood walks by Esk's romantic shore,
 The circled hearth, which ne'er was wont to fail
 In cheerful joke, or legendary tale,
 Thy mind, whose fearless frankness nought could move,
 Thy friendship, like an elder brother's love.
 While from each scene of early life I part,
 True to the beatings of this ardent heart,
 When, half-deceased, with half the world between,
 My name shall be unmentioned on the green,
 When years combine with distance, let me be,
 By all forgot, remembered yet by thee!

*The Soldier's Dream. From "The Pleasures of Hope, with other Poems,
 By T. Campbell."*

OUR bugler sung twice; for the night cloud had lower'd,
 And the sentinel stars set their watch in the sky;
 And thousands had sunk on the ground overpower'd,
 The weary to sleep, and the wounded to die.

When, reposing that night on my pallet of straw,
 By the wolf-scaring faggot that guarded the slain,
 At the dead of the night a sweet vision I saw;
 And twice ere the cock-crow, I dreamt it again.

Methought from the battle-field's dreadful array,
 Far, far, I had roam'd on a desolate track,
 Till autumn and sunshine arose on the way,
 To the house of my father's that welcom'd me back.

I flew to the pleasant fields, travers'd so oft
 In life's morning march, when my bosom was young;
 I heard my own mountain-goats bleating aloft,
 And knew the sweet strain that the corn-reaper sung.

Then pledg'd we the wine-cup, and fondly I swore
 From my home and my weeping friends never to part;
 My little ones kiss'd me a thousand times o'er,
 And my wife sobb'd aloud in her fulness of heart—

“Stay, stay with us! rest!—thou art weary and worn!”
 (And fain was their war-broken soldier to stay)
 But sorrow return'd with the dawning of morn,
 And the voice in my dreaming ear melted away!

German drinking Song. From the same.

SWEET Ifer were thy sunny realm
 And flow'r'y fountains mine,
 The waters would I shade with elm,
 To prop the tender vine.
 My golden flagons I would fill
 With rosy draughts from ev'ry hill;
 And under each green spreading bower
 My gay companions should prolong
 The feast, the revel, and the song,
 To many a sportive hour.

Like rivers crimson'd by the beam
 Of yonder planet bright,
 Our nectar cups should ever stream
 Profusion of delight!
 No care should touch the mellow heart,
 And sad or sober none depart;
 (For wine can triumph over woe)
 And Love and Bacchus, brother powers
 Should build in Ifer's sunny bowers,
 A Paradise below!

Epigrams. From “Epigrams, in two Books.” By William Barnes Rhodes.

TO MIRA.

THY smiles are like an April day,
 Which, flattering in vain,
 First tempts me out in light array,
 Then drenches me with rain.

Forbear, dear Maid, with cruel skill
 To triumph a deceiver;
 Than thus to act, t'were kinder still
 To frown on me for ever.

He who in age betakes a youthful bride,
 May, like a fool, with justness be decreed
 Who buys a valuable book through pride,
 To lend unto his learned friends to read.

“ I’ll follow thy fortune,” a termagant cries,
 Whose extravagance caused all the evil,
 “ That were some consolation,” the husband replies,
 For my fortune has gone to the devil.

“ Your countenance, Jack,” says my father one day,
 “ Is formed to ensure you disgrace ;”
 “ Very likely,” cried I, “ it may be as you say,
 For I know I’ve the family face.”

I gave my fair a blushing rose,
 And told her, beauty, like the flower,
 Its transitory empire owes,
 Dependent on youth’s smiling hour.

I told her that delays were wrong ;
 “ O name the happy morn,” I cried :
 She own’d the moral of my song,
 And smil’d, next morn, my rival’s bride.

The Inconstant.

LESSONS of Love a fair I taught,
 And fondly hop’d a kind return ;
 For gentler pupil never sought
 Its pleasing rudiments to learn.

But now above the scholar grown,
 She must her master’s rival be,
 Yes, Rosalie to half the town
 Has taught whate’er she learnt of me.

Canzonet. From Poems from the Portuguese of Camoens. By Lord Viscount Strangford.

I WHISPERED her my last adieu,
 I gave a mournful kifs,
 Cold showers of sorrow bath'd her eyes,
 And her poor heart was torn with sighs;
 Yet strange to tell 'twas then I knew
 Most perfect blifs.—

For Love, at other times suppress'd,
 Was all betray'd at this—
 I saw him weeping in her eyes,
 I heard him breathe amongst her sighs,
 And every throb which shook her breast,
 Thrill'd mine with blifs.

The sight which keen Affection clears
 How can it judge amiss?
 To me, it pictur'd hope; and taught,
 My spirit this consoling thought,
 That Love's sun, tho' it rise in tears,
 May set in blifs.

Stanzas. From the same.

I SAW the virtuous man contend
 With life's unnumber'd woes;
 And he was poor without a friend—
 Press'd by a thousand foes.

I saw the Passions' pliant slave,
 In gallant trim and gay;
 His course was Pleasure's plac'd way,
 His life, a summer's day.

And I was caught in Folly's snare,
 And join'd her giddy train—
 But found her soon the nurse of Care,
 And Punishment, and Pain.

There surely is some guiding Power
 Which rightly suffers wrong—
 Gives Vice to bloom its little hour—
 But Virtue, late and long!

Canzonet.

Canzonet. From the same.

WHEN day had smil'd a soft farewell,
And night-drops bathe each shutting bell,
And shadows sail along the green,
And birds are still, and winds serene,
I wander silently.

And while my lone step prints the dew,
Dear are the dreams that bless my view,
To Memory's eye the Maid appears,
For whom have sprung my sweetest tears,
So oft, so tenderly.

I see her, as with graceful care,
She binds her braids of sunny hair;
I feel her harp's melodious thrill
Strike to my heart, and thence be still,
Re-echoed faithfully,

I meet her mild and quiet eye,
Drink the warm spirit of her sigh,
See young Love beating in her breast,
And wish to mine its pulses-press,
God knows how fervently!

Such are my hours of dear delight,
And morn but makes me long for night,
And think how swift the minutes flew,
When lost amongst the dropping dew,
I wander'd silently!

Madrigal. From the same.

DEAR is the blush of early light
To him who ploughs the pathless deep,
When winds have rav'd throughout the night,
And roaring tempests banish'd sleep—
Dear is the dawn, which springs at last,
And shows him all his peril past.

Dearer to me the break of day,
Which thus thy bended eye illumines;
And clearing fear and doubt away,
Scatters the night of mental glooms,
And bids my spirit hope at last,
A rich reward for perils past.

Canzon. From the same.

THOU pride of the forest! whose dark branches spread
To the sigh of the south-wind their tremulous green,
And the tinge of whose buds is as rich and as red
As the mellowing blushes of maiden eighteen.

O'er thee may the tempest in gentleness blow,
And the lightnings of Summer pass harmlessly by,
For ever thy buds keep their mellowing glow,
Thy branches still wave to the southerly sigh.

Because in thy shade, as I lately reclin'd,
The sweetest of visions arose to my view;
'Twas the swoon of the soul—'twas the transport of mind—
'Twas the happiest minute that ever I knew.

For this shalt thou still be my favourite tree,—
In the heart of the Poet thou never canst fade;
It shall often be warm'd by remembering thee,
And the dream which I dreamt in thy tremulous shade.

ACCOUNT of BOOKS for 1803.

The Life and Letters, of William Cowper, Esq. By William Hayley, Esq.

OF the motives which induced him to undertake this work, Mr. Hayley gives the following account in an introductory Letter to Earl Cowper. "Not long after his decease, one of his particular friends presumed to suggest to an accomplished lady, nearly related both to him and to your lordship, that she herself might be the biographer most worthy of the poet. The intimacy, and correspondence, which she enjoyed with him, both in their lively hours of youthful friendship, and in the dark evening of his wonderfully chequered life; her cultivated and affectionate mind, which led her to take peculiar delight and interest in the merit and reputation of his writings; and lastly, that generous attachment to her afflicted relation, which induced her to watch over his disordered health, in a period of its most calamitous depression, these circumstances united, seemed to render it desirable that she should assume the office of Cowper's biographer, having such advantage for, the perfect execution of that very delicate task, as perhaps

no other memorialist could possess in an equal degree." The lady, however, declined the undertaking. "The natural diffidence of her sex, uniting with extreme delicacy of health, induced her (eager as she is to promote the celebrity of her deceased relation) to shrink from the idea of submitting herself as an author, to the formidable eye of the public. Her knowledge of the very cordial regard with which Cowper has honoured me, as one of his most confidential friends, led her to request, that she might assign to me that arduous office, which she candidly confessed she had not the resolution to assume."

Mr. Hayley's account of Cowper's family traces it from the times of Edward IV. when his ancestors were resident in Sussex. His grandfather was a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and his father, Chaplain to George II. and rector of Great Berkhamstead in Hertfordshire, where the poet was born the 26th of November, 1731. The infancy of Cowper was delicate in no common degree; and his constitution discovered, at a very early season, that morbid tendency to diffidence, to melancholy, and despair, which darkened, as he advanced

advanced in years, into periodical fits of the most deplorable depression. He had specks on both his eyes, which threatened to cover them. A female oculist in whose house he was lodged two years, failed in her attempts to cure them, and the malady was finally removed by the small-pox, although he always continued subject to inflammations. His mother died when he was only six years old, and the following year he was sent to Westminster school. "It appears a strange process in education," Mr. Hayley justly observes, "to send a tender child, from a long residence in the house of a female oculist, immediately into all the hardships that a little delicate boy must have to encounter at a public school. How ill suited the scene was to his peculiar character, must be evident to all, who have heard him describe his sensations in that season of life, which is, often very erroneously, extolled as the happiest period of human existence. He has been frequently heard to lament the persecution he sustained in his childish years, from the cruelty of his school-fellows, in the two scenes of his education. His own forcible expression, represented him, at Westminster, as not daring to raise his eye above the shoe buckle of the elder boys, who were too apt to tyrannise over his gentle spirit. The acuteness of his feelings in his childhood, rendered those important years (which might have produced, under tender cultivation, a series of lively enjoyments) miserable years of increasing timidity and depression; which in the most cheerful hours of his advanced life, he could hardly describe, to an intimate friend, with-

out shuddering at the recollection of his early wretchedness. Yet to this perhaps the world is indebted for the pathetic and moral eloquence of those forcible admonitions to parents which give interest and beauty to his admirable poem on public schools. Poets may be said to realize in some measure, the poetical idea of the nightingale's singing with a thorn at her breast; as their most exquisite songs have often originated in the acuteness of their personal sufferings. But in this situation, although the peculiar delicacy of his nature, might expose him to an extraordinary portion of juvenile discomfort; yet he undoubtedly acquired the accomplishment, and the reputation of scholarship; with the advantage of being known and esteemed by some aspiring youth of his own age, who were destined to become conspicuous, and powerful, in the splendid scenes of the world.

With these acquisitions, he left Westminster at the age of eighteen, in 1749; and as if destiny had determined, that all his early situations in life should be peculiarly irksome to his delicate feelings, and tend rather to promote, than to counteract, his constitutional tendency to melancholy, he was removed from a public school to the office of an attorney. He resided three years in the house of a Mr. Chapman, to whom he was engaged by articles for that time. Here he was placed for the study of a profession, which nature seemed resolved, that he never should practise.

When he quitted the house of the solicitor, where he was placed to acquire the rudiments of litigation, he settled himself in chambers

of the Inner Temple, as a regular student of law; but although he resided there to the age of thirty-three, he rambled (according to his own colloquial account of his early years) from the thorny road of his austere patroness, Jurisprudence, into the primrose paths of literature and poetry. Even here his native diffidence confined him to social and subordinate exertions. He wrote, and printed both verse and prose, as the concealed assistant of less diffident authors. During his residence in the Temple, he cultivated the friendship of some eminent literary characters, who had been his school-fellows at Westminster; particularly Colman, Bonnel Thornton, and Lloyd. His regard to the two former induced him to contribute to their periodical publication, entitled the *Connoisseur*, three excellent papers, which are republished in the appendix. Beside an intimacy with Lloyd, Cowper, while he resided in the Temple, seems to have been personally acquainted with the most eminent writers of the time; and the interest, which he probably took in their recent works, tended to increase his powerful, though diffident, passion for poetry; and to train him imperceptibly to that masterly command of language which he displayed, almost as a new talent, at the age of fifty. One of his first associates has informed me, Mr. Hayley says, that before he quitted London, he frequently amused himself in translating from antient and modern poets, and devoted his composition to the service of any friend who requested it. In a copy of Duncombe's *Horace*, printed in 1759, I find two of the *Satires* translated by Cowper.

In these early effusions, although slightly valued by the poet himself, were displayed a great poetic force, sentiments of genuine piety, a vein of pure morality, and the rudiments of those powers which were afterward so eminently conspicuous in "*The Task*."

Although extreme diffidence, and a tendency to despond, seemed early to preclude Cowper from all expectation of climbing to the splendid summit of the profession he had chosen; yet, by the interest of his family, he had prospects of emolument in a line of life, that appeared better suited to the modesty of his nature, and to his moderate ambition.

In his thirty-first year, he was nominated to the offices of Reading Clerk, and Clerk of the private Committees, in the House of Lords; a situation the more desirable, as such an establishment might enable him to marry early in life; a measure, to which he was doubly disposed, by judgment and inclination. But the peculiarities of his wonderful mind rendered him unable to support the ordinary duties of his new office; for the idea of reading in public, proved a source of torture to his tender and apprehensive spirit. An expedient was then devised to promote his interest, without wounding his feelings. Resigning his situation of Reading Clerk, he was appointed Clerk of the Journals, in the same House of Parliament. This kindness was, however, productive of unforeseen and melancholy effects. It was hoped from the change of his station that his personal appearance in Parliament might not be required; but a Parliamentary dispute made it necessary for him to ap-

pear

pear at the Bar of the House of Lords, to intitle himself publicly to the office. Speaking of this important incident in a sketch, which he once formed himself, of passages in his early life, he expresses, what he endured at the time, in these remarkable words: "They, whose spirits are formed like mine, to whom a public exhibition of themselves is mortal poison, may have some idea of the horrors of my situation—others can have none."

His terrors on this occasion arose to such an astonishing height, that they utterly overwhelmed his reason: for although he had endeavoured to prepare himself for his public duty, by attending closely at the office for several months, to examine the parliamentary Journals, his application was rendered useless, by that excess of diffidence, which made him conceive, that, whatever knowledge he might previously acquire, it would all forsake him at the bar of the house. This distressing apprehension encreased to such a degree, as the time for his appearance approached, that when the day so anxiously dreaded, arrived, he was unable to make the experiment. The very friends who called on him for the purpose of attending him to the House of Lords, acquiesced in the cruel necessity of his relinquishing the prospect of a station, so severely formidable to a frame of such singular sensibility. The conflict between the wishes of his just ambition, and the terrors of diffidence, so intirely overwhelmed his health and faculties, that after two learned and benevolent divines (Mr. John Cowper, his brother, and the celebrated

Mr. Martin Madan, his first cousin) had vainly endeavoured to establish a lasting tranquillity in his mind, by friendly and religious conversation, it was found necessary to remove him to Saint Alban's. He resided there a considerable time, under the care of that eminent physician, Dr. Cotton, a scholar, and a poet, who added to many accomplishments, a peculiar sweetness of manners, in very advanced life.

From December, 1763, to the following July, the mind of Cowper appears to have laboured under the severest sufferings of morbid depression; but the medical skill of Dr. Cotton, and the cheerful benignant manners of that accomplished physician, gradually succeeded, with the blessing of heaven, in removing the undescribable load of religious despondency, which had clouded the admirable faculties of this innocent and upright man. His ideas of religion were changed from the gloom of terror and despair, to the lustre and comfort of delight; and this juster and happier view of Evangelical truth, is said to have arisen in his mind while he was reading the third chapter of Saint Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Devout contemplation became more and more dear to his reviving spirit; resolving to relinquish all thoughts of a laborious profession, and all intercourse with the busy world, he acquiesced in a plan of settling at Huntingdon, by the advice of his brother, who, as a minister of the Gospel, and a fellow of Bennet College, in Cambridge, resided in that University; a situation so near to the place chosen for Cowper's retirement, that it afforded to these affectionate brothers

brothers opportunities of easy and frequent intercourse. "I regret," Mr. Hayley says, "that all the Letters which passed between them have perished; and the more so, as they sometimes corresponded in verse. John Cowper was also a poet. He had engaged to execute a translation of Voltaire's *Henriade*; and in the course of the work, requested and obtained the assistance of William, who translated, as he informed me himself, two entire cantos of the poem. This fraternal production is said to have appeared in a Magazine of the year 1759. I have discovered a rival, and probably an inferior translation, so published; but the joint work of the poetical brothers has hitherto eluded all my researches."

"In June, 1765, the reviving invalid removed to a private lodging in the town of Huntingdon; but Providence soon introduced him into a family, which afforded him one of the most singular and valuable friends, that ever watched an afflicted mortal in seasons of overwhelming adversity." Yet it was not love, in the common acceptation of the word, which inspired the admirable eulogies bestowed on this Lady in the poem of the Task. The attachment of Cowper to Mrs Unwin, the Mary of the poet! was an attachment perhaps unparalleled. Their domestic union, though not sanctioned by the common forms of life, was supported with perfect innocence, and endeared to them both, by their having struggled together through a series of sorrow. The introduction of Cowper to this Lady arose out of the following incident. On his first appearance in one of the churches at Hunting-

don, he engaged the notice and respect of an amiable young man, William Cawthorne Unwin, then a student at Cambridge, who having observed, after divine service, that the interesting stranger was taking a solitary turn under a row of trees, was irresistibly led to share his walk, and to solicit his acquaintance. They were soon pleased with each other, and the intelligent youth, charmed with the acquisition of such a friend, was eager to communicate the treasure to his parents, who had long resided in Huntingdon. Mr. Unwin, the father, had for some years been master of a Free School in the town: but, as he advanced in life, he quitted that laborious situation, and settling in a large convenient house in the High-street, contented himself with a few domestic pupils, whom he instructed in classical literature. This worthy divine, who was now far advanced in years, had been Lecturer to the two churches at Huntingdon before he obtained, from his college at Cambridge, the living of Grimston. While he lived in expectation of this preferment, he had attached himself to a young lady of lively talents, and remarkably fond of reading. This lady, who, in the process of time, and by a series of singular events, became the friend and guardian of Cowper, was the daughter of Mr. Cawthorne, a draper in Ely. She was married to Mr. Unwin on his succeeding to the preferment, that he expected from his college, and settled with him on his living of Grimston; but not liking the situation and society of that sequestered scene, she prevailed on her husband to establish himself in Huntingdon, where

where he was known and respected. An event highly pleasing and comfortable to Cowper soon followed this introduction; he was affectionately solicited by all the Unwins to relinquish his lonely lodging, and become a part of their family.

From this period, the narrative of Mr. Cowper's life is chiefly to be gathered from the perusal of Letters written by him and imparted by his various friends to Mr. Hayley; but, in fact, the narrative is very little. The Letters exhibit the portrait of a mind pure, pious, unaffected, endowed with extraordinary sensibility; not exempt from those irregularities which are termed whims, nor from the occasional influence of passions, but free from every shade of vice as ever human nature was found, and almost as much so, as angelic nature can be supposed.

In 1767, Mr. Unwin, the friend and guardian of the poet lost his life; the event and its consequences with respect to his arrangements and situation, he has thus described in a Letter to his cousin, Mrs. Cowper: "Poor Mr. Unwin being flung from his horse, as he was going to his church on Sunday morning, received a dreadful fracture on the back part of the skull, under which he languished till Thursday evening, and then died. The effect of it upon my circumstances will only be a change of the place of my abode. For I shall still, by God's leave, continue with Mrs. Unwin, whose behaviour to me has been that of a mother to a son. We know not yet where we shall settle, but we trust, that the Lord whom we

seek, will go before us, and prepare a rest for us."

Time and chance now introduced to the notice of Cowper, the zealous and venerable friend, who became his intimate associate for many years, after having advised and assisted him in the important concern of fixing his future residence. Mr. Newton, then curate of Olney, in Buckinghamshire, had been requested by the late Dr. Conyers to seize an opportunity, as he was passing through Huntingdon, of making a visit to an exemplary Lady. This visit, (so important in its consequences to the destiny of Cowper!) happened to take place within a few days after the calamitous death of Mr. Unwin. As a change of scene appeared desirable, both to Mrs. Unwin, and to the interesting recluse, whom she had generously requested to continue under her care; Mr. Newton offered to assist them in removing to the pleasant and picturesque county in which he resided. They were willing to enter into the flock of a benevolent and animated pastor, whose ideas were so much in harmony with their own. He engaged for them a house at Olney, where they arrived on the fourteenth of October, 1767. The time of Cowper in his new situation, seems to have been chiefly devoted to religious contemplation, to social prayer, and to active charity. To this first of Christian virtues, his heart was eminently inclined, and Providence very graciously enabled him to exercise and enjoy it to an extent far superior to what his own scanty fortune appeared to allow. Before he quitted Saint Alban's,

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he assumed the charge of a necessitous child, to extricate him from the perils of being educated by very profligate parents; he put him to school at Huntingdon, removed him, on his own removal, to Olney, and finally settled him as an apprentice at Oundle in Northamptonshire.

In 1770, the tender feelings of Cowper were called forth by family affliction, that pressed more immediately on himself; he was hurried to Cambridge by the dangerous illness of his brother. An affection truly fraternal had ever subsisted between them; and the sickness and death of this learned, pious, and affectionate relative, made a very strong impression on the tender heart and mind of Cowper; an impression so strong, that it induced him to write a narrative of the remarkable circumstances which occurred at the time.

It is, however, the peculiar blessing of a religious turn of mind, that it serves as an antidote against the corrosive influence of sorrow. His extreme depression seems not to have recurred immediately on the shock of his brother's death. In his sequestered life, he seems to have been much consoled and entertained, by the society of his pious friend Mr. Newton, in whose religious pursuits he appears to have taken an active part, by the composition of sixty-eight hymns. Mr. Newton wished, and expected, him to have contributed a much larger number, as he has declared in the Preface to that collection of Hymns, which contains these devotional effusions of Cowper, distinguished by the initial letter of his name. The volume, composed for the inhabitants of

Olney, was the joint production of the divine and poet.

The season, however, soon arrived, when the firm friendship of Mrs. Unwin was put to the severest of trials, and when her conduct was such, as to deserve those rare rewards of grateful attention and tenderness, which, when she herself became the victim of age and infirmity, she received from that exemplary being, who considered himself indebted to her friendly vigilance for his life, and who never forgot an obligation, when his mind was itself.

In 1773, he sunk into such severe paroxysms of religious despondency, that he required an attendant of the most gentle, vigilant, and inflexible spirit. Such an attendant he found in that faithful guardian, whom he had professed to love as a mother, and who watched over him, during this long fit of depressive malady, extended through several years, with that perfect mixture of tenderness and fortitude, which constitutes the inestimable influence of maternal protection. I wish, Mr. Haley says, to pass rapidly over this calamitous period, and shall only observe, that nothing could surpass the sufferings of the patient, or excel the care of the nurse. That meritorious care received from Heaven the most delightful rewards, in seeing the pure and powerful mind, to whose restoration it had contributed so much, not only gradually restored to the common enjoyments of life, but successively endowed with new and marvellous funds of diversified talents, and courageous application.

The spirit of Cowper, emerged by slow degrees from its very deep

dejection; and before his mind was sufficiently recovered to employ itself on literary composition, it sought, and found, much salutary amusement in educating a little group of tame hares. On his expressing a wish to divert himself by rearing a single leveret, the good nature of his neighbours supplied him with three. The variety of their dispositions became a source of great entertainment to his compassionate and contemplative spirit. One of the trio, he has celebrated in "*The Task*," and a very animated minute account of this singular family, humanized, and described most admirably by himself, in prose, appeared first in the Gentleman's Magazine, and has been recently inserted in the second volume of his poems. To these he soon added eight pair of tame pigeons.

The affectionate temper of Cowper, inclined him particularly to exert his talents, at the request of his friends; even in seasons, when such exertion could hardly have been made, without a painful degree of self command. At the suggestion of Mr. Newton, we have seen him writing a series of Hymns; at the request of Mr. Bull, he translated several spiritual songs, from the mystical poetry of Madame de la Mothe Guyon, the tender and fanciful enthusiast of France, whose talents and misfortunes drew upon her a long series of persecution from many acrimonious bigots, and secured to her the friendship of the mild and indulgent Fenelon! We shall perceive, as we advance, that the greater works of Cowper, were also written at the express desire of persons, whom he particularly re-

garded; and it may be remarked, to the honour of friendship, that he considered its influence, as the happiest inspiration; or to use his own expressive words,

The poet's lyre, to fix his fame,
Should be the poet's heart;
Affection lights a brighter flame
Than ever blaz'd by art.

At the age of fifty, Cowper amused himself with preparations to appear as an author. But he hoped to conduct those preparations with a modest secrecy, and was astonished to find one of his intimate friends apprized of his design. Mrs. Unwin strongly solicited him, on his recovery from a very long fit of mental dejection, to devote his thoughts to poetry of considerable extent. She suggested to him, at the same time, the first subject of his verse, "*The Progress of Error*," which is the second poem in his first volume. "You may suppose," he says in a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Unwin, dated the first of May, 1781, "by the size of the publication, that the greatest part of the poems have been long kept secret, because you yourself have never seen them; but the truth is, that they are most of them, except what you have in your possession, the produce of the last winter. Two thirds of the compilation will be occupied by four pieces, the first of which sprung up in the month of December, and the last of them in the month of March. They contain, I suppose, in all about two thousand and five hundred lines: are known, or to be known in due time, by the names of *Table Talk*—*The Progress of Error*—*Truth*—*Expostulation*. Mr. New-

Newton writes a Preface, and Johnson is the publisher. The principal, I may say the only reason, why I never mentioned to you, 'till now, an affair which I am just going to make known to all the world, (if *that* Mr. All-the-world should think it worth his knowing) has been this; that 'till within these few days, I had not the honour to know it myself. This may seem strange, but it is true, for not knowing where to find under-writers, who would chuse to insure them, and not finding it convenient to a purse like mine, to run any hazard, even upon the credit of my own ingenuity, I was very much in doubt for some weeks, whether any bookseller would be willing to subject himself to an ambiguity, that might prove very expensive in case of a bad market. But Johnson has heroically set all per-adventures at defiance, and takes the whole charge upon himself." The immediate success of his first volume was very far from being equal to its extraordinary merit. For some time, it seemed to be neglected by the public; though the first poem in the collection contains such a powerful image of its author, as might be thought sufficient not only to excite attention, but to secure attachment: for Cowper had undesignedly executed a masterly portrait of himself, in describing the true poet in "*Table Talk*."

A new era opens in the History of the poet, from an incident that gave fresh ardour and vivacity to his fertile imagination. In 1781, he became acquainted with a Lady, highly accomplished herself, and singularly happy in animating and

directing the fancy of her poetical friends. The world, Mr. Hayley says, will perfectly agree with me in this eulogy, when I add, that to this Lady we are primarily indebted for the poem of the Task, for the ballad of John Gilpin, and for the translation of Homer. A Lady, whose name was Jones, was one of the few neighbours admitted in the residence of the retired poet. She was the wife of a clergyman, who resided at the village of Clifton, within a mile of Olney. Her sister, the widow of Sir Robert Austen, Bart. came to pass some time with her in the summer of 1781; and as the two Ladies chanced to call at a shop in Olney, opposite to the house of Mrs. Unwin, Cowper observed them from his window. Although naturally shy, and now rendered more so by his very long illness, he was so struck with the appearance of the stranger, that on hearing she was sister to Mrs. Jones, he requested Mrs. Unwin to invite them to tea. So strong was his reluctance to admit the company of strangers, that after he had occasioned this invitation, he was for a long time unwilling to join the little party: but having forced himself at last to engage in conversation with Lady Austen, he was so re-animated by her colloquial talents, that he attended the Ladies on their return to Clifton, and from that time continued to cultivate the regard of his new acquaintance with such assiduous attention, that she soon received from him the familiar and endearing title of sister Ann.

The influence of Lady Austen was very beneficially exercised over the spirits of Cowper. The manner

in which she occasioned the production of the far-famed John Gilpin, is thus related. "That admirable, and highly popular piece of pleasantry was composed at the period of which I am now speaking. An elegant and judicious writer, who has recently favoured the public with three interesting volumes relating to the early poets of our country, conjectures, that a poem, written by the celebrated Sir Thomas More in his Youth, (the merry jest of the Serjeant and Frere) may have suggested to Cowper his tale of John Gilpin; but that fascinating ballad had a different origin; and it is a very remarkable fact, that full of gaiety and humour as this favourite of the public has abundantly proved itself to be, it was really composed at a time, when the spirit of the poet, as he informed me himself, was very deeply tinged with his depressive malady. It happened one afternoon, in those years when his accomplished friend Lady Austen made a part of his little evening circle, that she observed him sinking into increasing dejection; it was her custom, on these occasions, to try all the resources of her sprightly powers for his immediate relief. She told him the story of John Gilpin (which had been treasured in her memory from her childhood) to dissipate the gloom of the passing hour. Its effect on the fancy of Cowper had the air of enchantment; he informed her the next morning, that convulsions of laughter, brought on by his recollection of her story, had kept him waking the greatest part of the night, and that he had turned it into a ballad. So arose

the pleasant poem of John Gilpin; It was eagerly copied, and finding its way rapidly to the newspapers, it was seized by the lively spirit of Henderson the comedian, a man, like the Yorick described by Shakespeare, "of infinite jest, and most excellent fancy," it was seized by Henderson as a proper subject for the display of his own comic powers; and by reciting it in his public readings, he gave uncommon celebrity to the ballad, before the public suspected to what poet they were indebted for the sudden burst of ludicrous amusement. Many readers were astonished when the poem made its first authentic appearance in the second volume of Cowper."

The Task also derived its origin from Lady Austen. "This Lady," Mr. Hayley says, "happened as an admirer of Milton, to be partial to blank verse, and often solicited her poetical friend, to try his powers in that species of composition. After repeated solicitation, he promised her, if she would furnish the subject, to comply with her request.—"Oh!" she replied, "you can never be in want of a subject:—you can write upon any:—write upon this Sofa!" The poet observed her command, and from the lively repartee of familiar conversation, arose a poem of many thousand verses, unexampled perhaps both in its origin and excellence! A poem of such infinite variety, that it seems to include every subject, and every style, without any dissonance or disorder; and to have flowed, without effort, from inspired philanthropy, eager to impress upon the hearts of all readers, whatever may lead them, most happily, to
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the full enjoyment of human life, and to the final attainment of heaven."

In 1784, while the *Task* was in the press, the author engaged in another poem, entitled, *Tirocinium*, or a Review of Schools: the business and purport of it were, to censure the want of discipline, and the scandalous inattention to morals, that obtain in them; especially in the largest; and to recommend private tuition as a mode of education, preferable on all accounts; to call upon fathers to become tutors of their own sons, where that is practicable; to take home a domestic tutor, where it is not; and if neither can be done, to place them under the care of some rural parson, whose attention is limited to a few.

The year 1784, was a memorable period in the life of the poet, not only as it witnessed the completion of one extensive performance, and the commencement of another, (his translation of *Homer*) but as it terminated his intercourse with that highly pleasing and valuable friend, whose alacrity of attention and advice, had induced him to engage in both. Delightful and advantageous as his friendship with Lady Austen had proved, he now began to feel, that it grew impossible to preserve that triple cord, which his own pure heart had led him to suppose not speedily to be broken. Mrs. Unwin, though by no means destitute of mental accomplishments, was eclipsed by the brilliancy of the poet's new friend, and naturally became uneasy, under the apprehension of being so, for to a woman of sensibility, what evil can be more afflicting, than the fear of losing all mental

influence over a man of genius and virtue, whom she has been long accustomed to inspire and to guide? Cowper perceived the painful necessity of sacrificing a great portion of his present gratifications. He felt, that he must relinquish that ancient friend, whom he regarded as a venerable parent; or the new associate, whom he idolized, as a sister of a heart and mind peculiarly congenial to his own. His gratitude for past services of unexampled magnitude, and weight, would not allow him to hesitate; with a resolution and delicacy, that do the highest honour to his feelings, he wrote a farewell Letter to Lady Austen, explaining and lamenting the circumstances, that forced him to renounce the society of a friend, whose enchanting talents, and kindness, had proved so agreeably instrumental to the revival of his spirits, and to the exercise of his fancy.

The second volume of Cowper's Poems, of whose delay in the press he had complained most feelingly, was, in the summer of 1785, beginning to circulate with extensive rapidity. It not only raised him to the summit of poetical reputation, but obtained for him a blessing infinitely dearer to his affectionate heart, another female friend, and lively associate, now providentially led to contribute to his comfort, when the advanced age and infirmities of Mrs. Unwin made such an acquisition of new, or rather revived, friendship, a matter of infinite importance to the tranquility and welfare of the sequestered poet. The female alluded to, was Lady Hesketh, who had the advantage of being nearly related to Cowper. Their intercourse

course had been frequent, and endeared by reciprocal esteem in their early years, but the whirlwinds of life had driven them far from the sight of each other. During the poet's long retirement, his fair cousin had passed some years with her husband abroad, and others, after her return, in a variety of mournful duties. She was at this time a widow, and her indelible regard for her poetical relation, being agreeably inspirited by the publication of his recent works, she wrote to him, on that occasion, a very affectionate Letter.

In 1786, this Lady paid a visit to Olney, which led, says the Biographer, to a very favourable change in the residence of Cowper. He had now passed nineteen years in a scene, that was far from suiting him. The house, he inhabited, looked on a market place, and once, in a season of illness, he was so apprehensive of being incommoded by the bustle of a fair, that he requested to lodge, for a single night under the roof of his friend Mr. Newton; and he was tempted by the more comfortable situation of the vicarage, to remain fourteen months in the house of his benevolent neighbour. His intimacy with this venerable divine was so great, that Mr. Newton has described it in the following remarkable terms, in *Memoirs of the poet*, which affection induced him to begin, but which the troubles and infirmities of very advanced life, have obliged him to relinquish. "For nearly twelve years we were seldom separated for seven hours at a time, when we were awake, and at home:—The first six I passed in

daily admiring, and aiming to imitate him: during the second six, I walked pensively with him in the valley of the shadow of death." After the removal of Mr. Newton, to London, and the departure of Lady Austen, Olney had no particular attractions for Cowper; and Lady Hesketh was happy in promoting the project, which had occurred to him, of removing, with Mrs. Unwin, to the near and pleasant village of Weston. A scene highly favourable to his health and amusement! For, with a very comfortable mansion, it afforded him a garden and a field of considerable extent, which he delighted to cultivate and embellish. With these he had advantages still more desirable, easy, perpetual access to the spacious and tranquil pleasure grounds of his accomplished and benevolent landlord, Mr. Throckmorton, whose neighbouring house supplied him with society, peculiarly suited to his gentle and delicate spirit. This removal took place in November 1786, and the society of the poet was increased by the accession of a Mr. Rose, the barrister, a gentleman in every respect, worthy of his regard.

The next event in the life of Cowper forms an epoch, and is justly distinguished by his biographer. "After five years of intense and affectionate labour," he says, "in which nothing could withhold him from his interesting work, except that oppressive and cruel malady, which suspended his powers of application for several months, he published his complete version in two quarto volumes, on the first of July, 1791, having inscribed the *Iliad* to his young noble kinsman, Earl

Earl Cowper; and the *Odyſſey* to the Dowager Counteſs Spencer; a Lady, for whoſe virtues he had long entertained a moſt cordial and affectionate veneration. The accomplished tranſlator had exerted no common powers of genius and of induſtry to ſatisfy both himſelf and the world; yet in his firſt edition of this long laboured work, he afforded complete ſatisfaction to neither, and I believe for this reaſon.—Homer is ſo exquisitely beautiful in his own language, and he has been ſo long an idol in every literary mind, that any copy of him, which the beſt of modern poets can execute, muſt probably reſemble in its effects the portrait of a graceful woman, painted by an excellent artiſt for her lover:—The lover, indeed, will acknowledge great merit in the work, and think himſelf much indebted to the ſkill of ſuch an artiſt, but he will never acknowledge, as in truth he never can feel, that the beſt of reſemblances exhibits all the grace that he diſcerns in the beloved original. So fares it with the admirers of Homer; his very tranſlators themſelves feel ſo perfectly the power of this predominant affection, and they gradually grow diſcontented with their own labour, however approved in the moment of its ſuppoſed completion. This was ſo remarkably the caſe with Cowper, that in proceſs of time we ſhall ſee him employed upon what may almoſt be called his ſecond tranſlation; ſo great were the alterations he made in a deliberate reviſal of his work for a ſecond edition. And in the Preface which he prepared for that edition, he has ſpoken of his own labour with the moſt

frank and ingenious veracity. Yet of the firſt edition it may, I think, be fairly ſaid, that it accomplished more than any of his poetical predeceſſors had achieved before him. It made the neareſt approach to that ſweet majestic ſimplicity which forms one of the moſt attractive features in the great prince and father of the poets.

Soon after this publication, he engaged, by deſire of his bookſeller, in a project to publiſh a ſplendid edition of Milton, with a life, and a tranſlation of his Latin and Italian poems. Mr. Hayley was already preparing a life of the ſame great poet for the preſs, and being mentioned in the public prints, as an antagoniſt of Cowper, he wrote to his ſuppoſed rival, in terms which generated a laſting friendſhip between them. In 1792, theſe new friends met, Mr. Hayley being Mr. Cowper's gueſt; and their friendſhip was carried to the higheſt pitch by Mr. Hayley's benevolent exertions for the recovery of Mrs. Unwin, who ſuffered under a paralytic attack. She recovered, though ſlowly, and was able in a few months to accompany Mr. Cowper, when he returned the viſit of his friend, and remained ſome time at Earſham. In the following year, Mr. Hayley's viſit was renewed, and he laboured earneſtly, though ineffectually, to perſuade Mr. Cowper to accept an invitation to Althorpe, where Lord Spencer deſired to ſee him, and where he would have met Mr. Gibbon. His ſtate, and that of his infirm friend and companion, Mrs. Unwin, are thus deſcribed. “He poſſeſſed completely at this period, all the admirable faculties of his mind, and all his native ten-

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derness of heart; but there was something indescribable in his appearance, which led me to apprehend, that without some signal event in his favour, to re-animate his spirits, they would gradually sink into hopeless dejection. The state of his aged infirm companion afforded additional ground for increasing solitude. Her cheerful and beneficent spirit could hardly resist her own accumulated maladies, so far as to preserve ability sufficient to watch over the tender health of him, whom she had watched and guarded so long. Imbecility of body and mind must gradually render this tender and heroic woman unfit for the charge which she had so laudably sustained. The signs of such imbecility were beginning to be painfully visible; nor can nature present a spectacle more truly pitiable than imbecility in such a shape, eagerly grasping for dominion, which it knows not either how to retain, or how to relinquish."

Yet in these circumstances, Cowper continued revising his *Homer* for a second edition, writing occasional poems on a great variety of subjects, and projected one in four books, to be called the *Four Ages*, and describe the four distinct periods of life, infancy, youth, manhood, and old age. The increasing infirmities of Cowper's aged companion, Mrs. Unwin, his filial solicitude to alleviate her sufferings, and the gathering clouds of deeper despondency that began to settle on his mind, in the year 1794, not only rendered it impossible for him to advance in any great original performance, but to use his own expressive words, made all composition either of poetry or prose

impracticable. Imagination can hardly devise any human condition more truly affecting than the state of the poet at this period. His generous and faithful guardian, Mrs. Unwin, who had preserved him through seasons of the severest calamity, was now, with her faculties and fortune impaired, sinking fast into second childhood. The distress of heart that he felt in beholding the cruel change in a companion so justly dear to him, conspiring with his constitutional melancholy, was gradually undermining the exquisite faculties of his mind. But depressed as he was by these complicated afflictions, Providence was far from deserting this excellent man. His female relation, whose regard he had cultivated as his favourite correspondent, now devoted herself very nobly to the superintendence of a house, whose two interesting inhabitants were rendered, by age and trouble, almost incapable of attending to the ordinary offices of life.

From this period, the narrative of the life of Cowper ceases to afford satisfaction or instruction. Recurring disease, with frequent privations of intellect; short intervals of sanity, and momentary gleams of talent; with hopes revived only to be disappointed, and assiduities renewed even after the expectation of returning health had ceased, form the sad characteristics of Cowper's remaining years. How much a mind so delicate as his, must have been sustained by the gentle aids of his affectionate friends, during his long life of retirement, must be evident from the account already disclosed, but it is impossible for any, but those
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who have closely observed a similar scene, to judge of the constant pressure on the mind and spirits which is occasioned by the hourly needs and frequent fantasies of such a convalescent. Even when most in health, Cowper appears to have been little better than an invalid, and the perpetual soothing, which was necessary to keep his mind in peace, would have exhausted any but the most affectionate and persevering friendship. Mrs. Unwin was in 1794, reduced to the most lamentable situation of weakness, to Cowper the skill of Dr. Willis was applied in vain, and Mr. Hayley, viewing his deplorable state, repeated in his behalf the prayer of Sampson's friends in Milton, that God would turn his labours to peaceful end.

By the kindness of Lord Spencer, a pension of 300*l.* was obtained for him from government, and his friends, considering that change of scene might be advantageous, conveyed him and Mrs. Unwin from Buckinghamshire to North Tuddenham in Norfolk. They were afterward removed to various places in the neighbourhood, for change of air and scene.

In June 1796, the pressure of Cowper's melancholy appeared, in some degree, alleviated, for, on Mr. Johnson's receiving the edition of Pope's Homer, published by Mr. Wakefield, Cowper eagerly seized the book, and began to read the notes to himself with visible interest. They awakened his attention to his own version of Homer. In August, he deliberately engaged in a revival of the whole, and, for some time, produced almost sixty new lines a day. This mental oc-

cupation animated all his intimate friends with a most lively hope of his speedy and perfect recovery. But Autumn repressed the hope that summer had excited. The long and exemplary life of Mrs. Unwin was drawing toward a close:—The powers of nature were gradually exhausted, and on the seventeenth of December, she ended a troublesome existence, distinguished by a sublime spirit of piety and friendship, that shone through long periods of calamity, and continued to glimmer through the distressful twilight of her declining faculties. Her death was uncommonly tranquil. Cowper saw her about half an hour before the moment of expiration, which passed without a struggle, or a groan, as the clock was striking one in the afternoon, at the age of seventy-six.

Cowper continued, after this event, sometimes plunged in gloomy despondency, from which he could not be aroused by the greatest efforts of his friends, at others sufficiently possessed of his faculties to proceed in the revival of his Homer, to write short poems, and to translate many compositions into and from the dead languages. Thus he continued to exist till January, 1800, when a dropical appearance in his legs induced Mr. Johnson to have recourse to fresh medical assistance. In March his decline became more and more striking, and on the 25th of April he expired. The deplorable inquietude and darkness of his latter years were mercifully terminated by a most gentle and tranquil dissolution. He passed through the awful moments of death so mildly, that although five persons were pre-

present, and observing him, in his chamber, not one of them perceived him to expire.

The person and mind of Cowper, Mr. Hayley observes, seem to have been formed with equal kindness by nature, and it may be questioned if she ever bestowed on any man with a sonder prodigality, all the requisites to conciliate affection, and to inspire respect. From his figure as it first appeared to me in his sixty-second year, I should imagine that he must have been very comely in his youth; and little had time injured his countenance, since his features expressed at that period of life all the powers of his mind, and all the sensibilities of his heart. He was of a middle stature, rather strong than delicate in the form of his limbs; the colour of his hair was a light brown, that of his eyes a bluish grey, and his complexion ruddy. In his dress he was neat, but not finical; in his diet temperate, and not dainty. He had an air of pensive reserve in his deportment, and his extreme shyness sometimes produced in his manners an indescribable mixture of awkwardness and dignity; but no being could be more truly graceful, when he was in perfect health, and perfectly pleased with his society. Towards women in particular, his behaviour and conversation were delicate, and fascinating in the highest degree. Nature had given him a warm constitution, and had he been prosperous in early love, it is probable that he might have enjoyed a more uniform and happy tenor of health. But a disappointment of the heart, arising from the cruelty of fortune, threw a cloud on his juvenile spirit.

Thwarted in love, the native fire of his temperament turned impetuously into the kindred channel of devotion. The smothered flames of desire, uniting with the vapours of constitutional melancholy, and the fervency of religious zeal, produced altogether that irregularity of corporeal sensation, and of mental health, which gave such extraordinary vicissitudes of splendour, and of darkness to his mortal career, and made Cowper at times an idol of the purest admiration, and at times an object of the sincerest pity. As a sufferer indeed, no man could be more intitled to compassion, for no man was ever more truly compassionate to the sufferings of others. It was that rare portion of benevolent sensibility, in his nature, which endeared him to persons of all ranks, who had opportunities of observing him in private life. He was beloved and revered with a sort of idolatry in his family; not from any romantic ideas of his magical powers as a poet, but from that evangelical gentleness of manners, and purity of conduct, which illuminated the shade of his sequestered life. His voice conspired with his features to announce to all who saw and heard him, the extreme sensibility of his heart; and in reading aloud he furnished the chief delight of those social, enchanting winter evenings, which he has described so happily in the fourth book of the *Task*. Secluded from the world, as Cowper had long been, he yet retained, in advanced life, uncommon talents for conversation: and his conversation was distinguished by mild and benevolent pleasantry, by delicate humour peculiar to himself, or by a higher
tone

tone of serious good sense, and those united charms of a cultivated mind. Cowper has been erroneously represented as a sectary; he was deliberately attached to the established religion of his country, and a most ardent friend to liberty, both civil and religious. He was also a good scholar, as he was versed in Greek, and Latin, French and Italian; but the extraordinary incidents of his life precluded him from indulging himself in a multiplicity of books, and his reading was conformable to the rule of Pliny—" *Non multa, sed multum.*"

Cowper possessed, in his original motives for appearing in the character of a poet, the best possible preservative against this double infelicity of mind. His predominant desire was to render his poetry an instrument of good to mankind: his love of fame was a secondary passion, and like all his passions in perfect subjection to the great principles of religious duty, which he made the rule of his life. Yet although he often lamented the ordinary malevolence of periodical criticism, as a disgrace to literature, he looked with a noble contempt on such malignity, when he saw it displayed against himself, and he exulted in the just idea that malice is sometimes so extravagant, as to produce an effect directly opposite to its own base intention.

Such is the outline of the Memoirs of Cowper collected from the work of Mr. Hayley, but the volumes contain copious funds of instruction and entertainment, beyond what any extract can convey. If the mind of a man is worthy to be displayed, no means are so certain and so unexceptionable as his genuine Letters, written in plain

sincerity, and not designed for publication, connected by explanatory narrative. The Letters of Mr. Cowper, interspersed with small poems, and displaying all the varieties of serious and chaste humorous style, are a copious and useful addition to the stores of public information and delight. Nor are they so intirely confined to his own circumstances, feelings and views, as might be expected from the Letters of a mere recluse. That recluse, it should be remembered, had enlarged and liberal views of the world and its concerns, a great acquaintance with books, and no small knowledge of men; and accordingly, his Letters often contain just and somewhat surprising reflections on passing events, and almost always, when ancient or modern literature is mentioned, candid, learned and ingenious criticism. It is indeed most delightful to see a collection of Letters by an eminent author, composed during a long term of years, which contains not one phrase or word which a pious or virtuous man would on his death bed regret to have written. Some opinions indeed may be disputed, and particularly those which so strongly censure the education of youth in public schools, but the writer is, in general, nearly as free from error, and as largely endowed with religion and virtue as it is possible for mere man to be.

An Account of the Island of Ceylon, containing its History, Geography, Natural History, with the Manners and Customs of its various Inhabitants,

ants, to which is added, the Journal of an Embassy to the Court of Candy. By Captain Robert Percival, of his Majesty's Eighteenth or Royal Irish Regiment.

IN dedicating this work to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, the author pays him the following well-merited compliment. "To your Royal Highness, any individual of the British armies addresses himself with peculiar confidence, since their welfare and encouragement have appeared the principal objects of your life, ever since the attainment of your present exalted situation. When I say that a steady discipline and a spirit of loyalty have been uniformly conspicuous in the army; that the condition of the soldier has in every respect been improved, and that every comfort of which his situation is susceptible is now attained: when I attribute all these advantages to the regulations and the cares of your Royal Highness, I only speak the sentiments of every officer and every private in his Majesty's service. To him therefore he recommends the description of a Colony, the retention of which in our hands must prove of the greatest benefit to our East India trade, and our commerce in general."

Captain Percival arrived in Ceylon soon after its capture, and made it his great endeavour to obtain all the information which an officer in his situation had it in his power to collect. It is with pleasure we observe that, of late years, it has become usual with British officers employed on expeditions, to survey with attention the places to which they are sent, and to re-

cord the result of their observations. The English officers being, as Mr. Windham has justly observed in a parliamentary debate of the present year, better gentlemen than those in any other service, this mode of shewing their literary acquirements, is at once honourable and advantageous. The benefit to themselves and the country would be complete if it could be made a fashion, and even a duty among them, to take military surveys, and to form plans and write memoirs on the fortification, attack and defence of every place where they are stationed, both at home and abroad. Such productions would not, indeed, find their way to the booksellers, but beside the benefit which the nation would derive from a select collection of them at the war-office, the officers themselves would be infinitely improved by the habit of business and of observation thus acquired. The officers in the French army never omit such labours, and their operations, in whatever country they may be placed, are much facilitated by the documents and intelligence thus accumulated.

In the work now under consideration, the author begins with a History of the Island previous to its being taken possession of by the English. He was induced, he says, by curiosity, and the contradictory and romantic accounts he had heard of this Island, to make particular inquiries with regard to its present state; and found an agreeable amusement in taking notes of such facts and objects as appeared remarkable. In the prosecution of his inquiries, however, he found that they might be rendered conducive to objects of infinitely

initely greater importance than temporary amusement. The accounts hitherto published of this Island had been extremely imperfect; as the watchful jealousy of the Dutch both excluded the researches of strangers, and prevented their own people from publishing any observations which they might have made during their stay in the Island. Owing to these, and other causes, the information to be derived from the Dutch was very scanty and imperfect. "Previous to the arrival of the Portuguese," Captain Percival observes, "little is known of the Island of Ceylon. It is said to have been celebrated for its spices even in the earliest ages; and it is hence that Solomon is supposed to have brought the spices and precious stones, for the use and embellishment of his temple. Such vague traditions, however, are nowise to be depended upon; and the traditions of the natives throw no light whatever on the ancient state of the Island. In the traditionary accounts which are current among the Ceylonese, we have nothing more than a mere catalogue of some of their princes accompanied by a long list of high sounding titles, and some uninteresting details of their petty wars and commotions. From some of these accounts which have been committed to manuscript, we learn that Lankaw Patti Mahadaseyn, or much beloved offspring of the always moving Sun, who lived at a distant period, was sovereign of the whole Island. His two grandsons, however, quarrelled about the possessions which had been left them, and at last compromised their disputes by

dividing the Island between them; to the one were allotted the interior parts which form the present kingdom of Candy, and to the other all the low country bordering on the sea coasts. This division of the island gave rise to a long series of civil wars, and was the cause of much blood-shed. It also set the example of partitioning the kingdom among the children of the sovereign; and owing to this cause there were not less than six or seven princes who reigned at the same time over separate divisions of Ceylon. By this means a spirit of dissension, and ideas of separate interest, were introduced among the natives of the several provinces; and although they became afterwards united under the same monarch, yet they were rendered less zealous in the common cause, and more apt to be moved by the arts of their enemies, who found their interests in stirring up the civil commotions among them. After the Island had long been harassed by the perpetual quarrels of its Princes, Zinale Darma Seria Adaseyn at last was enabled to subdue all his competitors, and to establish himself firmly as its sole monarch. He married his cousin, who was also famed for her personal charms, as to acquire the name of Roke Wandiggie, or the beautiful Queen. From this union sprung the Princes who ruled over Ceylon when it was first visited by the Portuguese, in 1505."

An interesting account follows of the state of the Island, during the ascendancy of the Portuguese, which was succeeded by that of the Dutch. These people having acquired possession and power by the alternate use of fraud and

force, retained it till near the end of the last century. Such was the difficulty of approaching that island, except in a very few points, and such was the strength of the Dutch, and the weakness of most other nations in that quarter of the globe, that very few attempts were made to wrest it from them. Soon after the expulsion of the Portuguese, the French seemed inclined to dispute the possession of Ceylon. They appeared off the Island with a large fleet, entered into a treaty with the native Prince, and avowed their determination to drive out the Dutch. All these threatening movements however ended in nothing; an enterprize planned without wisdom was executed without spirit, and imaginary obstacles prevented the French from even attempting to gain a footing on the Island.

An attempt of the English, towards the conclusion of the American war, was likely to prove more formidable to the power of the Dutch in Ceylon. The vigorous enterprize of the English had already procured them a great ascendancy in India; and they were at this time pursuing their conquests on the Coromandel coast. The station of the Dutch at Ceylon proved a principal obstacle to their enterprizes, as their enemies there found a secure shelter to their fleets at all seasons of the year, and could readily transport from thence men and military stores to any part of the continent. A fleet under the command of Sir Edward Hughes, having on board a detachment of land forces, commanded by Sir Hector Munro, was therefore dispatched

towards the commencement of the year 1782, to attempt the reduction of this Island. On the second of January they sailed from Negapattinam, a Dutch settlement on the Coromandel coast, which they had previously reduced, and on the fourth they arrived in the bay of Trincomalee. Next day the troops landed without opposition; and on the following night, while the governor of the town was considering of terms of capitulation, a company of English marines suddenly made their way through one of the gates, and rendered themselves masters of the place without resistance. Fort Ostenburg, a strong fort in the neighbourhood, situated on the top of a hill, and commanding the harbour, still continued to hold out. In a few days, however, it was taken by assault; the garrison, consisting of four hundred Europeans, after a feeble resistance, threw down their arms, and were made prisoners of war. Such a prosperous commencement of the enterprize gave the happiest prospect of speedily reducing the whole Island; and Lord Macartney, then governor of Madras, determined to lose no time to secure and improve this valuable acquisition. An officer of experience and judgment was appointed to command the fortresses of Trincomalee; and he was charged to endeavour by every means to conciliate the natives to the English, and to neglect no measure which could tend to strengthen the British interest in the Island. The most sanguine hopes were entertained of the success of this enterprize; but this fair prospect was soon converted into a striking lesson, that dilatory mea-

measures are utterly incompatible with success in military operations. It was retaken by Suffrein, and all further efforts against it were unavailing. In the last war it was captured by the English without any great effort, and their possession of it was confirmed by the Treaty of Amiens.

The author next gives a general description of the Island, its form, climate, rivers, and other characteristic circumstances, together with the dependent isles, which are in considerable number, and about which much new information is afforded. The pearl fishery, with its concomitant incidents is described with minuteness and with spirit. It abounds in curious particulars respecting the fishery itself, and the manners, superstitions and frauds of those employed in it. An account is next given of Putallom, remarkable for its salt pans. This place, before the arrival of Europeans on the Island, supplied the natives with salt; and on account of its convenient situation, was pitched upon by the Dutch for manufacturing the salt with which they supplied the King of Candy's dominions, according to the articles of their treaty with him. The salt pans are formed by an arm of the sea, which overflows part of the country between Putallom and Calpenteen. A very large quantity of salt was manufactured here by the Dutch; they looked upon it as of the highest importance to their interests in the Island, and the most formidable weapon which it was in their power to employ against the native King, as it was impossible for him to procure any but through

their means. Since we have obtained possession of the Island this manufacture has been almost entirely neglected. It is capable however of being rendered very profitable, as it is the only one of the kind on this side of the Island, and the most conveniently situated for supplying the King of Candy's dominions. The Dutch enacted severe laws to prevent individuals from manufacturing or trading in this article, the government taking upon itself the management of the works, and the care of supplying both its own subjects and the Candians. In order to keep a constant check on the latter, the Dutch were careful not to allow them too great a quantity at once; and whatever remained at Putallom, after supplying the demand of each year, they destroyed, that it might not be seized upon by surprise. The village of Nigumbo is also noticed, and a narrative ensues of the capture of Colombo, the capital of the Island, by the English, together with a copious description of the town, its fort, harbour and inhabitants.

Colombo, the capital of Ceylon, and the seat of Government, Mr. Percival observes, is a place of very considerable extent. Although Trincomalee, on account of its situation and harbour, be of more consequence to this nation to retain, yet Colombo in every other respect is greatly superior. The number of its inhabitants is much greater; its fort and Black town are much larger; the country where it is situated far more fertile, and the rich district depending upon it much wider, being not less than twenty leagues in length, and ten in breadth. It is situated

in the west, or rather towards the south west part of the Island, in about 7° north latitude, and 78° east longitude from London. He then copiously describes the town and fort and harbour. "The houses," he says, "are covered with indented tiles; very indifferently indeed, as I have had occasion to remember from experience. During the rainy season most of them admit water in such a manner that it is difficult to find a dry spot to place one's head under. I have frequently been obliged to exert my ingenuity on such occasions; and after all, could barely make shift to sleep a whole night in one place without getting drenched. The chief cause of these disasters to the tiles, arises from the crows who are in the habit of picking up bones and other things from the streets and yards, and carrying them to the tops of the houses, where a stout battle usually ensues for the plunder, to the great annoyance of the people below, and the continual destruction of the tiles. The monkeys also, a number of whom run wild about the fort, are often very troublesome, and lend their assistance in demolishing the tiles. Both the crows and the monkeys know how to avail themselves of any entrance, which they find or make into the houses; and it requires no small attention to prevent them from picking up loose articles. While I was at Colombo, I recollect a very mischievous monkey who used to run wild about the fort, and was so very cunning, that it was impossible to catch him. One day he suddenly made his entrance into my apartment, carried off a loaf of bread from my table,

and made his escape. I immediately gave the alarm to an officer I observed standing at the next door; upon which he ran in to secure his own breakfast; but, to his great mortification, found that the monkey had been before-hand with him, and was already scrambling up to the roofs of the houses with a loaf in each paw. Next day the same monkey snatched off a very fine parrot before the gentleman's face to which it belonged, tore it to pieces, and then held it out to the gentleman, with many expressions of satisfaction and triumph at the exploit."

The adjacent country, and the different classes of inhabitants next engage the attention of the author. The Dutch, he says, and indeed the Europeans of every other nation but our own, who are born and reside in India, differ much in their habits and modes of life from those of Europe. Our own countrymen alone, in whatever climate or situation they are placed, still remain steady to the manners and customs of Great Britain; and though the prejudices of the people among whom they live, and the nature of the climate, may force them to make occasional deviations, yet they never altogether lose sight of their native habits. The chief trait of the original Dutch character, which those in Ceylon retain, is their fondness for gin and tobacco: in other respects they adopt the customs and listless habits of the country. As they make no effort to increase their knowledge, and even appear to have no curiosity, they are of course ignorant and stupid, without capacity, and without desire of excelling by exertion.

Their

Their children are treated with the same neglect as other objects, and are usually committed to the care of the slaves. Their selfish and contracted minds become equally callous to the feelings of humanity, and their poor slaves are treated with cruelty upon the slightest provocation, and often from mere caprice. The conversation of women, which has tended so much to humanize the world, forms very little of a Ceylonefe Dutchman's entertainment. Although the ladies make part of the company, yet they experience none of that attention and politeness to which the fair sex are accustomed in Europe. After the first salutations are over, the men seem to forget that the ladies are at all present; and will sit a whole evening talking politics over their pipes, without once addressing the women, or taking the least notice of them. When such is the treatment which they experience from the men, it is not to be expected that the women can be very polished or skilled in the arts of pleasing. In the forenoons their dress is particularly slovenly. I have seen many in a morning with only a petticoat and a loose gown or jacket upon them, their hair rolled up in a knot on the crown of their heads, and without either shoes or stockings; and yet these very women at their evening parties appeared dressed out in abundance of finery. Their minds are still less cultivated than their bodies; and they are nearly as ignorant on their wedding day as in their infancy; they are early given up entirely to the management of the female slaves, from whom they imbibe manners, habits, and superstitious

notions, of which they can never afterwards divest themselves. As they find such a cold reception among the men, they are glad to return to the attentions and obeisance paid them in the society of their slaves, to which they have been most accustomed. Their morals, being derived from the same source, are equally destitute of dignity or virtue, as their manners are of politeness.

A race known by the name of *Portuguese* forms another part of the inhabitants of Ceylon. They are a mixture of the spurious descendants of the several European possessors of that Island by native women, joined to a number of Moors and Malabars. A colour more approaching to black than white, with a particular mode of dress, half Indian, and half European, is all that is necessary to procure the appellation of a Portuguese. The manners of the Portuguese inhabitants differ from those of the Moors, Malabars, and other Mahometans. They affect rather to adopt those of the Europeans; and wear hats instead of the turbans, and breeches instead of pieces of cloth which other Indians wear wrapped round their waists, and drawn together between their legs like loose trousers. Although the Black Portuguese universally profess the Christian religion, and are commonly Roman Catholics, yet they retain many pagan customs, and their religion may be considered as a compound of both.

The Malays form another race, and of them, their manners, propensities and habits, a very full account is given. The particulars are too

long to be transcribed, but the statement of the animosity with which the Dutch had inspired them against the English deserves to be noticed. "The Dutch Government of Ceylon had always a regiment of Malays in their service. That corps for a considerable time past seemed to form the strength of their garrisons, and were the only troops which kept up discipline; or displayed any sort of bravery in the field. I have already mentioned that it was from them alone that our troops met with any opposition either at Colombo or Trincomalee. They seemed, indeed, to have imbibed such a rooted aversion for the English, that there was at first little appearance of their ever becoming our friends. This hatred had been inspired by the ungenerous policy of the Dutch, who endeavoured to secure their colonies by cherishing among the natives an implacable detestation of the other European nations, and in particular by representing the English as a nation of cruel and inhuman tyrants, who carried destruction and oppression wherever they came. These base and unjustifiable arts were not however always confined to mere misrepresentation; but the massacre of foreigners was at times had recourse to as a measure of precaution. The infamous affair at Ambowna has through the whole world circulated the eternal disgrace of the Dutch name. There is another instance of their abominable policy which is less known in Europe, but has excited general indignation in the eastern world. In the year 1798, Captain Packenham

of the *Resistance*, happening to be with his ship at Timar, one of the spice Islands which we have lately conquered, he was invited, along with his officers, by the Dutch Governor to an entertainment. Some circumstances prevented the Captain from accepting the invitation: his officers however went, and found with astonishment and horror, that the Dutch had made hospitality a pretext to obtain an opportunity of assassinating them. They were set upon without the least warning, and the first Lieutenant and one or two more infamously murdered with some Sepoys, who attempted to defend their officers. The surgeon, however, who was a very strong man, with the assistance of a couple of Sepoys fought his way to the beach, and made good his retreat to the ship. Upon the surgeon's representing this barbarous conduct of the Dutch, Captain Packenham instantly gave orders to fire upon the town, and it was in consequence soon reduced to ashes. The Dutch inhabitants, and all those who were concerned in the massacre, fled precipitately into the interior of the island. Several of the perpetrators of the crime were afterwards taken, and suffered for their treachery. By such arts as I have described, the Dutch succeeded in inspiring the Malays with the most rooted aversion to our countrymen; and there was no piece of atrocity which they were not ready to commit on our troops. Several of the Malays have since told me, that on our taking possession of Ceylon, their minds had been exasperated to such a degree by misrepresentation.

representation, and an assurance of the Dutch that the English would give them no quarter, as to determine them to do us all the mischief in their power. The cowardly and base conduct of the Dutch, however, both in yielding without resistance to our troops, and in abandoning the Malays, who fought their battles, to their fate, has completely alienated the Malays from their former masters. They now look upon the Dutch with contempt, and call to mind their former tyrannical behaviour; while the brave and open conduct of the English has gone far to do away their former prejudices against us. After the capture of Colombo, the Malays for the first time during our long intercourse with India entered into our service. The regiment stationed there in the service of the Dutch was brought over to the British, and the command given to Captain Whitlie, one of the East India Company's officers. By his assiduous exertions, and judicious conduct in the management of them during a considerable time, this corps was brought to a very excellent state of discipline, and rendered much attached to our Government. They have since behaved universally with great respect and obedience to their European officers; and from being always well used by us have contracted a sincere regard to our service."

The native Ceylonese are next described. Those under the dominion of Europeans retain their original appellation of *Cinglese*, while those who live in those parts which acknowledge only the authority of their native Princes,

are distinguished by the name of *Candians*, from the country they inhabit. The constant intercourse of the Cinglese with Europeans, and the aversion which the Candians have uniformly entertained to their several invaders, have introduced considerable shades of difference into the manners of these two branches of the same people; but in most points they still continue to resemble each other. Their manners and customs are peculiar in many respects, and not without interest. Their language appears almost completely peculiar to this Island. It is spoken by none of the Malabars or other nations on the continent of India; nor can any of them be instructed in it without considerable difficulty. They divide their time nearly as we do, only their year commences on the 28th of March. The manner in which they make allowance for Leap year, and the odd portions of time which are not reducible to the regular calculation, is by beginning their year a day sooner or later, or in other words by adding a day to the former year. Their learning and arts are at a very low ebb.

Their religion is disfigured by the most absurd superstition. Omens regulate their whole conduct, and even decide on their destiny from their birth. When a child is born, the first step is to call the astrologer, and enquire of him whether it is destined to be fortunate or unfortunate. If the astrologer declares it was born to misfortune, they frequently anticipate its future evils by destroying it. On going out in a morning, they anxiously observe the first ob-

ject which occurs to them, and according to their opinion of its good or bad luck, they prognosticate whether the business they go about shall be prosperous or unsuccessful. A white man, or a woman with child, are looked upon as omens particularly fortunate; but to meet with a beggar or a deformed person, they account it a grievous mischance, and will not proceed for that day on their intended business if they can avoid it. Many, even of those who have been converted to Christianity, still labour under their original terrors; and look with regret and envy on the fortitude of the Europeans that are able to resist these delusions; for delusions they own and believe them to be, even while they groan under their influence. Their devotion is a mixed or rather multifarious worship. Beside the one Supreme Being, who is worshipped as the Creator and Ruler of heaven and earth, they have a number of inferior deities, as well as tormenting demons. The inferior deities, who watch over them for good, are supposed to be the souls of good men; while the demons are looked upon as the spirits of the wicked; and both are supposed to act by the permission of the Supreme Being. The next in dignity to him is their God Buddon, the Saviour of Souls. This idea of a Saviour seems in some degree to pervade every religion in the world, although tainted by a variety of different superstitions which are joined to it; and what is remarkable, the expectations formed from the interference of this Saviour are in almost every religion nearly the same. Buddon,

according to the most general tradition, was originally the spirit of a good man, who was again sent to revisit the earth; and after having performed a prodigious number of virtuous actions, and been transformed into a hundred and ninety-nine different shapes, re-ascended into Heaven, and is still employed in procuring the pardon of his worshippers. The priests of Buddon are in Ceylon accounted superior to all others. They are called *Tirinanxes*, and are held in high estimation at the Court of Candy, where indeed they have the chief management of affairs. The king has no authority over them, but endeavours to gain their good-will by respecting their immunities, and loading them with distinctions. The priests of the inferior deities, called *Gonies*, though dressed in the same manner with the *Tirinanxes*, are easily distinguishable by the smaller degree of respect which is paid them. They are continually met in their wandering excursions over the island; and, like all these of the same class in India, are a set of lazy, impudent vagabonds, who, without any exertion or industry, are enabled to live well by the extortions which they practise on the people. The immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body, are tenets firmly believed among all the Ceylonese. They believe that the souls of the just are immediately after death admitted into the rank of Gods, and that their ancient prophets and good kings are long since employed in exercising the powers of this station: while on the other hand, the souls of the wicked, particularly of unjust tyrants

rants and impious priests, are supposed to have passed into wild beasts and reptiles.

The dominions of Candy, with the civil and military establishments of the Sovereign, are next described, and the differences between the Cinglese and Candians particularly noticed.

In another chapter an extraordinary race of people called Bedahs or Vaddahs is described. They inhabit the deepest recesses of the woods, and their origin has never been traced, as no other race can be found in the eastern world which corresponds with them. They are generally supposed to have been the aboriginal inhabitants of the Island, who, upon being overwhelmed by their Cinglese invaders, preferred the independence of savages, to a tame submission. A current tradition, however, assigns them a different origin. It is related that they were cast away on the island, and chose to settle there; but refusing, upon a certain occasion, to assist the King in his wars against some foreign enemies, they were driven out from the society of the natives, and forced to take up their abode in the most unfrequented forests. Some imagine that the Bedahs are merely a part of the native Candians, who chose to retain their ancient savage freedom, when their brethren of the plains and vallies submitted to the cultivation of the earth, and the restraints of society. This opinion rests intirely on those Bedahs, who are most known, speaking a broken dialect of the Cinglese. It is, however, by no means ascertained that this is the universal language of the Bedahs; nor is any account of their origin sup-

ported by the slightest shadow of proof. The Bedahs are scattered over the woods in different parts of Ceylon, but are most numerous in the province of Bintan, which lies to the north east of Candy in the direction of Trincomalee and Batacolo. The tribe found in this quarter acknowledges no authority but that of its own chief and religious men. They are completely savage here, and have never entered into any intercourse with the other natives, or scarcely ever seen by them. They subsist entirely by hunting deer and other animals, with which their forests supply them. The cultivation of the ground is an art which they never attempt to practise. They sleep either on trees or at the foot of them: and in the latter case, they place thorns and other bushes all around them to keep off wild beasts, or by their rustling to give warning of their approach. As soon as the least noise rouses his apprehension, the Bedah climbs up the tree with the utmost expertness and celerity. As the Bedahs chiefly live by the produce of the chase, they acquire by habit an astonishing dexterity in this employment. They learn to steal through the bushes so warily and silently, that they often come unperceived within reach of the deer; when they throw their little axes so dexterously, that the animal seldom escapes alive. The dogs of the Bedahs are remarkable for their sagacity, and not only readily trace out game, but also distinguish one species of animal from another. On the approach of any carnivorous animal, or of a stranger, they immediately put their masters upon their guard. These faithful animals

mals are indeed invaluable to them, and constitute their chief riches. When their daughters are married, hunting dogs form their portion; and a Bedah is as unwilling to part with his dog as an Arabian with his horse.

Those Bedahs who venture to converse with the other natives, are represented to be courteous, and in address far beyond their state of civilization. Their religion is little known. They have their inferior deities corresponding to the demons of the Cinglese, and observe certain festivals. On these occasions victuals of various sorts are placed at the root of a tree, and the ceremonies of the festival consist in dancing round them.

The animals of Ceylon are next described, beginning with the Elephant, concerning whom many new and curious particulars are disclosed. Horses are little used for draft or burthen, those labours are chiefly performed by oxen and buffaloes. Among the wild beasts of the Island, are the tyger and the tyger-cat, the leopard, though not often found, the jackall, the hyena and the bear, a great variety of monkeys, which are very destructive; porcupines, racoons, armadilloes, squirrels and mungooses.

The Indian ichneumon is a small creature, in appearance between a weazel and a mungoose. It is of infinite use to the natives from its inveterate enmity to snakes, which would otherwise render every footstep of the traveller dangerous. The proofs of sagacity which I have seen in this little animal are truly surprizing, and afford a beautiful instance of the wisdom with which Providence

has fitted the powers of every animal to its particular situation on the globe. This diminutive creature, on seeing a snake ever so large, will instantly dart on it and seize it by the throat, provided he finds himself in an open place where he has an opportunity of running to a certain herb, which he knows instinctively to be an antidote against the poison of the bite, if he should happen to receive one.

The flormouse, or flying fox, like the bat, partakes of the appearance both of the bird and quadruped; and its name is derived from the great resemblance of its head and body to the fox. Its body is about the size of an ordinary cat: the wings when extended measure from the tip of the one to that of the other upwards of six feet; and the length of the animal from the nose to the tail, of which it has barely the name, is about two feet. The flormouse lives in the woods, and perches on the tallest trees. While asleep or inactive these animals suspend themselves by the feet from the branches, and continue to hang in this manner as if they were dead. The night is the season of their activity: at that time they fly about with a horrid noise, and devour all the fruit which they can come at. To prevent their ravages, strong nets are thrown over the fruit trees, and a sort of rattle made of pieces of board so contrived as to clap together and frighten them away with its noise. The flying foxes also see by day, and often fly about observing where fruit is to be found; but they defer their attack upon it till night, and generally keep among the thick woods till dark.

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The rats are very numerous and exceedingly troublesome. There are species besides those common in Europe: the most observable are the blind-rat, the musk-rat, and the bandy-coot. The musk-rat, or perfuming-shrew, is very small, with a long snout, much extended beyond the under jaw. In running about it makes a squeaking noise like a squirrel, but much shriller and louder. From the intolerable smell of musk which accompanies, and remains behind, these animals wherever they go, they are very disagreeable inmates; and there is scarcely a house, in Colombo particularly, which has not been strongly scented by them in every corner. Many articles are rendered entirely useless, by the smell of musk which they communicate in merely running over them. For it is a certain fact, that of so penetrating a nature is their effluvia, that if they even pass over a bottle of wine ever so well corked and sealed up, it becomes so strongly tainted with musk that it cannot be used; and a whole cask may be rendered useless in the same manner.

The birds of Ceylon are a very numerous class. All sorts of our domestic poultry, turkeys excepted, are natives of the island; and there are few birds found in our woods or marshes that do not here abound. Ducks, geese, pheasants, parrots, and parroquets, are all found in great numbers; both wild and tame; and usually in flocks. The *lowrie*, or *lory* is a species of parrot, and varies in its size. Snipes are found in great plenty in the hot season, which is the best time for shooting them. The florican is a species of the crane kind, about the size

and weight of a large capon, and is esteemed excellent eating. The banks of the rivers and lakes abound with storks, cranes, herons, and water-fowls of various descriptions. Woodpeckers are found with beautiful top knots of a golden colour. Pigeons, both wild and tame, form a prominent part of the Island of Ceylon. The most remarkable species is the cinnamon pigeon, so called from being particularly partial to the cinnamon woods. It is of a beautiful green colour, and is as large as our common fowl. There are a few partridges, of the small red-legged kind, found on the west coasts between Nigumbo and Manaar.

Among a great variety of smaller birds, we particularly distinguish the honey-bird. It is so called from a peculiar instinct by which it discovers the honey concealed in trees. As if designed for the service of the human species, this bird continues to flutter about and make a great noise till it has attracted the notice of some person, and induced him to follow the course it points out to him. It then flutters before him, till it has led him to the tree where the bees have lodged their treasure. The man then carries off the honey, leaving a little for the use of the bird, which silently and contentedly watches till it is permitted to enjoy its reward. As soon as it has eaten up its portion, it renews its noise, and goes in quest of another tree, followed by the man, who finds a guide here provided for him by nature. The crows here, as in every other part of India, are exceedingly impudent and troublesome; and it is found very difficult to exclude them from the houses, which,

which, on account of the heat, are built open, and much exposed to such intruders. They are so audacious, that, like the fabled harpies, they will frequently snatch bread and meat from the dining table, even when it is surrounded with guests. In shape they exactly resemble our common crow, but in size are generally smaller. They abound in every town, fort and village, on the island: as if particularly addicted to the society of man, they are continually seen hopping about among the habitations, and are very rarely to be met with in woods or retired places. These animals, however, though so exceedingly troublesome, and continually on the watch to pick up every thing that comes within their reach, still are not to be considered as an unnecessary pest entailed upon the inhabitants of that part of the globe. The crows, in fact, are very important benefactors to the Indians, and by their utility amply compensate for their troublesome knaveries. As they are all voracious devourers of carrion, and instantly eat up all sorts of dirt, offal, and dead vermin as soon as they appear; they carry off those substances which, if allowed to remain, would in this hot climate produce the most noxious smells, and probably give rise to putrid disorders. On this account the crows are much esteemed by the natives, their mischievous tricks and impudence are put up with, and they are never suffered to be shot or otherwise destroyed.

The kites and vultures are very destructive to the feathered tribes of the forest; but where troops are encamped, are, like the crows, very

useful in removing all noisome matters.

The Indian Roller is a bird remarkable for the beauty of its plumage: its tail is ornamented with two feathers of singular appearance and remarkable length.

The yellow crowned thrush, which is here kept in cages, is remarkable for its powers of imitation, and can readily repeat every note which it hears. It is called in Ceylon, the Miner, and is blackish with a yellow bill and head.

The peculiarities of the Taylor-bird are well known. There are, besides, in Ceylon, two species of fly-catchers, swallows which never migrate, two species of the peacock, and a bird called the jungle fowl.

The reptiles and insects of Ceylon are exceedingly numerous, and there are several species very little known. Serpents particularly abound; among them are the covra-capello, the covra-marilla, the whip-snake, the grass-snake, the water-snake, and the wood-snake. The rock-snake is an immense animal, extending to thirty-feet in length; it inhabits chiefly the rocky banks of rivers. Its colour is greyish with broad white streaks. These snakes, though formidable from their immense size, are perfectly free from poison. They are, however, destructive to some of the smaller animals, and will devour kids, goats, hogs, poultry, &c. first twisting their tail round their prey, to break its bones and squeeze it to death. Before I arrived in the Island, says Mr. Percival, I had heard many stories of a monstrous snake, so vast in size, as to be able to devour tigers and buffaloes, and so daring as even to attack

attack the Elephant. I made every enquiry on the spot concerning this terrible animal, but not one of the natives had ever heard of the monster. Probably these fabulous stories took their rise from an exaggerated account of the rock-snake.

Alligators of an immense size infest all the rivers of Ceylon, and render them every where very dangerous: many persons continually fall victims to them.

The Guana in appearance very much resembles the alligator. It is a very disgusting animal to look at, but is perfectly harmless, and lives in holes in the ground. It is esteemed good food by the natives, and makes excellent curry, or rich soup. The flesh tastes very like that of a rabbit.

An immense number of toads, lizards, blood-suckers, camelions, and a variety of others of the same class abound every where throughout the Island.

Besides the leeches employed by the apothecaries, there is another species which infest in immense numbers the woods and swampy grounds of Ceylon, particularly in the rainy season, to the great annoyance of every one who passes through them. The leeches of this species are very small, not much larger than a pin; and are of a dark red colour, speckled. In their motions they do not crawl like a worm, or like the leeches we are accustomed to see in Europe; but keep constantly springing, by first fixing their head on a place, and then bringing their tail up to it with a sudden jerk, while at the same time their head is thrown forwards for another hold. In this manner they move so exceedingly

quick, that before they are perceived, they contrive to get upon one's clothes, when they immediately endeavour by some aperture to find an entrance to the skin. As soon as they reach it, they begin to draw blood; and as they can effect this even through the light clothing worn in this climate, it is almost impossible to pass through the woods and swamps in rainy weather without being covered with blood. Other animals, as well as man, are subject to the attacks of these leeches. Horses in particular, from their excessive plunging and kicking to get rid of these creatures when they fasten upon them, render it very unsafe for any one to ride through the woods of the interior.

A species of flying lizard is found here, furnished with membranes, extending along its sides in the form of wings, with which it is enabled to take its flight from tree to tree. It is not above nine inches long, and is perfectly harmless, although it is the only animal known which resembles the fabled dragon. The insects of Ceylon are extremely numerous. There are several species of spiders found, of uncommon size and poisonous. Flies, beetles, butterflies, musketoes, cockroaches, with almost every insect known in Europe, are here found, of curious shapes, and ornamented with a variety of colours. Ground lice and ticks plague the dogs to such a degree as almost to make them mad. Ants, which are here found of every species, are another pest, in addition to the leeches; they are of various species, including the white ant, which in the space of one night, will demolish and eat up all the boots, shoes
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and bottoms of trunks which come in their way, or are left on the ground. This is never done but by the carelessness of the black servants. In camp, the furniture of the tents is placed on inverted bottles, with their necks planted in the ground, which, on account of the slippery nature of the glass, cannot be climbed up by the ants. In the dwelling houses, the trunks, chairs and bed posts are for the same reason placed in tin vessels full of water.

There are besides black scorpions and centipedes; a spider with legs not less than four inches long, and having the body covered with thick black hair. The webs which it makes are strong enough to entangle and hold even small birds, which form its usual prey. There is also an insect found here, which resembles an immense overgrown beetle. It is called a carpenter, from its boring large holes in timber, of a regular form, and to the depth of several feet, in which when finished it takes up its habitation.

Fish of every sort in great abundance are found in the lakes and rivers of Ceylon, as well as in the surrounding seas. Those found in the fresh water are much more remarkable for their vast numbers than their quality; but many excellent kinds of fish are caught all round the coasts of the island, and form a principal article both of the traffic and food of the natives.

Ceylon is particularly prolific in plants. Almost all those fruits which are peculiar to India and the countries within the tropical climates, are here found in great abundance and of a superior quality. Except in one or two species, the

mangoes of Maffegon, and the mandarine orange of China, which has within these last few years been raised at Bombay, this island maintains an undeniable superiority over all our settlements on the continent of India. Among the fruits which grow spontaneously in the woods of Ceylon, are found most of those which constitute the most delicious desserts of our European tables; such as pine-apples, oranges, pomegranates, citrons, limes, melons, plums, pumpkins, water-melons, squashes, figs, almonds, mulberries, raisins, bilberries, bogberries, &c. The mango is of an oblong cylindrical form, in shape and size resembling an egg. Its taste and flavour are peculiar, and it is reckoned one of the most delicious fruits in India. One remarkable circumstance is, that no one mango resembles another plucked from the same tree in taste or flavour. The mangusteén is a fruit very highly esteemed, but one of the rarest in Ceylon, being only found in one or two gardens belonging to Dutch gentlemen. In appearance this fruit resembles the pomegranate, but the pulp is more like that of the mango, and consists of fibres full of juice. It is esteemed an excellent remedy in fluxes. There are many other fruits, as the Shaddock, Rose-apple, Cushoo, Katapa, paupa, tamarind, plantain, and some others too often described to need any observation. There are two species of the bread-fruit tree. Of the cocoa-tree and its various uses, a full account is given, and both for profit and pleasure a more valuable vegetable can scarcely be found.

The plant which produces the Betel nut and leaf is also in high estimation. The other productions are

are red pepper and black, cardamoms, coffee; the palm, the sugar tree, and tea-plant; the Talipot-tree, from the leaves of which the natives make umbrellas; the banyan and cotton-trees; several trees of use in making furniture, as the tick-wood, satin-wood, and calamander; several curious plants, particularly the findric-mal, which is employed by the natives to supply the want of clocks; as it has the quality of continuing open from four in the evening till four in the morning, and remaining shut during the other twelve hours; ebony and many plants used in dying and painting. Rice is also a very important produce, but Cinnamon is the staple commodity, and in the description of the growth, culture and other circumstances relating to this valuable production, Captain Percival, with the aid of information derived from Dr. Thunberg, employs a whole chapter.

The minerals of Ceylon are numerous, and the Island has long been particularly famous for its precious stones, of which we find not less than about twenty different sorts. The ruby, the topaz, and the diamond of Ceylon or Matura, are not by any means so valuable as those of Golconda or the Brazils. The sapphire, amethyst, aqua marine, and tourmalin, are on the contrary equal to those of any other country. Of the various stones described, an enumeration would be an useless labour; they

are generally sought for among the hills and rocks, and along the banks of the rivers, where they are frequently picked up. By the river which passes Sitativacca, and divides the King's country from ours, they are particularly found. The violent rains which frequently fall in the higher parts of the Island, wash down these stones from the hills, and when the rivers begin to subside, and get clear and low, they are found among the sands of the channels which are then left dry.

Lead, tin, and iron ores are found in the interior, but they are never wrought or applied to any purpose. There were also several mines of *quicksilver* wrought by the Dutch in Ceylon.

There are also hot-springs in Ceylon, but they possess few mineral qualities, or any virtue beside their heat, which is of a temperature not unfavourable for hot bathing.

The author concludes with a sensible chapter of general observations on the state of the Island, and the advantages likely to be derived from it; and in an Appendix he has given a brief Journal of the Embassy sent by Governor North in 1800, to the court of Candy.

Such is the abstract of the information disclosed in this useful and valuable volume, a work equally creditable to the industry, and the judgment of the author.



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